

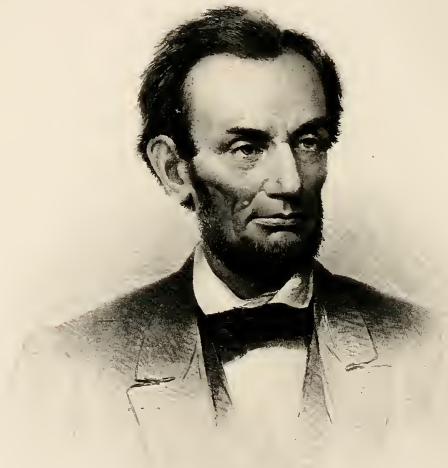


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A. Lincoln

The Republican Party

A History of its Fifty Years' Existence
and a Record of its Measures and Leaders

1854—1904

By

Francis Curtis

With a Foreword by President Roosevelt, and Introductions by William P. Frye, President *pro tempore* U. S. Senate, and J. G. Cannon, Speaker U. S. House of Representatives

In Two Volumes

I.

“Let us all consider the history and declarations of the great parties, and thoughtfully conclude which is the more likely to promote the general interests of our people.”

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

“The Republican party was dedicated to freedom. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance.”—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

G. P. Putnam's Sons

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FOREWORD.

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

AMONG the many wise and notable utterances of Abraham Lincoln there is one which has attracted less attention than by rights it ought to have attracted. It was delivered on November 10, 1864, just after Lincoln's re-election to the Presidency, and in response to a serenade. It runs in part as follows:

"It has long been a grave question whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test and the Presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain. . . . The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts in the case. What has occurred in this case must ever occur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the incidents in this as philosophy to learn wisdom from and none of them as wrongs to be avenged. . . . Now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion as I think for their own

good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result."

This brief speech was typical of Lincoln alike in its strong common sense and in its lofty standard of morality; and the Republican party to-day is a living organism of good because it has continued responsive to those thoughts and purposes of its founders which were given their highest expression in the life of the great martyred President. In its essentials, human nature does not change; or at least the change is very slow. In the successive national trials, great and small, which this country has had to face since the day, half a century ago, when the Republican party began its career, the same qualities have inevitably been displayed—the qualities of strength and weakness, of wisdom and folly, of evil and good; and in each of these crises we have done well or ill about in proportion as we have shown the qualities which made us do well or ill in the others. The problems shift from generation to generation; but, after all, in each case the danger is due to fundamentally the same evil tendencies, and in each case success can come only by the exercise of wisdom and courage, energy and high-mindedness. This is the reason why the history of the Republican party in the past is not merely of abiding interest to the student, but is of present importance to every man who seeks in practical fashion actually to apply the principles of civic righteousness.

It is of course the merest truism to say that a party is of use only so far as it serves the nation, and that he serves his party best who serves the nation best. In 1856 and in 1860, the party was of use because it stood against the extension of Slavery; in 1864, because it stood against all Slavery as well as against the destruction of this Union; in 1868, because it stood against those who wished to undo the results of the war. These are now dead issues; but we can learn how to face the live issues of the present by studying in good faith how men faced these dead issues of the past. We must act with wisdom or else our adherence to right will be mere sound and fury without substance; and we must act high-mindedly or else our wisdom will in the long run prove to be but folly in the eyes

of the just and the far-sighted. Our policy must be such as will secure material prosperity to the nation; for exactly as a man cannot be a good citizen unless by his work he is able to keep himself and those dependent upon him from want, so a nation can count for little until it has the power which is based on physical well-being. Yet it is an evil thing for the nation, as for the individual, if material well-being is accepted as in itself all-sufficient; such well-being is worthless save as a foundation on which to build the higher life. It is a good thing for the nation as for the man to have the money-making capacity, but back of this and above it must stand those qualities of the intellect and of the spirit, of the mind and of the soul, which in their sum make up that high and fine type of character which tells for true greatness. Such was the character shown in every phase of the work of Lincoln.

There are few less desirable things than to advance the history of what has been well done in the past as an excuse for failure to do well in the present; and few more desirable than to study such history with the earnest desire to profit thereby, in order to do better service in the time that now is.

Theodore Roosevelt

WHITE HOUSE, January 1, 1904.



INTRODUCTION.

BY WILLIAM P. FRYE OF MAINE, PRESIDENT *PRO TEMPORE*
UNITED STATES SENATE.

IT is a matter for congratulation that a comprehensive review of the policies and performances of the Republican party, now completing a half-century of service, has been compiled by Mr. Curtis and is to be issued with the imprint of a publishing house whose founders did so much to give the party strength and success in the early days of its career. The work shows that in its preparation the author has made most careful and exhaustive research, and a judicious and skilful selection and presentation of the most essential features of the party's history. One can well believe that he has fully exhausted his power of restraint in condensing such a vast array of material into the readable and convenient form of two octavo volumes.

While not a portion of the work proper, the introductory chapters, which are necessary as showing the causes which led to the birth of the party, form in themselves a complete political history of our country preceding 1854.

The chapters on the formation of the Republican party will, I believe, prove exceedingly welcome and valuable, being a gathering for the first time of the records of the many interesting assemblages during one of the most important periods in our history. They show that the Republican party does not owe its parentage to any single individual, or to any single band of men, or to the enthusiasts or loyalists of any single State or any particular section. It came into being almost simultaneously in different parts of the West, in New England, and in the Middle States; and without any intercommunication whatever, organizations were instituted in a dozen different

localities, with the adoption of the same name and the promulgation of the same purposes and principles.

It is true that the Republican party became an associated body of earnest and humane men with the chief purpose of preventing the further extension of Slavery. That great purpose was duly accomplished, and, while this was not the first intention, Slavery was itself destroyed, although at a much greater cost and sacrifice than could possibly have been foreseen in 1854; and it is not remarkable that as new questions presented themselves, and as new problems arose to be solved, there was no thought of disbandment, even though one or two of those who had been leading spirits of the party suggested that the time had come for its epitaph to be written.

It was the same party, less a few prominent members, which gave itself to the task of solving the financial and economic problems as these presented themselves, and which carried the country and its people onward in the march of progress to the position now occupied in the front rank of nations. There has been no time when the party could consistently retreat or even stand still.

Mr. Curtis has well shown this in the various chapters of his work, as his narrative proceeds from one period to another, and from one Congress to another, quoting the expressions of Republican leaders, citing the bills framed by Republican committees and enacted by both Houses of Congress, and telling of the splendid administrations of Republican Presidents. He has shown that for the most part the history of the Republican party and its achievements since the first election of Abraham Lincoln has been the political history of the United States, as in but two years of that time has the Democratic party been in full power of the Government and able to carry out unopposed its policies and designs. It has been indeed a most marvellous age and a wondrous period not only in our own history, but the history of the world. While it is possible that under other leaders and under another party we might have made more or less progress, yet it does not seem an idle boast to claim that the grand result of national advance which we behold to-day is due chiefly to the wisdom and courage of the leaders and of

the voters of the Republican party, in spite of the occasional acquirement of partial power and the two years of complete power by the party of opposition.

As for the future, we may well submit this history of the party's achievements as an earnest of what it may hope to accomplish during the second half-century of its existence. There will be most weighty subjects to be discussed, most important decisions to be made, most consequential tasks to be initiated and brought to completion. The Republican party, if continued in power, will, I believe, not only in the future as it has in the past, sustain the honor, the credit, and integrity of the nation by sound financial legislation; it will not only preserve our incomparable home market, which it has built up under the American system of Protection, giving to our labor the largest income and highest standard of living found the world over; it will not only be the champion of liberty and enlightenment in its influence upon foreign powers, but it will see to it that the Constitution and every amendment is enforced in every corner of the land; that the American merchant marine will be restored, and that the Stars and Stripes will be found in every port in equal measure with the flags of other countries. As for the other countless problems that will be presented for solution, there can be no doubt that they will be undertaken and solved with the same spirit and energy and success as has been shown in the record of the past.

This record of the past, so admirably presented by Mr. Curtis, will be appreciated by all Republicans, and should be possessed and studied by all students of our political history and every citizen who would intelligently and conscientiously exercise the right and privilege of elective franchise.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. P. Stuy". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with large, sweeping loops.

INTRODUCTION.

BY J. G. CANNON OF ILLINOIS, SPEAKER HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

PARTY government not only in a Republic like our own, but in a limited monarchy like Great Britain or Germany, is so well established as to require no defence or explanation. Since the first term of Washington we have had in this country well-defined parties confined for the most part to that which was in power almost continually for a half-century preceding the Civil War, and that which has held the reins of Government since, either wholly or in part, with the exception of the life of a single Congress.

Mr. Curtis has prepared a comprehensive and complete history of the Republican party, bringing the record down to 1904.

The Republican party is constructed on the principle laid down by Abraham Lincoln that this is "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." It has triumphed over other parties since its organization because of its courage to fight for the principles formulated by the judgment and conscience of the people; it has been governed not by hysterical or revolutionary impulse, but by conservatism and common sense. It had its origin in the sober judgment of the people of the North that compromise with Slavery was no longer possible in the development of the great territory of the West.

The record of this party is written in the amendments to the Constitution and in the statutes of the past fifty years; it is also written in the most remarkable period of development that the United States and the world have known. It is written in the exalted position which this government now holds

among the great powers of the world. It is a record of sturdy Americanism, good business management, and wise diplomacy. In times of great emergency, with the nation's welfare at stake, the strongest men of all other parties have supported its policies. In its organization there came together the "Free-Soilers," the Whigs, the Abolitionists, and many Democrats. In its first great struggle to carry to success the war for the preservation of the Union, thousands of Democrats gave it their support under the name of "War Democrats." So it has been through the history of the party. In its stand for national progress, conservatism, and common sense the party has waxed strong and multiplied in the confidence of the people and the number of its supporters.

Little did those determined pioneers and patriots of 1854, who so firmly laid the foundation of the Republican party, dream of what it would be called upon to undertake, and how courageously and successfully it would carry out its mission. Those patient, but none the less earnest men, had one great result in view—to check the further extension of Slavery. The new party was victorious from the start, for, while not politically successful till 1860, it secured a moral success from the first elections in which it participated in 1854.

In two years' time it was able to poll a vote of 1,341,264, while in its latest national election this vote was increased to 7,207,923, and in the coming fall it will doubtless reach fully seven millions and a half, if not more. It has taken the Democratic party nearly a century to reach considerably less than that membership, temporary or permanent as it may be.

A party, no matter how well founded, or how auspiciously inaugurated, could not reach such proportions without well-fixed and meritorious principles and achievements of the highest order.

The continued and great success of the Republican party is its own warrant for permanent existence. There were those who thought that the party had fulfilled its mission when Lee surrendered to Grant; there were those who thought the same when the seceding States had been fully restored to the Union. Could Charles Sumner and Charles Francis Adams and Horace

Greeley examine the pages of this work and realize what the Republican party has accomplished in the past generation, they would certainly have to admit that they were misguided, and that the course which they took in 1872 was most unwise and impolitic.

At no time in its career can the Republican party be said to have been on the defensive. It has always been not only aggressive but progressive. There has been no turning back; there has been no halting, but a steady continual advance, carrying with it the solution of the great questions forced upon it, and the successful prosecution of every work undertaken.

The task of recording briefly but comprehensively the proceedings of those gatherings which selected the leaders of the Republican party to carry out its pledges and policies, the narration of the meritorious work done by those leaders in the various fields to which they were elected or appointed, and the chronicling of both attempted and completed measures, which the Republican party has so successfully inaugurated and carried out, has been well performed in these two volumes.

Mr. Curtis has succeeded in placing before his readers a most important work, and in a manner most readable and entertaining, while at the same time it must prove invaluable as a work of permanent reference.

It would be a matter of supererogation to sum up statistically the results of the work of the Republican party during its half-century of existence. Under the administration of this party the political history of the country, its amazing progress, its accumulation of wealth, the unprecedented advance of its people, materially, socially, and mentally, has been written.

Under the leadership and control of the Republican party the United States has been compactly united into a nation governed by great patriotic and business principles. The nation has marched forward under this control until it stands today in the front rank of the world's powers. It stands first in its record of development in industrial, financial, military, and moral achievements. It stands first in the contest for industrial development, able to hold its own in the markets of the world. It stands first in its financial achievements in raising

loans from its own people and in selling the lowest interest-bearing bonds at par. It stands first in its military achievements without a standing army. Its militarism is patriotism, and it has its illustration in the achievements of American citizen soldiery, the only militarism ever known under the American flag.

To present the history of this party, as Mr. Curtis has so well done, is to present for the same time the history of the nation, for we may well eliminate the very brief period when the country was in the hands of the Democratic party with the disaster and suffering which followed the advent of that party to complete power.

We may well rest content with the record presented, recommending it not only to the present members of the party, but to the consideration of the coming generation, into whose hands must be put the welfare of the party, which it is safe to assume will be the welfare of the people. There need be no change in principle or policy, as there has been none since the foundation of the party in 1854. It stood then as it stands now, and I believe will stand for decades to come, as the exponent of honor, of liberty, of enlightenment, of progress, and of humanity in all the best phases in which the action of a political party can conserve, not only the American people, but the people of the entire globe, whenever and wherever its influence may be felt.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "J. G. Cannon." The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1904.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO chronicle briefly but comprehensively the endeavors and achievements of the Republican party during the half-century of its existence now completed, to present a record of the causes and movements resulting in its formation, of its conventions and platforms, and of the measure of fulfillment secured for the promises made in those platforms, is the object of this work. A score of such volumes would not suffice to tell the complete political story of the past fifty years. Since the first national success of the Republican party in 1860, followed by the assumption in 1861 of the executive and both legislative branches of the Government, the party has not been entirely superseded in its control of the national policy, except during the two years which included the life of the Fifty-third Congress—1893-94 and 1894-95; and it may be recalled that the commercial occurrences of these two years were extremely disastrous and brought with them more business difficulties than had been experienced since the years when the Democratic party was last previously in full control of the Government. No such continued lease of power has been given to any other party in the history of the nation, and to bring within the scope of this work, limited to 1000 pages, the mass of matter relating to the subject has taxed severely the capacity for restraint on the part of the author.

Only the most essential measures have been considered, and chiefly those measures which have been enacted into law. The many attempts at legislation, left by dying Congresses unfinished, have, with few exceptions, not been touched upon. The author presents no extravagant claims of party achievements or fulsome praises of men; nor, on the other hand, is

there any reluctance to give full credit where due. There is no reviling or belittling of opponents, neither is there the least hesitancy to make honest and proper criticism. There has been little, if any, attempt to prove or disprove. For the most part facts only have been related in the plainest of language, it is hoped clearly and without ambiguity. Those who may look for the usual campaign document of a presidential year will be disappointed. They will find instead a work of reference and it is hoped of permanency. The publication comes on the eve of a presidential campaign, because the fiftieth anniversary of the party's birth is coincident with this.

While there is more or less matter which has never before been printed, the work is largely a compilation of facts gathered from an hundred and one sources: from the files of daily and weekly papers, from magazines, from books and political histories and cyclopedias. The author has used but few footnotes, adopting for the reader the more convenient and readable plan of giving extracts in the body of the work continuous with original reference. In nearly every instance full credit is given for the expressions and thoughts of others. It is but just to say further that in the portions relating to the national conventions full use has been made, in addition to the daily papers, of the *Official Proceedings of Republican National Conventions*, compiled by Charles W. Johnson under authority of the Republican National Committee; to *All the Republican National Conventions*, compiled by Henry M. Smith; to Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, and McClure's *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*. The tables of electoral and popular votes are for the most part those given by Stanwood. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Librarian and Associates of the Springfield City Library, which in its worth and management is not excelled by any provincial library in the country, for the courteous and liberal treatment and invaluable aid which he has received during the prosecution of this work.

It has seemed best wherever practicable, to give the full text of bills, laws, resolutions, platforms, and speeches, or extracts from speeches, rather than epitomes. All such text is made to

conform exactly with the original as recorded, except in case of palpable verbal errors.

The work has been prepared by an avowed Republican, who is a staunch advocate of Protection and of honest money. The record of the Democratic party has not been drawn upon except in so far as Democratic deeds and misdeeds have made necessary Republican action. The work is a history of the Republican party, not of American politics. To give causes and reasons, however, for Republican movements and Republican laws it has been necessary to refer to not a few issues now dead and forgiven if not forgotten. The author feels that he would be derelict in duty if in addition to the chronological chapters he did not give what, in his opinion, has been the effect of Republican legislation and administration upon the country and its people. He has also felt warranted in commenting upon those who have left the party and have attempted to thwart Republican success.

In order to bring the work down to date it has been necessary to mention living men, their deeds, and their expressions, not otherwise appropriate to historical writing. The acts of the present President and of the other leaders of the party are no less important and no less to be praised because they are living, yet it would be manifestly improper and inappropriate to give to their character and deeds such measure of attention as belongs to the records of their predecessors whose careers are closed.

F. C.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,

February 12, 1904.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—RISE OF SLAVERY AND EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY PRECEDING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

“RESOLVED, That, postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by Slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.

“RESOLVED, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of Republican government, and against the schemes of an aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased, we will cooperate and be known as ‘Republicans’ until the contest be terminated.”

With this pledge, on the 6th day of July, 1854, the Republican party was born “under the oaks,” at Jackson, Michigan. This was not, however, the first gathering of Republicans nor the first time the name of the new party had been used. As when the seed is sown and the blades of grass spring up almost simultaneously, now here, now there, in different parts of the

field, so in the spring and summer of 1854 from the seeds of Abolition and Anti-Slavery Extension sprang the Republican party in Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Maine, Massachusetts, Iowa, Ohio, and other Northern States. But because of the fact that, in formal convention assembled, a platform was adopted and a full State ticket nominated on the 6th of July, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan, that day and place must be conceded to be the birthday and birthplace of the Republican party.

Before describing in detail the various gatherings and conventions of that year, it is necessary to review briefly the earlier history of our country, in order to trace and analyze the events which fashioned the sentiment of those assemblages, and which finally crystallized into the enduring form of a great national party now completing its first half-century of record and accomplishment.

Four months before the *Mayflower* brought its precious freight of intellect and piety to Plymouth Rock, a Dutch vessel carried African slaves up the James River, and on the soil of Virginia was inaugurated a system of servitude which spread throughout the colonies and existed in increasing force, in the South, till the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln put an end forever to Slavery in the United States of America.

From 1620 to the American Revolution, slave traffic was encouraged by England, and the government of the colonies was controlled by the friends of Slavery. Says Henry Wilson, in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*: "British avarice planted Slavery in America; British legislation sanctioned and maintained it; British statesmen sustained and guarded it." It must be admitted, however, that there was ready acquiescence on the part of influential colonists. They were not only firm advocates and supporters of Slavery, but the slave traffic as well. On the other hand the sentiment against the system developed with its progress, and was shared by many statesmen as well as leaders in private life. Distinction must be drawn between Slavery itself and the slave traffic,

both foreign and domestic. The former was tolerated and encouraged, while the latter was at all times almost universally condemned. Legislation was aimed at the slave trade long before the question of Abolition was seriously mooted.

The growth of Slavery at first was slow. It was hardly noticeable during the half-century following 1620, and even the next half-century shows but a comparatively small increase. The fifty years preceding the Revolution, however, brought immense gains. The growth from 1620 to 1790 can be seen from the following, the figures for 1715 being the estimate of the royal governors, those for 1775 being the estimate of Congress, and those for 1790 being ascertained by the first census:

	NUMBER OF SLAVES.		
	North.	South.	Total.
1715	10,900	47,950	58,850
1775	46,102	455,000	501,102
1790	40,370	657,527	697,897

Mason and Dixon's line¹ is taken as the division between North and South.

While Slavery had been planted and taken root in the North, it did not thrive, and easily died out. Soil and climate and the character of labor made slaveholding for the most part undesirable and unprofitable, save from a domestic standpoint. Southward it was far different, and particularly in South Carolina, where rice and indigo were cultivated. But slaveholding obtained a foothold in every colony, and prior to the Revolution, with but one exception, there was at first little or no resistance to its growth.

In 1733, James Oglethorpe founded a colony in Georgia, and his two principal laws were for the prohibition of Slavery and

¹ Mason and Dixon's line was the settlement of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, as surveyed between 1763 and 1767, with the exception of 22 miles, by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two English surveyors. This line separates Pennsylvania from the former slave States, Maryland and Virginia. John Randolph of Virginia, during the debate in Congress in 1820 on the Missouri Compromise, repeatedly used the phrase, "Mason and Dixon's line," and it was thereafter continued in use as the dividing line between the free and slave States.

rum. Twenty years afterwards Georgia became a royal colony and soon vied with South Carolina in slaveholding.

We find no outspoken defence of Slavery in the earlier colonial days, while the protests against it by the early patriots were many and emphatic. It will suffice to mention John Eliot, Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewell, Elihu Coleman, Benjamin Lay, Benjamin Franklin, John Woodman, Anthony Benezet, John Wesley, George Whitefield, Samuel Hopkins, Benjamin Rush, Patrick Henry, Henry Laurens, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, and yet many of these same men held slaves, following the custom of the times.

While it seems anomalous that Slavery was not regulated or stamped out before the Revolution, yet it is easily explained. In the first place the concern of all became the concern of none, at least beyond words. Again, it was almost universally believed that the system would be self-extinguished at the South, as was the case at the North. The sentiment of the people at large was certainly against the evil, which was regarded as of temporary duration. It may be said that no one openly advocated its perpetuation. Many of those who held slaves provided for their ultimate freedom. It must also be remembered that the pioneers were engrossed with settlement, and were often engaged in petty strife with the Indians. There was no opportunity for concerted action, no ready transmission of thought and speech, no immediate comparison of sentiment.

On the eve of the Revolution, we find Slavery firmly entrenched at the South because British greed was supplemented by a few persistent and bold pro-Slavery leaders who were able to induce the many of opposite views to grant their demands for the sake of harmony and peace. The sentiment of the people can be seen in the following second Article of the Continental Association, which was adopted and signed by all the members of Congress on the 20th of October, 1774:

That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which we will wholly discon-

tinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Georgia, not being represented in the first Continental Congress, adopted the following resolutions at her Provincial Congress on July 6, 1775 :

1. *Resolved*, That this Congress will adopt, and carry into execution, all and singular the measures and recommendations of the late Continental Congress.

4. *Resolved*, That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported from Africa or elsewhere after this day.

All the Southern colonies, as far as was possible, gave approval to the Articles of Association, which were no doubt inspired to a large degree by Mr. Jefferson in his instructions to the first delegation from Virginia. These were published in pamphlet form under the title of *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. The following passage will indicate that feeling toward the mother country was as intense on the Slavery question as on measures of taxation :

For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic Slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was, unhappily, introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice.¹

And yet Mr. Jefferson, soon after, capitulated to the rising Slave Power by omitting from the Declaration of Independence, as finally adopted, the following paragraph, which had appeared in the original draft :

¹ *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i., p. 135.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And, that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another.¹

The reason of the omission is given in Mr. Jefferson's own words as follows :

The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.²

Here are seen at the outset the surrender and compromise which continued from the Revolution till the Rebellion.

During the war for independence, one of the causes of which, Burke declared in the House of Commons, was the inhuman traffic in negro slaves, little attention was given to the growth of the evil at the South, though its very existence was one of our main sources of weakness. We then numbered three millions of people, one sixth of whom were slaves. Massachusetts alone furnished more men for the war than did North and South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware combined, while the seven Northern colonies gave more than three times the number of men furnished by the six Southern colonies. The Southern families were simply at the real or

¹ *Jefferson's Works*, vol. i., pp. 23, 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

fancied mercy of the slaves, and in need of protection from their uprising. Thousands of negroes, incited by the proclamation of royal governors and commanders, flew to British protectors, many being armed for resistance and even aggression. At the North, on the other hand, slaves were emancipated on the condition of their enlistment in the army, and many free negroes fought for their own and their masters' freedom. Statutes for immediate or gradual abolition were adopted throughout the North during or soon after the war, though complete abolition was not secured in New York until 1799, and in New Jersey until 1804.

It remains now to consider what steps were taken before the adoption of the Constitution to prevent the extension of Slavery, restriction and abolition having been secured only north of Mason and Dixon's line. The Articles of Confederation contained no allusion to Slavery or the slave trade, and it was not till 1784 that any attempt was made to bring about national legislation on the subject.

Certain States, whose western boundaries were fixed, saw the advantage to be gained by those States whose possessions extended far beyond their settlements. The matter was, however, amicably and equitably settled by concessions, which made the exterior possessions the common property of the Confederation, to be divided into new States. When Mr. Jefferson on behalf of Virginia presented her deed of cession to the Confederation, he moved the appointment of a committee to draft a plan of government for all the Western territory. As chairman of this committee, he reported an ordinance for the government of "the territory, ceded already, or to be ceded by individual States to the United States," specifying that such territory extended from the thirty-first to the forty-seventh degree of north latitude. This included, in addition to the Northwestern Territory, what afterwards became the States of Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi. The fifth Article of this ordinance read as follows:

5. That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States,

otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

Congress acted on the plan April 19th. When the fifth proposition was reached Mr. Spaight of North Carolina moved that it be stricken out of the ordinance, the motion being seconded by Mr. Read of South Carolina. The question was put in this form: "Shall the words moved to be stricken out stand?" The vote as given by Mr. Greeley in *The American Conflict*, and his comments, follow:

New Hampshire.....	Mr. Foster.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Blanchard.....	ay		
Massachusetts.....	Mr. Gerry.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Partridge.....	ay		
Rhode Island.....	Mr. Ellery.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Howell.....	ay		
Connecticut.....	Mr. Sherman.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Wadsworth.....	ay		
New York.....	Mr. DeWitt.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Paine.....	ay		
New Jersey.....	Mr. Dick.....	ay	}	No vote. ¹
Pennsylvania.....	Mr. Mifflin.....	ay		
	Mr. Montgomery.....	ay	}	Ay.
	Mr. Hand.....	ay		
Maryland.....	Mr. Henry.....	no	}	No.
	Mr. Stone.....	no		
Virginia.....	Mr. Jefferson.....	ay	}	No.
	Mr. Hardy.....	no		
	Mr. Mercer.....	no		
North Carolina.....	Mr. Williamson.....	ay	}	Divided.
	Mr. Spaight.....	no		
South Carolina.....	Mr. Read.....	no	}	No.
	Mr. Beresford.....	no		

The votes of the members were *sixteen* for Mr. Jefferson's interdiction of Slavery to *seven* against it, and the States stood recorded *six* for it to *three* against it. But the Articles of Confederation re-

¹ By the Articles of Confederation, two or more delegates were required to be present to cast the vote of a State. New Jersey, therefore, failed to vote.

quired an affirmative vote of a majority of all the States to sustain a proposition; and thus the restriction failed through the absence of a member from New Jersey, rendering the vote of that State null for want of a quorum. Had Delaware been then represented, she might, and might not, have voted in the affirmative; but it is not probable that Georgia, had she been present, would have cast an affirmative vote. Humanly speaking, we may say that the accident—a most deplorable and fatal accident—of the absence of a member from New Jersey, prevented the adoption, at that time, of a proposition which would have confined Slavery in our country within the limits of the then existing States, and precluded all reasonable probability of subsequent contentions, collisions, and bloody strife touching its extension.

The Jeffersonian Ordinance, thus shorn of its strength—the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted—after undergoing some further amendments, was finally adopted, four days later: all the delegates but those from South Carolina voting in its favor.

Said Webster: "I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." This famous act was passed by the dying Congress of the Confederation sitting in New York while the convention at Philadelphia was framing the Constitution. A select committee, of which Nathan Dane of Massachusetts was chairman, reported July 11th an ordinance for the government of the territories of the United States northwest of the Ohio, saying nothing of the territories south, included in the Jefferson Ordinance of 1784—either because they had not yet been ceded, or to avoid Southern opposition to the adoption of the act under consideration, the last article of which read as follows:

Art. 6. There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: provided always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor, or service, as aforesaid.

The entire ordinance was adopted July 13th by the unanimous votes of the States then represented in Congress, which included the Carolinas and Georgia. Mr. Robert Yates of New York recorded the only "No," which was overcome by the "Ay" of his two colleagues. Thus it was thought that Slavery was forever barred from the Northwestern Territory, now forming the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota.

When the convention for framing a Federal Constitution assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1787, "It was the first time in the history of the world that an assemblage of men had been called together, with delegated power from the people, to prepare an instrument which was to establish a Government, and to be the source and test of all their laws."¹

The Confederation and its Articles had proved unsuccessful, and the fruits of Independence were ungathered. States discriminated against each other and baffled the attempts at general legislation by Congress. It is almost a matter for wonderment, then, that jealousies and pride were overcome, and a gathering of delegates secured from a quorum of the States to amend the Articles of Confederation, or to form a constitution for a government that could govern. Among the eminent members were: George Washington, James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and George Mason from Virginia; Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry from Massachusetts; Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth from Connecticut; Alexander Hamilton and Robert Yates from New York; Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris from Pennsylvania; John Dickinson and George Read from Delaware; Luther Martin and Daniel Carroll from Maryland; William Blount, Hugh Williamson, and Richard Dobbs Spaight from North Carolina; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, J. Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, and Pierce Butler from South Carolina; Abraham Baldwin from Georgia; John Langdon from New Hampshire, and Jonathan Dayton from New Jersey.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were absent as ambassadors in London and Paris, while Samuel Adams, George

¹ Livermore's *An Historical Research*, p. 62.

Clinton, and Patrick Henry, the latter a delegate from Virginia, did not participate in the proceedings of the convention, neither did ten other delegates; and thirteen of those who did attend refused to sign the Constitution. Rhode Island sent no delegates to the convention, and was the last of the original thirteen States to ratify the Constitution. On the motion of Franklin, who declined the chair on account of the increasing infirmities of his eighty-one years, George Washington was unanimously elected President. In the completed and ratified Constitution the words "slave" or "slavery" do not appear, and yet in the following three clauses is found reference to and recognition of both "person" and "power."

Art. I., Sect. 2. . . . Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. . . .

Art. I., Sect. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person. . . .

Art. IV., Sect. 2. . . . No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

In the framing and adoption of these portions of the Constitution the subject of Slavery was most vigorously discussed, and while the sentiment against Slavery far outweighed that for it, nevertheless the Carolinas and Georgia compelled both surrender and compromise in accordance with their wishes. No formal or official record of the proceedings were taken, but the *Madison Papers* and Elliott's *Debates* furnish us plenty of material for following the debate, which was most earnest and at times acrimonious. But the Slave Power prevailed and

succeeded in winning the votes of New England. The Constitution was adopted without containing a single reference to slaves or Slavery, but with unmistakable language regarding both.

The debate was then carried to the States, where the matter of ratification extended over a period of nearly three years, the Slavery question being still prominent. In the Virginia Convention we find Patrick Henry at first opposing ratification, though his opposition subsequently ceased. In the South Carolina Convention, though divided in opinion, a majority were well satisfied with the victory, and the general sentiment can be found in the following words of Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney:

You have so frequently heard my sentiments on this subject, that I need not now repeat them. It was alleged by some of the members who opposed an unlimited importation, that slaves increased the weakness of any State who admitted them; that they were a dangerous species of property, which an invading enemy could easily turn against ourselves and the neighboring States; and that, as we were allowed a representation for them in the House of Representatives, our influence in government would be increased in proportion as we were less able to defend ourselves. "Show some period," said the members from the Eastern States, "when it may be in our power to put a stop, if we please, to the importation of this weakness, and we will endeavor, for your convenience, to restrain the religious and political prejudices of our people on this subject." The Middle States and Virginia made us no such proposition: they were for an immediate and total prohibition. We endeavored to obviate the objections that were made, in the best manner we could, and assigned reasons for our insisting on the importation; which there is no occasion to repeat, as they must occur to every gentleman in the House. A Committee of the States was appointed, in order to accommodate this matter; and, after a great deal of difficulty, it was settled on the footing recited in the Constitution.

By this settlement, we have secured an unlimited importation of negroes for twenty years. Nor is it declared that the importation shall be then stopped; it may be continued. We have a security that the General Government can never emancipate them; for no such authority is granted: and it is admitted, on all hands, that the

General Government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several States. We have obtained a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge; which is a right we had not before. In short, considering all circumstances, we have made the best terms for the security of this species of property it was in our power to make. We would have made better, if we could; but, on the whole, I do not think them bad.¹

New Hampshire was the ninth State to ratify, making the necessary number to give the Constitution life.

Before Rhode Island had decided to join the Union, in 1790, the new Government was in full operation. Even before Washington, the unanimously elected first President, was inaugurated, the first Congress was at work, the House having begun the consideration of legislation.

It is well to note how thoroughly entrenched was the Slave Power when we became a union of States. Every leading statesman was against the institution and continuance of Slavery; the great majority of the people were against it, and yet, in spite of the declaration, in 1776, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," our Constitution not only gave protection to Slavery, but cut off all authority for future interference or national emancipation. Even any prohibition of the slave trade was made impossible for at least twenty years. South Carolina aided by Georgia (North Carolina being passive) "held up" her eleven sister States with the threat, "No slave trade—no union," and the surrender was complete. It was not enough that the slave was counted as three fifths of a man in representation, and yet to be only a *thing* in name. It was not enough that the period for non-interference in the foreign slave trade should be extended twenty years. There was still to be exacted a fugitive clause to enable the slave catcher to hunt his property when and where he would. Well might Gen. Pinckney, in speaking of the results gained, most complacently remark, "On the whole I do not think them bad."

¹ Elliott's *Debates*, vol. iv., pp. 285, 286.

But of the reluctantly acquiescing New Englanders and their brethren in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware it must be said, that they thought Slavery would eventually die out in the South as importations ceased, or that at least the evil would be confined to the States to which they had surrendered for the sake of a "more complete Union." It seems hardly probable that the power to pass navigation laws by a majority instead of two thirds of both Houses of Congress was looked upon as recompense for the twenty years' clause. It was a concession the South might well grant after her own terms were secure. Says Rhodes in his admirable history :

A defence of the work of our constitutional fathers, including the slavery compromises, is hardly necessary. Their choice lay between achieving a union of the States with those provisions, and failing to accomplish any union at all. It is a tendency of the Anglo-Saxon race to take the expedient in politics when the absolute right cannot be had, and in following it the delegates acted wisely.

Another most important contention during the Constitutional Convention was decided in a way to give advantage for many years to the Slave Power, though it was not a sectional question in the convention. It is not necessary to give the debate over the question of representation by the small States and large States. Suffice it to say that the former preserved their dignity and weight in council by equal representation in the Senate, while the people are represented in proportion to population in the House of Representatives. This was the first compromise of the Constitution, and it gave the Slave Power a hold that proved impossible to overcome for over half a century. In fact, it was never overcome till the South by her own act of secession brought the opportunity for emancipation.

The question of States' rights became from the first a burning one, and has ever since continued, more or less, an element of political difference. There should also be mentioned the now famous articles of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, all signed "Publius," which in earnest exposition and advocacy of the

Constitution no doubt contributed much to ratification in New York and other States; and the *Federalist*, containing the series of articles, is numbered among our greatest historical works.

It early became necessary for the first Congress to take action upon the Slavery question. In the first place the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories contained in the Ordinance of '87 was re-enacted without a single voice in dissent. Then in 1790, during the second session, the petitions of Quakers against the slave trade precipitated most important action. The debate upon the question was spirited, and would perhaps have been serious had not Madison come to the rescue. The final result was a resolution, by the House, that Congress had no power to interfere, nor could the prohibition of the slave trade occur until 1808. This interpretation of the Constitution held good ever afterwards, though it was by no means in the form of legislation.

In December, 1789, immediately after ratifying the Federal Constitution, North Carolina ceded her western territory to the Union, but in so doing demanded that Congress assent to the following condition :

Provided always, that no regulation made, or to be made, by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves.

In April, 1802, Georgia ceded her outlying territories, now forming the States of Alabama and Mississippi, imposing the following condition :

Fifthly. That the territory thus ceded shall become a State, and be admitted into the Union as soon as it shall contain sixty thousand inhabitants, or at an earlier period, if Congress shall think it expedient, on the same conditions and restrictions, with the same privileges, and in the same manner, as is provided in the ordinance of Congress of the 13th day of July, 1787, for the government of the western territory, of the United States; which ordinance shall, in all its parts, extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession, the *Article only excepted which forbids Slavery*.

Thus it will be seen that through the defeat of the Slavery clause in Mr. Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, the question early

became a sectional one without, however, any premeditated design to that effect.

The year following, 1803, when Ohio was admitted into the Union, the remainder of the Northwest Territory became Indiana Territory, having as its Governor William Henry Harrison, afterwards President of the United States. The emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky, and other Slave States in this new Northwest region, seeing the need of additional labor, and being accustomed to the employment of slaves, at once memorialized Congress for a temporary suspension of the sixth Article of the Ordinance of '87, whereby Slavery was expressly prohibited. No action was taken, however, till 1806, when, the people of Indiana Territory persisting in their supplication that slave labor be allowed for a limited period, the matter was brought before the Senate, and for the first time a remonstrance of citizens was brought against the measure. The Senate referred the subject to a committee of three, whose chairman, Jesse Franklin of North Carolina, reported as follows:

Your Committee, after duly considering the matter, respectfully submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth article of compact for the government of the Territories of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.

This was the last attempt to introduce Slavery into the Northwest.

The consideration of legislation relating to fugitive slaves was begun in 1792, and the first Fugitive Slave law was enacted early the following year. This was passed in the Senate without a dissenting voice, and with only seven members of the House recording their votes against it. The Slave Power was now daily becoming more arrogant and bold. Petitions, whether from bodies of whites or blacks, were both scorned, and for the most part thrown aside without consideration of any kind. No further act, however, regarding fugitive slaves was enacted until the Compromise Act of 1850, though many ineffectual attempts were made.

Although Washington had been the unanimous choice of both the people and the Electoral College, there were, nevertheless, even before his election, two distinct and widely diverging political parties. These were known by various names, but perhaps the most common were the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Thomas Jefferson was made Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Knox, Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. It soon transpired that Washington's Cabinet contained the leaders of the opposing factions. Hamilton at once was looked upon as the head of the Federalist party, while Jefferson assumed the leadership of the Anti-Federalists. Hamilton, although born in the West Indies, was eligible to the Presidency, but we must certainly release him from any idea of selfishness in his convictions and consequent actions. Jefferson, on the other hand, was a man of large attainments and equally large ambitions, was thoroughly a man of the people, and in entire harmony with the spirit of the times, both abroad and at home. He had been Minister to France for several years, and naturally became imbued with the revolutionary and democratic spirit of the commune. It would, however, be wrong to say that Jefferson was the father of the Democratic party, although the Democrats of the past generation have most persistently claimed him as their parent. Jefferson stood for many things which have always been foreign to the Democratic party. He loved his country as no other man could love it next to Washington. He was an uncompromising Protectionist, and believed in heeding the wishes of the majority, even though they might be to some extent opposed to his own convictions and inclinations. This will be shown later as we come to the accession of Louisiana. Hamilton, having reached the very acme of influence and power in finance and statesmanship, with no further personal ambitions, retained his exceedingly conservative ideas and became what one would now call the leader of the aristocrats. There is no doubt that Washington depended upon him to a very considerable extent, and was guided more largely by his counsel than that of any other. The idea that Hamilton had monarchical tendencies

at all, and thought, if not wished and conspired, to establish such a government, will become dissipated as historians analyze the meaning of those early events. Not only had Hamilton been a most conspicuous figure during the War of the Revolution, giving his personal services, and in many instances directly or indirectly furnishing the means to carry on the war, but he was foremost during the Confederation in paving the way for the Union and the Constitution. It was he who, when New York hesitated about ratification, went into the convention, and almost alone, by his powers of eloquence and persuasion, converted his opponents, and, assisted to some extent by Jay and Livingston, carried the day. Between fifty and sixty of the eighty-five *Federalist* papers were from the pen of Hamilton.¹ Of his career as Secretary of the Treasury no higher eulogy can be given than the words of Webster at a public dinner in New York, March 10, 1831, when he said:

Hamilton smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprang upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton.

The country's debt to Hamilton is greater than to any other adopted citizen, and will nearly, if not quite, equal that to any one.

Washington's second election, like the first, was unanimous both at the polls and in the Electoral College, although the opposition to the Federal party was becoming more and more intense. No doubt he could have been elected again for a third term had he consented to become a candidate, although it is doubtful whether the vote would have been unanimous. He very wisely decided, however, to retire at the end of his second term, and Jefferson and Adams were the logical competitors for the succession.

¹ See *Introduction to the "Federalist,"* edited by H. C. Lodge.

Jefferson left the Cabinet in 1794, in order to become a candidate against Adams for the Presidency in 1796. Neither was nominated for the office by any legislature or meeting of citizens, but were accepted without question as the candidates of the two now distinct Federal and Republican parties. As the choice of Washington, Adams of course had the advantage from the beginning: in fact it is quite probable that without the emphatic endorsement of Washington he would have been defeated. He also had the advantage of the Federal office-holders, who were very active in his behalf. This was the first presidential contest in which there were two opposing candidates for the office, and no succeeding campaign has equalled it in acrimony and attempt at defamation of character. The result was exceedingly close, Adams having seventy-one votes in the Electoral College to sixty-eight for Jefferson. Party lines were most strictly drawn, the so-called Republicans rallying around the standard of Jefferson, while the Federalists supported Adams.

Reference must now be made to the Alien and Sedition laws, which were passed during the administration of Adams. From the beginning, the two parties differed as much concerning our foreign policy as regarding the construction of the Constitution. Washington had favored, and for the most part adopted, a pacific policy towards other nations, standing aloof from all controversy, and insisting upon strict neutrality. It was the purpose of Adams to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. He retained Timothy Pickering as Secretary of State, Oliver Wolcott as Secretary of the Treasury, James McHenry as Secretary of War, and Charles Lee as Attorney-General. Charles C. Pinckney was sent to Paris to succeed Monroe, but was insulted by the French Government. Adams then appointed John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Pinckney as a commission for the purpose of bringing France to terms, but these men accomplished nothing, and finally left Paris. Talleyrand had sent secret messengers to confer with the commissioners, who made insulting and outrageous demands. Adams sent to Congress in April, 1798, the despatches of the commissioners, but the names of the French messengers were

not given, being designated by the letters X, Y, Z. It looked for a time as if war was imminent. Washington was given the command of the newly organized army, being succeeded the following year by Hamilton; but when France saw the preparations which America was making, different tactics were at once adopted. A new commission was sent to France, and friendly relations were re-established. The X, Y, Z, matter for a time united both parties, and this was taken advantage of by the Federalists, who insisted upon severe laws to control all opposition of those in sympathy with foreign governments. This resulted in the passage of the so-called Alien and Sedition laws in the summer of 1798. The first extended the necessary residence for naturalization to fourteen years instead of five, and required five years' previous declaration of intention to become a citizen, instead of three; the second authorized the President to expel from the country all such aliens as he might consider dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or might suspect to be concerned in treasonable or secret machinations; the third provided that whenever any foreign nation declared war against, or invaded the United States, all resident aliens, natives, or citizens of the hostile nation might be arrested and secured or removed. The Sedition act provided for the punishment of all persons who opposed the laws or hindered officers in their enforcement. It also made punishable by a fine of \$2000 and imprisonment for two years those who were guilty of writing or aiding in publishing anything against the President or Congress. They were, of course, intolerable. Hamilton protested in vain against them as a political blunder, and his predictions were verified. The acts were practically ineffectual, being repealed or dying by limitation. They were, however, the cause of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, and of the overthrow and death of the Federal party. These so-called Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, which were transmitted to the several other State legislatures for their consideration and which were severely condemned, are so important as defining what may be called the growing States' rights sentiment that they are produced in full as follows:

KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.

REAFFIRMED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1856.

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1798.

1. *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government, but that, by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of Amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force: That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party: That the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final *judge* of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its power; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of the nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; therefore, also the same act of Congress, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, and entitled, "An act in addition to the act entitled 'an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States,'" as also the act passed by them on the 27th of June, 1798, entitled "an act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States" (and all other their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than

those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively, to the respective States, each within its own territory.

3. That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or to the people: That thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which cannot be separated from their use should be tolerated rather than the use be destroyed; and thus, also, they guarded all abridgment by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of the citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And that, in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, insomuch that whatever violates either throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals: That therefore the act of Congress of the United States, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

4. That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has

been delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the 22d day of June, 1798, entitled, "An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

5. That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared, "that the *migration* or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the said act concerning aliens; that a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

6. That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth, on his failure to obey the simple *order* of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act, entitled "An act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that another having provided "that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defence, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the

Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force. That transferring the power of judging any person, who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior"; and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the General Government who already possesses all the executive and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

7. That the construction applied by the General Government (as is evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution. That words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; that the proceedings of the General Government, under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of great tranquillity, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

8. That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective houses, and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

9. *Lastly*, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be, and is hereby, authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth considers union for specified national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; that faithful to that compact according to the plain in-

tent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe that to take from the States all the powers of self-government, and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special obligations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States. And that therefore this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, tamely to submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the General Government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes, and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge, and jury, whose *suspitions* may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his office the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States, being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the power of a majority of Congress to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the legislatures, judges, governors, and counsellors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views, or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Republican Governments, and new pretexs for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion, were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that

confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the Government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the Government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the General Government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States, and consolidating them in the hands of the General Government with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made Federal), but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made, not with their consent, but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in

cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, DECEMBER, 1798.

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State against every aggression, either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the Government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

2. That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and that, for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

3. That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

4. That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the States, by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which

would be to transform the present Republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best a mixed monarchy.

5. That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the "Alien and Sedition acts" passed at the last session of Congress, the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exercises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto—a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

6. That this State, having by its convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights, "the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States," and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition—having, with other States, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was in due time annexed to the Constitution—it would mark a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy if an indifference were shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

7. That the good people of this Commonwealth having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other States, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions in the other States, in confidence that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operat-

ing with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

8. That the Governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that the same may be communicated to the Legislature thereof, and that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.

Here we find one error provoking another. The Alien and Sedition laws were uncalled for, and no doubt exceeded the powers of Congress no matter how broadly the Constitution was construed. On the other hand, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions inaugurated or emphasized the States' rights doctrine, which was the basis of the Hartford Convention of 1814, Nullification in 1832, and rebellion in 1861. James Madison had now become a follower of Jefferson, and at his request framed the Virginia resolutions, those of Kentucky having been framed by Jefferson himself. The resolutions were as pernicious as were the laws which provoked them, and the development of the doctrine of States' rights and State sovereignty coincident with the rise of the Slave Power became the principal feature of our subsequent national history for more than half a century.

Under the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the campaign of 1800 was a most spirited one. The Federalists still held both Congressional branches, and though they did not formally name any candidate for President, yet Adams and Charles C. Pinckney were generally accepted as the candidates for President and Vice-President, respectively. Jefferson was the only one thought of by the Republicans, and Aaron Burr was selected as the candidate for Vice-President.

It was again a contest in the sixteen States between Adams and Jefferson, and the battle of 1796 was fought over again, even more fiercely than in the first instance. The result was that the same number of votes in the Electoral College, namely, seventy-three, were cast for both Jefferson and Burr, while Adams and Pinckney received sixty-five and sixty-four respectively. The election was consequently thrown into the

House of Representatives, where the Federalists were in the majority, and were compelled to choose between the candidates of their opponents. The balloting continued for several days, and it seemed as if no election would take place. Here it was that Aaron Burr disclosed his true character. Voted for by the people as a candidate for Vice-President, he now, by the curious result, began to work to defeat Jefferson for the Presidency. He attempted the most infamous methods to bring about his desires, but they were happily defeated, largely by the action of Hamilton, who, though he had been hostile for many years to Jefferson and his aspirations, now worked for him most heartily, or rather against Burr, and to the end that he finally met his death at the hands of Burr in the famous duel in which his own pistol was aimed into the air. Jefferson was elected and inaugurated on the 4th of March with most simple ceremonies and in simple garb. Both he and Adams lived for more than a quarter of a century, and time gradually softened their enmity, which was succeeded by a friendly correspondence, and it was a most singular coincidence that both died upon the same day, the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, July 4, 1826. One act of Adams should be emphasized, namely, his appointment of John Marshall of Virginia to the office of Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, where for thirty-five years he sustained the Union in his interpretation of the Constitution against the assaults of individuals and States.

In 1793, Eli Whitney, a native of Connecticut, but at the time residing in Georgia, gave to the country his wonderful invention of the cotton-gin, or, as it was first called, the saw-gin, which revolutionized the cleansing of cotton from its seed. By this new machine a slave who had heretofore only been able to cleanse about one pound a day was at once enabled to cleanse from fifty to one hundred pounds; and, as the machine was improved and perfected, was able to cleanse the enormous amount of one thousand pounds per day. At about the same time inventions and improvements of machinery abroad for the manufacture of cotton gave a demand much in keeping with any possibilities of production.

Thus entirely apart from legislation or lack of legislation

there was suddenly instituted a demand for slave labor equal to the supply, and it was not long before more than one-half of the negro slaves in the country were engaged in the culture of cotton alone. From 1791 to 1860 the production of cotton increased more than one thousand fold, and it may well be said that cotton was one of the principal causes of the continuation and perpetuation of the institution of Slavery.

Another event which had no little influence upon the institution and spread of Slavery was the accession of Louisiana, which can be referred to briefly at this point.

The necessity for a seaport as an outlet for the Northwestern Territory was at once apparent. That region drained by the Mississippi, and owned by the French, was called Louisiana. The extent of the territory was from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, comprising 864,931 square miles and what is now Arkansas, Indian Territory, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, nearly the whole of Louisiana, greater parts of Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, and Wyoming, and parts of Colorado and Oklahoma. France had ceded the entire possession to Spain in 1762, but in 1802 Napoleon Bonaparte succeeded in having Louisiana, almost without consideration, returned to France. But Napoleon and the French did not take possession of their returned acquisition. They were too busy with preparations for war nearer home.

As showing the feeling of the country toward the situation, reflected by the views of the President, the following is quoted from a letter of President Jefferson to Mr. Livingston, our Minister at Paris, under date of April 18, 1802:

The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France, works most sorely on the United States. On this subject, the Secretary of State has written to you fully, yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration, France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could have any conflict of rights, and the most points of a communion of interests. From these causes, we have ever looked to her as our *natural friend*, as one with which

we could never have an occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore, we viewed as our own—her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market; and, from its fertility, it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific dispositions, her feeble state, would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would be hardly felt by us, and it would not, perhaps, be very long before some circumstances might arise, which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, and our character, which, though quiet and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth; these circumstances render it impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends, when they meet in so irritable a position. They, as well as we, must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground: and, having formed and connected together a power which may render re-enforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purpose of the United British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us, as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect.¹

¹ *Jefferson's Works*, vol. iv., p. 431.

While there is no doubt that Mr. Jefferson entertained strong doubts in his own mind as to the constitutionality of our acquirement of this territory, yet he was fully convinced of not only the advantage, but the necessity of our possessing New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi in particular, and the rest of the territory in general. The time was most opportune. Napoleon could not well protect it on the eve of conflict with Great Britain, and the money which we could afford to give would be a great help to him in his preparations for war. It is probable that the Federalists, though opposed to the accession, taunted Jefferson to action, and James Monroe was sent to Paris to join Livingston in negotiations for its purchase. Although they had no authority to buy more than New Orleans, they at once appreciated the benefits to the United States of buying the whole territory. A treaty was easily arranged and Louisiana was ceded to the United States for about \$15,000,000. Napoleon promptly ratified the treaty for France, and Jefferson laid the matter before Congress. Here it was that the positions of the two parties upon the construction of the Constitution seemed to change entirely. At first the Federalists were known as the loose or broad constructionists while the anti-Federalists were known as the strict constructionists. Hamilton as the leader of the Federalists had emphasized what he termed the "implied powers of the Constitution." That is, whatever the Constitution authorized, it implied the power to adopt the necessary means. This doctrine gained in favor and has remained in force to the present time.

But the Federalists, who were known as the loose or broad constructionists, opposed the accession of Louisiana on constitutional grounds, while the anti-Federalists in control of the government favored the annexation. The treaty was ratified and Louisiana became a part of the United States on the 30th of April, 1803.

There is no testimony to the effect that the question of Slavery had any particular influence upon the Louisiana purchase; at the same time it added almost unbounded slave territory to our country. Slavery was found in almost every part.

It was expressly stipulated that the "inhabitants" of Louisiana "should be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States. And, in the meantime, they should be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, *property*, and the religion which they professed."

Says Greeley in his *American Conflict* :

A just—no, even a literal construction of this provision, giving to the word "inhabitants" its natural and full signification—might have secured liberty, with the enjoyment of all the "rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States," to the colored as well as the white Louisianians of that day. But it is hardly supposable that this was really intended by the treacherous murderer of Toussaint, just signally baffled in his formidable attempt to re-enslave the freedmen of Hayti. It is very certain that this construction was never put in practice, but that those who had been slaves under Spanish and French rule in Louisiana remained so under the flag of our country, dying in bondage unless especially emancipated, and leaving their children the sole inheritance of their sad condition; and that slaveholders, whether in fact or in purpose only, eagerly hastened to our new purchase, and rapidly covered its most inviting localities with cotton-fields and slave-huts. The day that saw Louisiana transferred to our Union is one of woeful memory to the enslaved children of unhappy Africa.

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the oldest of the many such societies formed during the early days of the Republic, was formed in 1744, and was resuscitated immediately after the close of the war. Its name, "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, Unlawfully Held in Bondage," indicated its purpose. Its first president was John Baldwin, and for a time its operations were carried on with considerable success, although, of course, these were diverted during the war.

In 1787 in revising its constitution it took the name of "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,

the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race." Benjamin Franklin was then made its president, and Benjamin Rush, its secretary. From that time it enjoyed a long and more or less successful career, which will be considered later on. Other Abolition societies were known as the New York Manumission Society, founded in 1785, of which John Jay was the first president, and Alexander Hamilton the second. In 1786 a society was formed in Rhode Island; in 1789, in Maryland; in 1790, in Connecticut; in 1791, in Virginia, and in 1792, in New Jersey. As an indication of the work attempted by these societies, an extract from a single memorial to Congress is given, it being the first petition by the Pennsylvania Society to the first Congress sitting at Philadelphia. Among other things it asked:

that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration to liberty of those unhappy men who, alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amid the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency of character from the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.

But Congress decided that it had no power to abolish Slavery in those States where it existed. While the influence of these societies upon the Slavery evil in general seemed to have no effect, yet we cannot doubt that they were largely instrumental in bringing about the abolishing of Slavery by and in all the so-called Northern States as follows: Vermont, in 1777; Massachusetts, in 1780; Pennsylvania, in 1780; New Hampshire, in 1783; Rhode Island, in 1784; Connecticut, in 1784; New York, in 1799; and New Jersey, in 1804. While some of these States provided for gradual emancipation, covering in some cases a long period of years, yet it can be said that Slavery was practically abolished in every one of them by the year 1804.

It will be remembered that the Constitution extended the period under which slaves could be imported until the year 1808, and President Jefferson in his message to Congress, in December, 1806, said:

I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe.

A bill was framed the following year, which provided for the prohibition of slave importation after January 1, 1808. This bill immediately passed the Senate, and although it was made subject to considerable debate in the House, it was nevertheless passed with only five votes recorded against it.

It had been expected by the early fathers, in fact by all who had so deeply interested themselves in the subject, that the abolishing of the foreign slave trade would be accompanied by the rapid decline of Slavery itself, or would at least arrest its further progress. This had been the case elsewhere, but it was not destined to be the case in the United States. On the contrary, the introduction of the cotton-gin, and the many new mechanical devices abroad for the manufacture of cotton cloth, coupled with the accession of Louisiana, which practically more than doubled our slave territory, gave an impetus to the demand for slaves such as the world had not before known.

The various Abolition societies, whose work seems to have been successful in freeing our negroes of the North, now became dormant, and to a greater or less degree ceased entirely. But the foreign slave trade gave way to a greater, if not a baser slave trade at home. The South became literally hungry for slaves, and they found Virginia and Maryland, and even other Northern States ready to dispose of their negro laborers at a prevailing market price. Instead, then, of the great evil dis-

appearing, as the founders of the Republic had believed it would do at the end of the twenty years' period, we find it growing at an alarming extent in one portion of our country, while gradually disappearing from another. Moreover, slave buying was now augmented by slave breeding, which became deliberate and systematic, and almost universal below Mason and Dixon's line. Thus early in the history of our nation, the slave market became a scene of degradation and inhumanity, and although the system was afterwards largely exceeded in every one of its growing aspects, yet already the seed was being sown which must eventually lead to the protestations of all liberty-loving people and adherents of humanity in any form.

Those States which had ratified the Constitution under protests and States' plans for amendments came to a satisfactory agreement upon December 15, 1791, when ten amendments were declared in force. These were intended and have acted as restrictions on the National Government, and in no way binding individual action on the part of the States. On January 8, 1798, the Eleventh Amendment was declared in force, referring to the judicial power of the United States. The election of 1800 showed that it would be possible for all presidential elections to result in a tie, and provision was made to avoid this by the Twelfth Amendment, which was declared in force September 25, 1804. No further amendments were added until after the Civil War in 1865.

Jefferson was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1804, receiving 162 electoral votes to fourteen for Charles C. Pinckney, the Federal candidate. The power of the Federalists was waning everywhere, and only two out of seventeen States, Connecticut and Delaware, gave their entire electoral votes to the Federal candidate. Even in Massachusetts Jefferson received a majority of 3533.

Besides the accession of Louisiana, elsewhere referred to, there were several other very important events during Jefferson's two terms. One was the sending of Lewis and Clark in 1803 to explore the Far West. Following the Missouri to its head, they forged on until they reached the Columbia River

at its mouth. Their journey to the Pacific and back consumed two years' time, and although immediately unproductive, the results were ultimately of great advantage to the nation. In 1807, Robert Fulton succeeded with the first steamboat experiment, which was destined to bring about such wonderful changes in water transportation.

The wars abroad, and the impressment of our seamen, continued to harass our Congress and menace our peace. The culmination of our patience was reached in 1807, when the American frigate *Chesapeake* was overpowered by the British frigate *Leopard* for the purpose of impressing seamen, claimed to be deserters from the British service. The British Orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of the French Emperor soon brought matters to a crisis.

At the close of 1807 Congress passed the Embargo act, closing all our ports to commerce. This act was enforced for over a year, and worked great hardship to our trade. It was repealed early in 1809, and the Non-Intercourse act was passed, making illegal all commerce with Great Britain and France, but allowing trade with the rest of the world.

Jefferson had been succeeded by James Madison, who was elected by a large majority, Charles C. Pinckney again being the defeated candidate of the Federalists. The latter party had regained all the New England States, except Vermont, and it was here that the chief power of the Federalists lay during the remainder of that party's life. Madison retained Albert Gallatin (Jefferson's famous Secretary of the Treasury), and James Monroe became Secretary of State in 1811.

Foreign relations now became so aggravated by the infamous policies, both of the British and the French, that war was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812. Two days before, the English Ministry announced that the Orders in Council had been revoked, and a few days later they were actually withdrawn. Had it been possible to convey this intelligence to the United States immediately, as would now be the case by cable, it is quite possible that the War of 1812 would have been prevented.

A new generation of statesmen were now entering upon the

scene of our national politics. Henry Clay of Kentucky, but thirty-four years of age, was chosen Speaker of the House in 1811; John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, not yet thirty years of age, was found on the floor of the House, while Daniel Webster entered Congress in 1813. It would seem that the war, which lasted over two years, had decided nothing,—at the same time it was productive of most important results. We had for one thing showed our prowess on the water, and there was no longer fear of the impressment of our sailors.

The war had been opposed from the beginning by New England, and it was this feeling which led to the so-called Hartford Convention of 1814. Here delegates met from all the New England States, and although they have been accused of being on the point of secession, and of plotting to establish a separate government, still there has been no evidence to show that anything but protests and remonstrances were indulged in, and resolutions passed somewhat similar to those of 1798 in Kentucky and Virginia. News of the Treaty of Ghent, however, came before the deliberations of the convention were at an end, and as the causes for which the convention had assembled no longer existed, the affair became but an incident in our history. It has, however, served effectively several times as a foundation for a claim, which Southerners have used with the taunt that New England was at one time upon the verge of seceding from the Union in defence of her own rights and privileges. In spite, however, of the difference regarding the war, it served to unite us in many ways. The New Englander was quite as proud as his fellow-countrymen of our victories upon the water, and joined with every other portion of the country in gratitude and thanksgiving for the successful outcome of the second war with Great Britain.

Madison had been re-elected in 1812, the Federalists' strength still being confined mostly in New England, joined by the States of New York and New Jersey.

Congress had refused in 1811 to recharter the United States Bank, established in 1791 through the efforts of Hamilton. This resulted in the establishment of numerous State banks, whose liability was not only in many cases doubtful but

absolutely valueless. This condition of affairs resulted in a new United States Bank being established in 1816, with a charter for twenty years, and a capital of \$35,000,000, one fifth of which was to be taken by the United States.

James Monroe was elected in 1816, receiving the electoral votes of every State but three. Rufus King of New York, who was the candidate of the Federalists, was really the last candidate which that party presented. In 1820 Monroe was re-elected by every electoral vote but one. This one vote was cast by a New Hampshire man, who gave as his reason that he was not willing that any other President but Washington should have the honor of a unanimous electoral vote. It may be said that during the administration of Monroe we had but one political party, still called the Republican party, although the expiring Federalists took pleasure in sometimes calling their now overwhelmingly successful opponents Democrats.

Monroe had for his Secretary of State John Quincy Adams; for Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford; for Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun; and for Attorney-General, William Wirt. The Republicans had now become broad constructionists of the Constitution, and, so far as commercial and all exterior conditions were concerned, it was a period of good feeling throughout the land. At the same time it was during this administration of Monroe's that vast questions came to the fore, and most momentous decisions were made.

The Tariff question had early been discussed by the fathers of the Republic, in fact it was a need of the power to impose duties upon importations that formed one of the prime causes for the union of the States. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the very first bill passed by the first Congress affecting the country at large was the act establishing a Protective Tariff, and signed by Washington, July 4, 1789. The preamble of this act states that it was for the encouragement and protection of manufactures. We had suffered quite enough before the Revolution from the policy of Great Britain in checking our industrial and mechanical aspirations, and keeping us a buying instead of a making people; but it was even worse during the Confederation.

Our ports were still free to the whole world, and our marts were filled with manufactures, mostly from Great Britain, which exacted from us every dollar and piece of gold that we could rake and scrape together. With the consummation of the Constitution, and a union of the States, and the enactment of a Tariff law, both for revenue and Protection, we began to be an industrial nation, destined within a century to excel every other nation on earth.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe all had occasion in their several messages to congratulate the country upon the splendid advance we had made under our fiscal policy, and all endorsed the continuation of such a policy for the future.

While the Embargo act was in no sense a Tariff measure, and while on the whole it was very detrimental to our trade, it was at least productive of one good result: it necessarily made us our own manufacturers, and gave great impetus to new and diversified industries, as we began to see and realize that we could manufacture for ourselves, and that we could do our own work.

During the War of 1812 the duties were doubled. This, together with the fact that all importations ceased for a time, gave further impetus to our great industrial advance. As the rates of the Tariff act of 1812 had been made double for the purpose of raising revenue for the war, it is not to be wondered at that lower rates should be subsequently adopted. It may be said that the Tariff of 1816 was intended to be fully protective, and Free-Traders are fond of saying "that as a Protective Tariff, it was a failure." It certainly was a failure, though not because of its protective features, but because of its lack of Protection. It must also be taken into consideration that new conditions prevailed; that the country was growing in every way; and England was now making her supreme effort to check our industries rather than lose one of her best foreign markets.

The consequence was that Great Britain, with a surplus of stock of all kinds, dumped it upon our markets regardless of price, bound if possible to crush out the infant American

industries. It was in 1816 that Brougham said in the House of Commons:

It is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence.

This commercial policy was carried out to the full, and our importations were far beyond our power of consumption. In the words of Niles:

It is notorious that great sums of money were expended by the British to destroy our flocks of sheep, that they might thereby ruin our manufactories. They bought up and immediately slaughtered great numbers of sheep; they bought our best machinery and sent it off to England, and hired our best mechanics and most skilful workmen to go to England, simply to get them out of this country, and to hinder and destroy our existing and prospective manufactures.

It is natural that there should be a period of industrial depression and disaster following such tactics. Of this period Horace Greeley says:

At the close of the second war with England, peace found this country dotted with furnaces and factories which had sprung up under the precarious shelter of embargo and war. These not yet firmly established found themselves suddenly exposed to a relentless and determined foreign competition. Great Britain poured her fabrics, far below cost, upon our markets in a perfect deluge. Our manufactures went down like grass before the mower, and our agriculture and the wages of labor speedily followed. Financial prostration was general, and the presence of debt was universal. In New England, fully one-fourth of the property went through the sheriff's mill, and the prostration was scarcely less general elsewhere. In Kentucky the presence of debt was simply intolerable. In New York, the leading merchants, in 1817, united in a memorial to Congress to save our commerce as well as our manufactures from utter ruin, by increasing the tariff duties.

It was only a short time after the passing of the first Tariff law that Alexander Hamilton was instructed by the House of Representatives to prepare and report a plan "For the encouragement and promotion of such manufactures as will tend to render the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military, supplies."

This report of Hamilton's, considered at the time most important, has been looked upon since, in the light of later days, as one of the greatest of our early papers. In 1810, Mr. Tench Coxe was instructed by the Government to prepare an estimate of our manufactures, and at that time they showed a total of \$127,694,602. This has always since continued to be the policy of Protectionists—to treat the subject of the Tariff from the basis of actual industrial conditions, to analyze the scope of our manufacturing power and agricultural production, and frame a law to meet the requirements. This contrasts most decidedly with the tactics of our Free-Traders and so-called "Tariff Reformers," whose preaching and practice have been based almost entirely upon theory, supposition, and hypothesis. In passing, it will be interesting to note that the so-called Protective Tariff law of 1816 was supported and defended by John C. Calhoun, and received fully as much support from the South as from the North; in fact, it is not apparent that up to that time the matter of Tariff was a sectional issue. In 1816, we find Daniel Webster an ardent Free-Trader and John C. Calhoun a staunch Protectionist.

Vermont was admitted to the Union March 4, 1791; Kentucky, June 1, 1792; Tennessee, June 1, 1796; Ohio, November 29, 1803; Louisiana, April 30, 1812; Indiana, December 11, 1816; Mississippi, December 10, 1817; Illinois, September 3, 1818. Many historians call attention to the fact that in the admission of these States, a free State and a slave State had been admitted about the same time, therefore preserving an equal balance in the Senate. This contention may be all very pretty in sentiment, but it will hardly be borne out in fact. When Rhode Island ratified the Constitution there were seven Northern States and six Southern States. These soon after could very properly be called seven free States and six slave

States. Vermont and Kentucky were admitted within a year of each other, still giving a majority of two free Senators. Tennessee was then admitted four years afterwards, making the number even. Six years after, Ohio was admitted, and for ten years the North had its majority of two. Louisiana was admitted in 1812, making the vote even for four years until 1816 and 1817, when Indiana and Mississippi were admitted, but Illinois was admitted the following year—1818,—and the Senate again had its majority of two in favor of freedom. In only ten years, then, out of the thirty from 1789 until 1820, did the South have an equal number of votes in the Senate with the North, and it must be borne in mind that at the outset of the Missouri controversy the Senate had two Northern, or free, votes to the good, and this, too, without the vote of the State of Delaware.

CHAPTER II.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—EARLY REPUBLICAN PARTY — THE TARIFF—NULLIFICATION.

AS early as 1818, the people of the Territory of Missouri petitioned Congress for admission into the Union as a State. Nothing, however, was done until the following year, when the bill, which had been considered in committee, was taken up by the House in Committee of the Whole, and several amendments were adopted, the principal and most important being the following, introduced by Gen. James Tallmadge, of Dutchess County, New York:

And Provided, That the introduction of Slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years.

The portion of the amendment which precedes and includes the word "convicted" was adopted by 87 yeas to 76 nays. The remainder of the amendment was sustained by a vote of 82 yeas to 78 nays. The amended bill was ordered to a third reading by 98 yeas to 56 nays, was passed and sent to the Senate, where the Slavery restriction was rejected by a vote of 22 to 16, and the bill as amended was passed without division. It is well to call attention to the vote in the Senate. The amendment was rejected by the entire Southern vote, aided by one Senator from Massachusetts, one from Pennsylvania, two from Illinois, and two from Delaware. Had the free States voted for the amendment, and the slave States, includ-

ing Delaware, voted against it, the bill would have contained the Slavery restriction. The House insisted on the amendment, and the Senate sent it back with the restriction stricken out, and, there being no possibility of agreement, the bill failed for that session of Congress. At the same session a bill was passed organizing the Territory of Arkansas without any reference to Slavery. It consequently became a slave Territory and afterwards a slave State.

Now began a battle of opinions and discussions, not only in the Press but in the Pulpit, and on the Platform. Resolutions were passed throughout the North protesting against the admission of Missouri as a slave State, and for the first time the sectional division was emphasized and clearly outlined. Virginia and Maryland were now eager adherents to Slavery, and Delaware, while a free State in the sentiment of her people, was, nevertheless, a slave State by the votes of her Senators and Representatives. Early in 1820 the discussion was resumed in the Senate and was the absorbing topic throughout the country.

During the first twenty years of the century, and particularly during the decade following the prohibition of slave importation, the North had been unconscious of what had been going on below Mason and Dixon's line. The Embargo act, the War of 1812, the feeling which led to the calling of the Hartford Convention, the indignation aroused by the action of both the English and French regarding our seamen, and the discussion upon the Tariff, which question was coming to the front, all outweighed and overshadowed the Slavery question, so soon destined to be the overshadowing question itself. Thus the Slave Power and the system had both grown to alarming proportions, and suddenly the North awoke to the fact that the great evil had not died out, but had become its master.

President Monroe, and the majority of his Cabinet, as well as a large portion of government officials, were against the policy of Restriction; ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison, both alive and wielding powerful influence, were also against Restriction; Henry Clay, the now popular and powerful Speaker of the House, was also an adversary of Restriction. And now again we find the Slave Power rising with its threat

and with its might, and saying to the North: "Surrender or we will secede." It was the same spirit of 1787, which said: "Slavery or no Union."

Instead of a South Carolinian now being their greatest champion, we find him in the person of William Pinkney of Maryland. We quote from his great speech in the Senate, February 15, 1820, as follows:

Slavery, we are told in many a pamphlet, memorial, and speech, with which the press has lately groaned, is a foul blot on our otherwise immaculate reputation. Let this be conceded—yet you are no nearer than before to the conclusion that you possess power which may deal with other objects as effectually as with this. Slavery, we are further told, with some pomp of metaphor, is a canker at the root of all that is excellent in this republican empire, a pestilent disease that is snatching the youthful bloom from its cheek, prostrating its honor and withering its strength. Be it so—yet, if you have power to medicine to it in the way proposed, and in virtue of the diploma which you claim, you also have the power, in the distribution of your political alexipharmics, to present the deadliest drugs to every Territory that would become a State, and bid it drink or remain a colony forever. Slavery, we are told, is now "rolling onward with a rapid tide toward the boundless regions of the West," threatening to doom them to sterility and sorrow, unless some potent voice can say to it, Thus far shalt thou go and no farther. Slavery engenders pride and indolence in him who commands, and inflicts intellectual and moral degradation on him who serves. Slavery, in fine, is unchristian and abominable. Sir, I shall not stop to deny that Slavery is all this and more; but I shall not think myself the less authorized to deny that it is for *you* to stay the course of this dark torrent, by opposing to it a mound raised up by the labors of this portentous discretion on the domain of others; a mound which you cannot erect but through the instrumentality of a trespass of no ordinary kind—not the comparatively innocent trespass that beats down a few blades of grass, which the first kind sun or the next refreshing shower may cause to spring again—but that which levels with the ground the lordliest trees of the forest, and claims immortality for the destruction which it inflicts.

Neither Pinkney nor his associates attempted a defence of

Slavery. They were too designing, too crafty. Their contention was, that Missouri would be degraded, and would not be admitted on equal terms with her sister States.

While it is quite probable that the Slavery side of the question had the better speakers, yet Restriction had able defenders, notably John W. Taylor of New York, afterwards Speaker of the House, from whose speech of February 15, 1819, in support of the Tallmadge Amendments, we quote as follows:

Gentlemen have said the amendment is in violation of the treaty, because it impairs the property of a master in his slave. Is it then pretended that, notwithstanding the declaration in our bill of rights "that all men are created equal," one individual can have a vested property, not only in the flesh and blood of his fellow-men, but also in generations not yet called into existence? Can it be believed that the supreme legislature has no power to provide rules and regulations for meliorating the condition of future ages? And this, too, when the Constitution itself has vested in Congress full sovereignty, by authorizing the enactment of whatever law it may deem conducive to the welfare of the country? The sovereignty of Congress in relation to the States is limited by specific grants, but in regard to the Territories it is unlimited. Missouri was purchased with our money; and until incorporated into the family of States, it may be sold for money. Can it, then, be maintained that, though we have the power to dispose of the whole Territory, we have no right to provide against the further increase of Slavery within its limits? That, although we may change the political relations of its free citizens, by transferring their country to a foreign power, we cannot provide for the gradual abolition of Slavery within its limits, nor establish those civil regulations which naturally flow from self-evident truth? No, Sir; it cannot: the practice of nations, and the common sense of mankind have long since decided these questions.

Having proved, as I apprehend, our right to legislate in the manner proposed, I proceed to illustrate the propriety of exercising it. And here I might rest satisfied with reminding my opponents of their own declarations on the subject of Slavery. How often and how eloquently have they deplored its existence among them! What willingness, nay, what solicitude, have they not manifested to

be relieved from this burden! How have they wept over the unfortunate policy which first introduced slaves into this country! How have they disclaimed the guilt and shame of that original sin, and thrown it back upon their ancestors! I have with pleasure heard these avowals of regret, and confided in their sincerity; I have hoped to see its effects in the advancement of the cause of Humanity. Gentlemen have now an opportunity of putting their principles into practice. If they have tried Slavery and found it a curse—if they desire to dissipate the gloom with which it covers their land—I call upon them to exclude it from the Territory in question; plant not its seeds in this uncorrupt soil; let not our children, looking back to the proceedings of this day, say of them, as they have been constrained to speak of *their* fathers, “We wish their decision had been different; we regret the existence of this unfortunate population among us; but we found them here; we know not what to do with them; it is our misfortune; we must bear it with patience.”

History will record the decision of this day as exerting its influence for centuries to come over the population of half our continent. If we reject the amendment, and suffer this evil, now easily eradicated, to strike its roots so deep into the soil that it can never be removed, shall we not furnish some apology for doubting our sincerity when we deplore its existence? Shall we not expose ourselves to the same kind of censure which was pronounced by the Saviour of mankind on the Scribes and Pharisees, who builded the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, and said, if they had lived in the days of their fathers, they would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets, while they manifested a spirit which clearly proved them the legitimate descendants of those who killed the prophets, and thus filled up the measure of their fathers' iniquities?

But perhaps the best argument, and clearest light thrown upon the subject was the memorial from the inhabitants of Boston and vicinity, drafted by Daniel Webster, and signed by the best-known citizens of all parties. We produce the following extract :

Your memorialists were not without the hope that the time had at length arrived when the inconvenience and danger of this description of population had become apparent in all parts of this country and

in all parts of the civilized world. It might have been hoped that the new States themselves would have had such a view of their own permanent interests and prosperity as would have led them to prohibit its extension and increase. The wonderful growth and prosperity of the States north of the Ohio are unquestionably to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the consequences of the Ordinance of 1787; and few, indeed, are the occasions in the history of nations, in which so much can be done, by a single act, for the benefit of future generations, as was done by that Ordinance, and as may now be done by the Congress of the United States. We appeal to the justice and to the wisdom of the National Councils to prevent the further progress of a great and serious evil. We appeal to those who look forward to the remote consequences of their measures, and who cannot balance a temporary or trifling inconvenience, if there were such, against a permanent, growing, and desolating evil. We cannot forbear to remind the two Houses of Congress that the early and decisive measures adopted by the American Government for the abolition of the Slave-Trade, are among the proudest memorials of our nation's glory. That Slavery was ever tolerated in the Republic is as yet to be attributed to the policy of another Government. No imputation, thus far, rests on any portion of the American Confederacy. The Missouri Territory is a new country. If its extensive and fertile fields shall be opened as a market for slaves, the Government will seem to become a party to a traffic which, in so many acts, through so many years, it had denounced as impolitic, unchristian, inhuman. To enact laws to punish the traffic, and at the same time to tempt cupidity and avarice by the allurements of an insatiable market, is inconsistent and irreconcilable. Government, by such a course, would only defeat its own purposes, and render nugatory its own measures. Nor can the laws derive support from the manners of the people, if the power of moral sentiment be weakened by enjoying, under the permission of Government, great facilities to commit offences. The laws of the United States have denounced heavy penalties against the traffic in slaves, because such traffic is deemed unjust and inhuman. We appeal to the spirit of these laws. We appeal to the justice and humanity. We ask whether they ought not to operate, on the present occasion, with all their force? We have a strong feeling of the injustice of any toleration of Slavery. Circumstances have entailed it on a portion of our community, which cannot be immediately relieved of it without con-

sequences more injurious than the suffering of the evil. But to permit it in a new country, where, as yet, no habits are formed which render it indispensable, what is it, but to encourage that rapacity, and fraud, and violence, against which we have so long pointed the denunciations of our penal code? What is it, but to tarnish the proud fame of the country? What is it, but to throw suspicion on its good faith, and to render questionable all its professions of regard for the rights of Humanity and the liberties of mankind?

As inhabitants of a free country—as citizens of a great and rising Republic—as members of a Christian community—as living in a liberal and enlightened age, and as feeling ourselves called upon, by the dictates of religion and humanity, we have presumed to offer our sentiments to Congress on this question, with a solicitude for the event far beyond what a common occasion could inspire.

Suddenly a new element entered into the situation. Maine, which was about to separate from Massachusetts, asked to be admitted into the Union as a State. The bill for admitting Maine passed the House without serious opposition, and was sent to the Senate, where the Judiciary Committee appended to it as a rider the bill for admitting Missouri, and returned it to the House in this form. It was impossible, however, for the Senate and House to agree, and compromise was at first thought of, then spoken of, then prepared, and finally adopted. It was introduced by Senator Thomas of Illinois, who had been an opponent of Restriction, and was in the following words:

And be it further enacted, That in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this Act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited. *Provided always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

This proposition was adopted at once by the Senate by a vote of 34 yeas to 10 nays, and the Missouri bill thus amended passed by a vote of 24 yeas to 20 nays. The House at first rejected the amendment of Senator Thomas by a vote of 159 yeas to 18 nays, and upon the Senate's asking for a conference, it was granted by the House. In the conference the opponents of Restriction had a large majority, and John Holmes of Massachusetts reported a decision, agreed upon by the committee, that the House should recede from its attempt to restrict Slavery in Missouri; that the Senate should give up the Missouri and Maine combination, and that both Houses should adopt the Thomas resolutions and admit Missouri as a State. Eighty-seven Representatives from the free States, and none from the slave States voted against the compromise, while 76 from the slave States were joined by 14 from the free States, making 90 votes for the compromise, and so the bill was passed, making provision for the admission of Missouri as a slave State. Maine was also admitted as a State on the same day. This was supposed to end the Missouri question, but at the very next session, when she presented herself for admission as a State with a Constitution forbidding her legislature to free or prevent the immigration of free colored persons into the State, the House refused to admit her. A new Joint Committee was now appointed, with Mr. Clay as chairman, and a new compromise was adopted by which Missouri was to pledge herself that her legislature should pass no act "by which any of the citizens of either of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States." A joint resolve, admitting Missouri with this added proviso, was now passed by the House with 86 yeas to 82 nays, the Senate concurring with a vote of 26 yeas to 15 nays. Missouri complied with the condition and became a State.

It may be that falsehood often enough repeated becomes the truth. If so, then the past and present contention that the Democratic party dates back to the time of Jefferson is worthy of belief. At the same time it is proposed to present

conclusive evidence to show that the party and party name to which Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams belonged, and by whom and which they were elected, was neither known as the Democratic party nor seriously and generally called by that name. It is not in any way our purpose to connect the early Republican party with that party whose birth dates from 1854, and whose history is the main scope of this work. It is proposed simply to present a few facts, which seem to us very materially to refute the generally stated and believed assertion, that the Democratic party dates prior to the administration of Andrew Jackson, beginning with the year 1828. Jefferson in his inaugural message said :

We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. . . . Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles; our attachment to our Union and representative government.

Two days after the delivery of this inaugural, President Jefferson addressed a note to John Dickinson, in which he said :

The tough sides of our Argosie have been thoroughly tried. Her strength has stood the waves into which she was steered, [by the Federalists,] with a view to sink her. We shall now put her upon her Republican tack, and she will now show, by the beauty of her motion, the skill of her builders.

On the 21st of March in a letter to Dr. Joseph Priestley, he said :

I have been, above all things, solaced by the prospect which opened on us, in the event of a non-election of a President, in which case the federal government would have been in the situation of a clock or a watch run down. There was no idea of force, nor any occasion for it. A convention invited by the Republican members

of Congress, with the virtual President and Vice-President, would have been on the ground in eight weeks, would have repaired the constitution where it was defective, and wound it up again.

And in another communication, addressed to John Dickinson, he said, speaking of the Federalists :

They retired into the judiciary as a stronghold. There the remains of Federalism are to be preserved and fed from the treasury; and from that battery all the works of Republicanism are to be beaten down and erased.

These few quotations, which might be largely added to, show that Thomas Jefferson called himself a Republican, and his party the Republican party, and recognized during his whole administration but two parties, the Federalist and the Republican.

John Quincy Adams, who was destined to be President some years later, was then a Senator from Massachusetts, elected by the Republican party of that State, and came into full harmony with Mr. Jefferson's views and policies. It was the custom at that time for a presidential candidate to be nominated by a caucus of members of Congress belonging to his party. James Madison was so nominated unanimously by Republican Senators and Congressmen, and elected by Republican votes. Mr. Madison was renominated for the Presidency at a Congressional caucus held at Washington on the 18th of May, 1812, although he was not the unanimous choice of the Republican party.

Those opposed to Mr. Madison now united upon Mr. De Witt Clinton, whom the Republican members of the New York Legislature had nominated for the Presidency. Mr. Clinton had been a Republican, but expected to receive, besides the support of the opponents of Mr. Madison, that of the Federalists, who had no ticket of their own. Madison was re-elected, and while he does not in official messages, as did Jefferson, refer to his party as the Republican party, yet his party continued to elect Senators and members of Congress as Republicans, who supported the measures of Mr. Madison.

James Monroe was nominated, as were his predecessors, at a Congressional caucus held in the House of Representatives on the 16th of March, 1816. At that time in both Houses of Congress there were 138 Republican members, of whom nineteen refused to participate in the caucus.

Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, became firm in his opposition to caucus nominations, and asked the consideration of the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to make in caucus any recommendation to the good people of the United States, of persons in the judgment of this meeting fit and suitable to fill the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

It was not adopted, and John W. Taylor of New York submitted the following :

Resolved, That the practice of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, by a convention of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, is inexpedient, and ought not to be continued.

This also was not adopted.

The caucus then proceeded to ballot for President and Vice-President, James Monroe receiving sixty-five votes, and William H. Crawford, fifty-four votes for President ; while Daniel D. Tompkins received eighty-five, and Simon Snyder thirty votes for Vice-President. Thereupon, Mr. Clay offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That this meeting do recommend to the people of the United States, James Monroe of Virginia as a suitable person for the office of President of the United States, and Daniel D. Tompkins of New York as a suitable person for the office of Vice-President of the United States, for the term of four years, commencing on the 4th of March next; and that the chairman and secretary do ascertain from the persons above mentioned whether they are disposed to serve in the offices for which they have been designated.

Had all the Republican members attended the caucus, Mr. Crawford would have received the nomination, as the nineteen absentees would all have voted for the Georgian. Most of them, however, acquiesced in the action of the caucus, and Mr. Monroe was elected over Rufus King of New York, the candidate of the Federalists and so-called Clintonian Republicans. That Mr. Monroe considered himself a Republican, and his party the Republican party, is evident from the following letter to General Jackson, who, in congratulating Mr. Monroe upon the general good feeling prevailing throughout the country, said: "Now is the time to exterminate that monster, called 'party spirit.'" In his reply Mr. Monroe said:

My impression is that the administration should rest strongly on the Republican party, indulging toward the other a spirit of moderation, and evincing a desire to discriminate between its members, and to bring the whole into the Republican fold as quietly as possible. Many men, very distinguished for their talents, are of opinion that the existence of the Federal party is necessary to keep union and order in the Republican ranks; that is, that free government cannot exist without parties. This is not my opinion. The first object is to save the cause, which can be done by those who are devoted to it only, and of course by keeping them together; or, in other words, by not disgusting them by too hasty an act of liberality to the other party, thereby breaking the generous spirit of the Republican party, and keeping alive that of the Federal party. The second is to prevent the reorganization and revival of the Federal party, which, if my hypothesis is true, that the existence of party is not necessary to a free government, and the other opinion which I have advanced is well founded, that the great body of the Federal party are Republican, will not be found impracticable. To accomplish both objects, and thereby exterminate all party divisions in our country, and give new strength and stability to our government, is a great undertaking, not easily executed. I am, nevertheless, decidedly of opinion that it may be done; and should the experiment fail, I shall conclude that its failure was imputable more to the want of a correct knowledge of circumstances claiming attention, and of sound judgment in the measures adopted, than to any other cause.

Mr. Monroe appointed only Republicans to his Cabinet. He selected John Quincy Adams, then Minister at London, his Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, who had been his opponent in the caucus, as Secretary of the Treasury; Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Richard Rush, Attorney-General, who was afterwards succeeded by William Wirt.

Early in 1820, immediately following the supposed amicable adjustment of the Missouri question by the adoption of the compromise, the question of presidential nominations again came to the fore. It was thought by a great many that nominations by Congressional caucus should be abandoned, and Mr. Monroe's friends were divided upon this point. However, on the 4th of April, 1820, the Hon. Samuel Smith, who had been chairman of the caucus in 1816, published in the *National Intelligencer* a call for a Republican Congressional nominating caucus, to be held the following Saturday in the hall of the House of Representatives. Only about fifty members of the Senate and House were present, and when the resolution offered by Mr. Clay four years before was again presented, it was carried and the caucus adjourned without day.

This action seems to have been most commendable, and was fully vindicated by the result, for Mr. Monroe received every electoral vote but one, and even that one vote was not a hostile one. It was now evident that for the time being, at least, nearly all the voters of the country were Republicans, including most of the Federalists. It was called "A great Republican fusion—resulting in an era of good feeling." The Republicans had abandoned their strict construction policy and adopted the more liberal principles of the Federalists: "There should be now no difference of parties," said Josiah Quincy, "for the Republicans have out-federalized Federalism."

On the 6th of February, 1824, Senator John Chandler of Maine was joined by ten other members, from both Houses of Congress, in a notice in the *National Intelligencer*, calling the two hundred and sixteen Republican members of Congress to a caucus in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the

14th, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. On the same day, Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, and twenty-three other members from both Houses, published a statement in the same newspaper, that they were satisfactorily informed that one hundred and eighty-one members deemed such a caucus inexpedient. About seventy members attended the caucus, and, a resolution calling for an adjourned meeting being rejected, the caucus proceeded to ballot for President, with the result that William H. Crawford received sixty-four votes; John Quincy Adams, ten; Andrew Jackson and Nathaniel Macon, one each, while Albert Gallatin received the larger majority cast for Vice-President. The following resolution was then adopted:

Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, that William H. Crawford, of Georgia, be recommended to the people of the United States as a proper candidate for the office of President, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, for the office of Vice-President of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March, 1825; that in making this recommendation, the members of this meeting have acted in their individual characters as citizens; that they have been induced to this measure from a deep and settled conviction of the importance of union among Republicans throughout the United States, and as the best means of collecting and concentrating the feelings and wishes of the people of the Union upon this important subject.

A written address to Republicans throughout the United States was also adopted, which expressed regret that so many Republicans had refused to participate in a caucus which was in conformity with the usage of the party for twenty-four years. The caucus now met with the opposition of the people, and became, as Mr. Niles in his *Baltimore Register* said, "an abortion and the last of the breed."

The Republicans of Massachusetts now resolved that "the ability, experience, integrity, and patriotism of John Quincy Adams, his manly efforts to defend the principles of the Government, his unshaken fortitude and resolution in all political exigencies, and his long and faithful public services" commended him to the nation as a suitable candidate for the Presi-

dency, and the suggestion was concurred in by the legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, as well as large conventions in Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

General Jackson and Henry Clay were each nominated by their friends in the West, and for the first time in our history there were four candidates for President in the field, and all were from the same political party. The result was to throw the election into the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay being eliminated, as, according to the law, the President must be chosen from the three highest on the list, who were Adams, Crawford, and Jackson. This practically left Mr. Clay as arbiter between the three other candidates, and his choice and that of his friends being for Mr. Adams, he was declared elected. It must now be admitted that Mr. Adams was the fourth in the line of Republican Presidents, that he was nominated by the Republican party of the State of Massachusetts, and that his nomination was endorsed by Republican legislatures and conventions in other States; that he was found following strictly in the footsteps of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, differing with his immediate predecessor in only one respect, that of the constitutional power of Congress to make certain public improvements. In outlining his policy, Mr. Adams pledged himself to continue the Monroe policy throughout.

Soon after the Napoleonic wars, Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia formed what was called the Holy Alliance. Canning, the Secretary of State for Great Britain, suspecting that an attempt would be made to obtain possession of certain Spanish territory in America, mentioned the matter to Mr. Rush, our Minister in London, and asked his co-operation, and that of his country, in joining England in some means to thwart the suspected intentions of the Alliance. The matter was communicated to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and it was brought before a Cabinet meeting, where it was decided to express some disapprobation of the suspected scheme. The result was, that President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 contained the following:

We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

And in another part of the message, referring to a Russian claim and a supposed cession by Spain of its colonies to European powers, we find the following sentence:

The American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European colonial settlement.

In recent years there seems to have been almost as much discussion over the authorship of the so-called Monroe doctrine, as over its interpretation, and there has been an inclination to deprive Mr. Monroe of any honor in the matter, and to give it all to John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State. No doubt Mr. Adams, when it was decided to formulate the doctrine, had much to say concerning the construction of the message, as did other members of the Cabinet, and also ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison. If, however, we are to go to the originator of the matter, we must concede it to Mr. Canning, but after all it seems to be of little historical importance, save as it is of passing interest as an incident of our history.

There is no doubt that Mr. Adams, while not an ardent advocate of the doctrine at the time it was formed, resolved that, being a part of our national policy, it should be firmly supported, and he no doubt was influenced by this belief in his action toward the Panama Convention. His Cabinet was composed entirely of Republicans: Henry Clay as Secretary of

State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy; and William Wirt, Attorney-General. Seven eighths of the legal voters in the country, and fully nine tenths of all the public officeholders were Republicans.

There was at first no organized opposition to the Republican party. The more difficult, then, was it for Mr. Adams to bestow favor upon all his friends, and upon the members of his party; and therein lay not only his own downfall, but that of the Republican party, which had been successful for nearly a generation. An early opportunity to test the Monroe doctrine seemed imminent. Mr. Adams asked the consent of the Senate to the appointment of two commissioners and a secretary to a congress to be held at Panama, with a view to joining Spanish-American Republics against foreign intervention. The debate upon the matter was exceedingly acrimonious. The Slavery question was infused into the debate, and it was very apparent that the Missouri Compromise had not settled that perplexing question. The nominations were, however, confirmed, but to no purpose, as the lengthy debate had delayed matters so long that our commissioners were not able to reach the convention in time.

Trouble with Georgia now followed regarding the removal of Indians from that and other States, and here again the slave question became more or less prominent. It had been proposed by Senator King of New York to appropriate the proceeds from the sales of public lands to the emancipation of slaves, and Mr. Wirt, the Attorney-General, had at the same time pronounced certain portions of the law of South Carolina unconstitutional. Governor Troup of Georgia thereupon took it upon himself to denounce Senator King and the Attorney-General as meddlers, saying:

If this matter [Slavery] be an evil, it is our own; if it be a sin, we can implore the forgiveness of it. To remove it, we ask not either their sympathy or assistance. It may be our physical weakness—it is our moral strength. If, like the Greeks and Romans, we cease to be masters, we are slaves. I entreat you most earnestly, now

that it is not too late, to step forth, and having exhausted the argument, to stand by your arms.

The Georgia Legislature sympathized with their Governor, and proposed a Southern Confederacy, saying, in a report adopted:

The hour is come, or is rapidly approaching, when the States from Virginia to Georgia, from Missouri to Louisiana, must confederate and say, as one man, to the Union, that we will no longer submit our retained rights to the sniveling insinuations of bad men on the floor of Congress—our constitutional rights to the dark and strained construction of designing men upon judicial benches; that we detest the doctrine and disclaim the principle of unlimited submission to the general government.

They said further:

Let them continue to rejoice in their self-righteousness. Let them bask in their own elysium while they depict all south of the Potomac as a hideous reverse. As Athens, as Sparta, as Rome was, we will be. They held slaves, we hold them. Let the North, then, form national roads for themselves. Let them guard with tariffs their own interests. Let them deepen their public debt until a high-minded aristocracy shall rise out of it. We want none of all those blessings. But in the simplicity of the patriarchal government, we would still remain master and servant under our own vine and our own fig-tree, and confide for safety upon Him who of old time looked down upon this state of things without wrath.

This was concluded with resolutions to stand by their arms, and pledging their lives, fortunes, and honor to defend Slavery. With such men had President Adams to deal in the perplexing questions concerning the removal of the Indians. Congress failed to support the President, and he was left to employ his own resources. Not only did he adopt a bold policy at the South, but in regard to the whole country at large. His views were broad enough to satisfy the most liberal, and Congress was asked to make almost endless internal improvements. The commercial interests of the country seem to have been

his first thought in every action, but at almost every turn he met with the objections and obstructions of General Jackson and his supporters. The harmonious Republican party of 1824 became split in two factions, now known as the Adams men and the Jackson men. Mr. Adams soon found himself with a majority in Congress against him, and we find the doctrines of Governor Troup, Mr. Berrien, and Mr. Hayne advocated by John C. Calhoun and his friends, all coalescing in favor of General Jackson as their candidate in the coming presidential election. Mr. Clay, who was Secretary of State, and his friends, clung most tenaciously to Mr. Adams, while Mr. Crawford is found leaning towards the other side. Mr. Clay had been accused of trading his support for Mr. Adams at the time of the election in return for the office of Secretary of State. It matters not so much whether Mr. Adams had made any such promise, for Mr. Clay was the logical appointee, but the appointment, however, served only to enrage the opponents of both Adams and Clay. It is but fair to Mr. Clay, however, to present the following denial which he made:

I neither made, nor authorized, nor knew of any proposition whatever, to either of the three candidates who were returned to the House of Representatives, at the last presidential election, or to the friends of either of them, for the purpose of influencing the result of the election, or for any other purpose. And all allegations, intimations, and innuendos, that my vote, on that occasion, was offered to be given, or was, in fact, given in consideration of any stipulation, or understanding, express or implied, direct or indirect, written or verbal, that I was, or that any other person was not, to be appointed Secretary of State, or that I was, in any other manner, to be personally benefited, are devoid of all truth, and destitute of any foundation whatever.

James Buchanan of Pennsylvania had been brought into the controversy, as the author of the statement which Mr. Clay was called upon to deny, and following the denial he offered the following explanation:

I called upon General Jackson solely as his friend, upon my individual responsibility, and not as the agent of Mr. Clay or any

other person. I never have been the political friend of Mr. Clay since he became a candidate for the office of President. Until I saw General Jackson's letter to Mr. Beverly, of the 6th ult., and at the same time was informed by a letter from the editor of the *United States Telegraph*, that I was the person to whom he alluded, the conception never once entered my head, that he believed me to be the agent of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, or that I had intended to propose to him terms of any kind from them, or that he could have supposed me to be capable of expressing the opinion that "it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons." Such a supposition, had I entertained it, would have rendered me exceedingly unhappy, as there is no man on earth whose good opinion I more valued than that of General Jackson. I owe it to my character to make another observation. Had I ever known, or even suspected, that General Jackson believed I had been sent to him by Mr. Clay, or his friends, I should immediately have corrected his erroneous impression, and thus prevented the necessity for this most unpleasant explanation. I had no authority from Mr. Clay, or his friends, to propose any terms to General Jackson in relation to their votes, nor did I ever make any such proposition.

The affair seemed to put Mr. Buchanan by his evasion in a bad light, but it all served to intensify the growing ill-feeling between the two parties, and may throw a little light upon the fact that Mr. Buchanan, although a Northern man in sympathy, became a candidate afterwards of the Democratic party of the South.

Mr. Adams persistently refused to remove from office the friends of General Jackson and Mr. Crawford, and this of course greatly diminished his power and aided General Jackson in the movement which led to his election to the Presidency in 1828.

The Jackson party was now becoming known as the Democratic party, the Adams party taking the name of National Republicans. Here was the birth of the Democratic party of to-day. Mr. Jackson's election was hailed as the "Triumph of the Democracy over the Federalists," then called "National Republicans." This was at least the view of Colonel Benton, but it does not seem to be borne out by the

facts in the case. Mr. Adams certainly had not been a Federalist, nor had any considerable number of those who supported him. He had been an uncompromising Republican from the time of Jefferson, and had loyally supported the administrations of both Madison and Monroe. He had been Madison's Minister to Russia, and to London, and a commissioner who helped frame the treaty of Ghent.

The prefix "national" which was used with the word "Republican" was simply to show the distinction from the other wing of the Republican party, made up of the friends of Crawford and Jackson, and the adherents of the policy of Berrien, Hayne, Calhoun, and Governor Troup. The friends of Jackson, if not Jackson himself, were now all sympathizers with the slaveholders, and Jackson's party was composed largely of the inhabitants of the slaveholding States. Wishing to emphasize their secession from the Republican party, they readily took the name of Democrats, and the campaign of 1828 can well be said to be a conflict between Republicans and Democrats.

It is true that a considerable number of the Federalist party went into the Republican ranks, but they were of the party, and not the party itself. The name National Republican was retained until the campaign of 1832, when the party became known as the Anti-Mason party, afterwards the Whigs. The now, for the first time, triumphant Democratic party remained in power until 1842, and the old Republican party, as such, was merged almost wholly into the Whig party. This contention is supported by Alexander Johnston, perhaps the most prolific and reliable writer upon our political history, and some others, although party history and party names for some reason have become most complicated, and almost impossible of elucidation.

Previous to the year 1828, the term "Democrat" had only been used in derision and contempt, as, for instance, when Mrs. Washington said, finding a trace of dirt upon her wall after a reception: "It was no Federalist; none but a filthy Democrat would mark a place on the wall with his good-for-nothing head in that manner."

The so-called Democratic-Republican party had no existence in fact, it is only in the confused minds of careless historians that it finds lodgment. Nowhere is the whole subject so well and so exhaustively treated as in the work known as *The Republican Party and its Presidential Candidates*, by Benjamin F. Hall, which work has been drawn upon most freely for the foregoing statements.

In spite of the commercial condition of the country, and the continually falling prices, particularly of agricultural products, the various attempts to make new Tariff laws were unsuccessful until 1824. The eight years under the Tariff of 1816, however, had been most productive of discussion and education upon the now most vital question. As a prominent writer says:

The distress that followed the crisis of 1818-19 brought out a plentiful crop of pamphlets in favor of Protection, of societies and conventions for the promotion of domestic industry, of petitions and memorials to Congress for higher duties.¹

From an "Address of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, to its Absent Members and the Members of the Several Branches throughout the United States" is taken the following:

Brothers: A deep shadow has passed over our land, a commercial and individual gloom has created a universal stillness. In our remotest villages the hammer is not heard, and in our large cities the din and bustle of thrifty industry has ceased. A remedy for this evil would be precious as rubies to him who values the institutions of the country, and glories in its indigenous greatness. It is the most grateful to the American ear and nearest to the American heart; it is the encouragement of our own manufactures.²

At the end of the year 1819, a convention of the Friends of National Industry was held, at which Matthew Carey acted as secretary. The whole matter was gone over most thoroughly, and an attempt made to ascertain the rise, progress,

¹ Curtiss's *Protection and Prosperity*, p. 577.

² *Ibid.*

and decay of manufactures throughout the Union, and an appeal made to Congress to correct the existing evils. A Tariff bill was defeated in 1820, and no successful effort was made to increase the Tariff until 1824.

We now find the South solidly arrayed against Protection, while the North, under the leadership of Henry Clay, was more in harmony with the movement for an increase in duties, and ready to adopt a protective Tariff that should protect. It may be said that the year 1824, and those immediately following, brought great changes in the minds of our prominent men on this subject. John C. Calhoun was almost as ardent a Protectionist as Henry Clay, while Daniel Webster was still in favor of low duties. New England had not yet become convinced that Protection was best for her commercial interests, being fearful that a restriction upon importations would injure her shipping trade. It might be said that the whole country was now changing sides. The South was becoming fearful lest the trade in their one staple product would be injured, and was soon found ready to adopt Free Trade.

President Monroe urged that we give "additional Protection to those articles we are prepared to manufacture," and being supported by the great Northwest, and to some extent by the whole North, except Massachusetts and the States to the north of her, the Tariff of 1824 became a law, being really our first protective Tariff. Its workings were at once successful beyond all expectations, and gave the greatest possible impetus to new and diversified industries, and a consequent rise in the value of agricultural land and products.

The so-called "American system" now became a shibboleth in the North, while the South, viewing with alarm its growing manufacturing industries, and having themselves but one product, and that an agricultural one, followed the lead of Mr. Calhoun in advocating the lowest possible duties, even to absolute Free Trade; but the entire North, almost intoxicated with the prosperity which followed in the wake of the Tariff of 1824, was ready to increase still further the duties, which sentiment resulted in the Tariff of 1828, called by its enemies "The Tariff of Abominations."

Mr. Webster had become a convert to Protection because he saw that it meant progress and prosperity not only to New England, but to the whole nation. Mr. Calhoun became a Free-Trader because in his narrow view, which did not extend above Mason and Dixon's line, or beyond the products of slave labor, he felt that a restriction of importations would only inure to the disadvantage of the South, and would probably lessen their trade abroad. Mr. Calhoun was one of the most astute men that American politics has ever known. It is more than possible, that with his far-seeing view in a single direction, he realized the power that this very Tariff question would give the South in its desire to be let alone to continue and spread its pet institution, Slavery.

Be it as it may, however, the closing years of the decade between 1820 and 1830 saw the South muttering against the Tariff of 1828, and marshalling every possible force to have it repealed. At the same time the North was progressing and prospering, making prodigious strides towards industrial independence, and vindicating to the last degree the adoption of a fiscal policy that would enable us to do our own work.

Every President from Washington to Jackson had been an advocate of a protective Tariff, and in confirmation of this statement it will be well to give, perhaps, a single quotation or two from each of the great statesmen who had been elected to administer our laws.

Washington in his last annual message said :

Congress has repeatedly and not without success directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible.

John Adams in his last annual message said :

I observe, with much satisfaction, that the product of the revenue during the present year has been more considerable than during any former period.

This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of the country and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which

have been adopted by Congress for the protection of commerce and preservation of the public credit.

Thomas Jefferson in his sixth annual message said ·

Shall we suppress the imposts [duties] and give that advantage to foreign over our domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression in due season will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them.

He went still further in his letter to Humphrey, when he wrote :

My own idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw materials.

And in 1817 he said, in accepting an election to membership in a Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures :

The history of the last twenty years has been a significant lesson for us all to depend for necessaries on ourselves alone; and I hope twenty years more will place the American hemisphere under a system of its own, essentially peaceable and industrious and not needing to extract its comforts out of the eternal fires raging in the Old World.

James Madison in his special message to Congress in 1802 said :

It will be worthy of the just and provident care of Congress to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.

James Monroe in his inaugural message showed how clearly he realized the importance of a home market in the following words :

Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

And in his seventh annual message he said :

Having formerly communicated my views to Congress respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principles on which it should be founded, I have only to add that those views remain unchanged. I recommend a review of the Tariff for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country.

John Quincy Adams in his fourth annual message discussed at length our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, and said :

All these interests are alike under the protecting power of the legislative authority.

Andrew Jackson said in 1824 in the United States Senate :

Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the greatest materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe; and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war. We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized; and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or else in a short time by continuing our present policy [that under the Tariff of 1816] we shall all be ren-

dered paupers ourselves. It is my opinion, therefore, that a careful and judicious Tariff is much wanted.

And in his annual message as President in December, 1832, speaking of the results and benefits of the Tariffs of 1824 and 1828, he said :

Our country presents, on every side, marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled, perhaps, in any other portion of the world.

These few quotations are quite enough to show that every one of our early Presidents from the first generation of our national existence was in favor of our protective Tariff.

Webster, who had now become a staunch Protectionist, in speaking of these Tariffs of 1824 and 1828, said the relief attained

was profound and general, reaching all classes—the farmer, the manufacturer, the ship-owner, the mechanic, and the day-laborer. The change was as great as was wrought when Hamilton smote the rock of public credit and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth.

While Henry Clay, speaking in the United States Senate in 1832, said :

On a general survey we behold cultivation extended; the arts flourishing; the face of the country improved; our people fully and profitably employed; the public countenance exhibiting tranquillity, contentment and happiness; its public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people has enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the Tariff of 1824.

The results and benefits of the Tariffs of 1824 and 1828 were so pronounced as to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the so-called "American system" of Henry Clay, and its development, was the one policy which would promote and maintain our continued progress and prosperity.

While the Tariff of 1828 was opposed to some extent by New England, it was the South, particularly the cotton-growing States, that protested most vehemently against its passage and sought at once for its repeal. There seems to have been no reason for this opposition, measured by the direct or indirect results of the Tariff itself. It is true that the South was not prospering. On the contrary, it seemed now to be continually retrograding, especially in comparison with the prosperous North, particularly the Middle States and the Northwest, where progress and prosperity were making giant strides. It is no wonder that the spirit of jealousy was now invading the slaveholder's mind. Blind to the true cause, and rejoicing at an opportunity to show their true spirit, the Tariff of 1828 was taken as the excuse for the very important action which was to follow.

Nowhere is the real situation more forcibly, and at the same time more kindly, expressed than in the speech of Senator John M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, made February 27, 1832. In reply to Mr. Hayne's pitiful portrayal of the miserable state to which Protection had reduced the South and her industries, Mr. Dallas said :

What, Sir, is the cause of Southern distress? Has any gentleman yet ventured to designate it? I am neither willing nor competent to flatter. To praise the honorable Senator from South Carolina would be

To add perfume to the violet—
Wasteful and ridiculous excess.

But, if he has failed to discover the source of the evils he deplures, who can unfold it? Amid the warm and indiscriminating denunciations with which he has assailed the policy of protecting domestic manufactures and native produce, he frankly avows that he would not "deny that there are other causes, besides the Tariff, which have contributed to produce the evils which he has depicted." What are those "other causes"? In what proportion have they acted? How much of this dark shadowing is ascribable to each singly, and to all in combination? Would the Tariff be at all felt or denounced, if those other causes were not in operation? Would

not, in fact, its influence, its discriminations, its inequalities, its oppressions, but for those "other causes," be shaken, by the elasticity, energy, and exhaustless spirit of the South, as "dew-drops from the lion's mane"? These inquiries must be satisfactorily answered before we can be justly required to legislate away an entire system. If it be the root of all evil, let it be exposed and demolished. If its poisonous exhalations be but partial, let us preserve such portions as are innoxious. If, as the luminary of day, it be pure and salutary in itself, let us not wish it extinguished, because of the shadows, clouds, and darkness, which obscure its brightness, or impede its vivifying power.

That "other causes" still, Mr. President, for Southern distress, do exist, cannot be doubted. They combine with the one I have indicated, and are equally unconnected with the manufacturing policy. One of these it is peculiarly painful to advert to; and when I mention it, I beg honorable Senators not to suppose that I do it in the spirit of taunt, of reproach, or of idle declamation. Regarding it as a misfortune merely, not as a fault—as a disease inherited, not incurred—perhaps to be alleviated, but not eradicated—I should feel self-condemned were I to treat it other than as an existing fact, whose merit or demerit, apart from the question under debate, is shielded from commentary by the highest and most just considerations. I refer, Sir, to the character of Southern labor, in itself, and in its influence on others. Incapable of adaptation to the ever-varying changes of human society and existence, it retains the communities in which it is established, in a condition of apparent and comparative inertness. The lights of Science and the improvement of Art, which vivify and accelerate elsewhere, cannot penetrate, or if they do, penetrate with dilatory inefficiency, among its operatives. They are not merely instinctive and passive. While the intellectual industry of other parts of this country springs elastically forward at every fresh impulse, and manual labor is propelled and redoubled by countless inventions, machines, and contrivances, instantly understood and at once exercised, the South remains stationary, inaccessible to such encouraging and invigorating aids. Nor is it possible to be wholly blind to the moral effect of this species of labor upon those freemen among whom it exists. A disrelish for humble and hardy occupation; a pride adverse to drudgery and toil; a dread that to partake in the employments allotted to color may be accompanied also by its degradation, are natural and

inevitable. The high and lofty qualities which, in other scenes and for other purposes, characterize and adorn our Southern brethren, are fatal to the enduring patience, the corporal exertion, and the painstaking simplicity, by which only a successful yeomanry can be formed. When, in fact, Sir, the Senator from South Carolina asserts that "slaves are too improvident, too incapable of that minute, constant, delicate attention, and that persevering industry which are essential to manufacturing establishments," he himself admits the defect in Southern labor, by which the progress of his favorite section must be retarded. He admits an inability to keep pace with the rest of the world. He admits an inherent weakness; a weakness neither engendered nor aggravated by the Tariff—which, as societies are now constituted and directed, must drag in the rear, and be distanced in the common race.

The case could not have been put more precisely, nor at the same time more delicately and dispassionately, but South Carolina was in no mood to heed such criticism or such advice.

Mr. Calhoun was now looked upon as something more than a leader; he was made almost a demigod by the people of the South in general, and by the people of South Carolina in particular. Possibly no more ambitious man ever drew breath than John C. Calhoun. For years he had been confident that he would be Jackson's successor in the presidential chair, and it is apparent that his every word and act were determined to that end. On the other hand, we must credit him with sincerity regarding his beliefs and his love for his own people and their interests. It is not within the province of this work to analyze the quarrel which led to the estrangement of Jackson and Calhoun. It took place soon after his election as Vice-President in 1828, on the same ticket with Jackson, and Mr. Calhoun became convinced that he could no longer aspire to the Presidency of the United States, though medals were struck in his honor bearing the inscription, "John C. Calhoun, First President of the Southern Confederacy." In 1831, on resigning the Vice-Presidency, he was elected Senator from his State.

Immediately after the election of 1828, the South Carolina Legislature printed a paper entitled *The South Carolina Expo-*

sition and Protest on the Subject of the Tariff. This paper, said to have been the work of Calhoun, announced most succinctly the doctrine and defence of Nullification. Most adroitly did it claim the right of any State to nullify the action of the Government as directed towards that State, and the further right to secede from the Union in case an obnoxious law should be enforced. Senator Hayne soon after promulgated this doctrine at great length, and with considerable eloquence, in the United States Senate. It was this speech which brought forth one of the greatest orations ever delivered from any forum by any man, known ever since as "Webster's reply to Hayne." The battle was now on in earnest, and in spite of the fact that a modifying Tariff law went into operation in 1832, immediately after the elections of that year, which carried Jackson again into the presidential chair and made Martin Van Buren of New York Vice-President, the Legislature of South Carolina authorized a convention, the result of which was an Ordinance of Nullification.

Hayne, who had left the Senate, had been elected Governor, and immediately after the adoption of the Ordinance, proceeded to put the State in a position for war. He declared that the right to nullify resided in the State Legislature, while Calhoun maintained that it must be exercised by the people in a State convention. The wishes of both Calhoun and Hayne were carried out, and the Legislature passed acts giving effect to the Ordinance, as it had given formality to the convention, which it had called for this purpose. The Ordinance declared: (1) the Tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 to be null, void, and no law, nor binding upon the State, its officers, or citizens; (2) prohibited the payment of duties under either act within the State after February 1, 1833; (3) made any appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, as to the validity of the Ordinance, a contempt of the State court from which the appeal was taken, punishable at the discretion of the latter; (4) ordered every officeholder and juror to be sworn to support the Ordinance; and (5) gave warning that, if the Federal Government should attempt to enforce the Tariff by the use of the army or navy, or by closing the ports of the State, or should

in any way harass or obstruct the State's foreign commerce, South Carolina would no longer consider herself a member of the Union, and would forthwith proceed to organize a separate government.

President Jackson was ready for any emergency. General Scott was ordered to Charleston for the purpose of "superintending the safety of the ports of the United States in that vicinity," and the collector was then given confidential orders as to his action.

Congress assembled on the 3d of December; but the President made no allusion in his message to the Nullification Ordinance. A few days later, however, came the famous proclamation said to have been penned by Livingston, Secretary of State, but whose every sentence breathed the determination of "Old Hickory." He sums up his objections to Nullification in the following most forceful sentence:

I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

The whole message, as well as another special message which followed, although containing no contention which had not already been thoroughly exhausted by Webster, was, nevertheless, one of the strongest State papers ever sent to Congress by a President of the United States. Calhoun himself listened to its delivery, and for the first time showed a tendency to halt in his now mad career. The determination of the President was of such a nature that there would be no possibility of carrying out the threat of Nullification and secession. A Tariff law was being considered in the Committee of Ways and Means and this gave the nullifiers an excuse to "resolve" that the execution of the Nullification Ordinance should be postponed until after the adjournment of Congress.

Mr. Webster and others urged that no concession be made

to South Carolina in the new Tariff law until she should withdraw her treasonable action. The debate went on from day to day until finally Mr. Clay submitted what has since been known as the "Compromise Tariff." This was very eagerly accepted by Mr. Calhoun and the nullifiers, and became a law in the last hours of the session. Senator Calhoun now backed down entirely. South Carolina abandoned her Ordinance and all the legislative acts pertaining thereto.

No man was ever more patriotic or had a greater love for his country than Andrew Jackson. Moreover, he had always been a thorough Protectionist, and was not in favor of departing in the least from a policy that had resulted in such gigantic industrial strides and prosperity to the country. But again it was a time for compromise and peace and union, as it had been in 1787 and 1820, and so the surrender was made and the slaveholder was again victorious. President Jackson knew why and for what reason the Nullification Ordinance had been passed. He knew that it was not dissatisfaction with the Tariff. As he wrote to an intimate friend in Georgia in 1834: "The Tariff was but a pretext, the next will be the Slavery or negro question." March 31, 1833, Jackson wrote a letter to Buchanan, then Minister to Russia, in which he said: °

The public saw that although the Tariff was made the ostensible object, a separation of the Confederacy was the real purpose of its originators and supporters. The expression of public opinion elicited by the proclamation from Maine to Louisiana has so firmly repudiated the absurd doctrine of Nullification and secession, that it is not probable that we shall be troubled with them again shortly.

CHAPTER III.

ABOLITION—LUNDY—GARRISON—LOVEJOY—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—THE WILMOT PROVISIO.

ALTHOUGH Jackson had taken, and enforced, a most determined stand against Nullification in South Carolina, he nevertheless, for some reason best known to himself, refused to take the same stand against the citizens of Georgia, who indulged in a similar principle by expelling the Cherokee Indians. Even the decision of the United Supreme Court was not enforced by Jackson, and treaties were broken and laws defied. The whole administration of Jackson, the first Democratic President, was alternately strong and weak, showing at times unusual determination, and at other times the same amount of inconsistency. From the time of the battle of New Orleans in 1812, he was in a measure a national hero and an idol of the people; he was now the undisputed leader of the new Democratic party, with a host of supporters and friends, and he proposed to strengthen his party in power to the extent of his opportunities and resources. In the first place he revolutionized the custom of presidential appointments. Senator Marcy of New York said in a speech made in the Senate in 1831:

It may be, Sir, that the politicians of New York are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are as to disclosing the principles on which they act. . . . They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy.

Jackson, remarking that he was "too old a soldier to leave his garrison in the hands of his enemies," proceeded to turn

out about two thousand men from their positions, and gave their places and their salaries to his friends. He justified his course in every instance with the plea that the change was for the advantage of the country. In this connection it will be interesting to note that Washington in eight years removed nine public officers, one for default; that John Adams in four years removed ten, one for default; that Thomas Jefferson in eight years removed thirty-nine; that James Madison in eight years removed five, three of them for default; that James Monroe in eight years removed nine, six of them for default; and that John Quincy Adams in four years only removed two, and both of them for default. It may be said that the practice inaugurated by Jackson has been followed to a greater or less extent by all succeeding Presidents.

The question of renewing the charter of the United States Bank now came to the fore, and Jackson, believing that it was badly managed against the commercial interests of the country, firmly endorsed in this respect by Colonel Benton, refused to sign a bill in 1832, renewing the life of the bank. Not only this, but the year following, he removed nearly ten million dollars of government deposits from the bank, which amount, with about thirty million dollars more, was later deposited in the small banks called "pet banks" of different States. In order to accomplish this purpose, it was necessary to make changes in his Cabinet. Two secretaries of the Treasury had refused to do his bidding, but in Roger B. Taney, who afterwards became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he found a man who was willing to carry out his wishes. The President was severely attacked by his opponents for his action against the bank, and a resolution of censure was adopted by the Senate. Senator Benton gave notice that he would introduce a resolution in each session of Congress to erase the resolution, and after three years he saw his famous expunging resolution adopted amid most dramatic scenes.

The first national convention ever assembled for the purpose of nominating presidential candidates was held at Baltimore in September, 1831. During the preceding year a new organization had come to the front known as the anti-Masonic party.

This was the result of an uprising against the Masons, against whom it was charged, but not proved, that William Morgan, a member of their order, who had threatened to disclose its secrets, had been abducted and murdered. This party, whose stronghold was in New York State, now nominated William Wirt for the Presidency. The old Federalists were very glad of the opportunity to get together in a new organization, and eagerly welcomed the advent of the anti-Masonic party.

The National Republicans met in a national convention at Baltimore, December 12, 1831, and nominated Henry Clay for President, and John Sergeant for Vice-President. No platforms were adopted by either convention, but an address to the people was presented. The Democratic National Convention was also held at Baltimore, in May, 1832, but nominated only a candidate for Vice-President, Mr. Van Buren. Jackson's candidacy had been so universally accepted, that a formal nomination was not deemed necessary, a resolution being passed declaring that the convention "cordially concurred in the repeated nominations that General Jackson had received in various parts of the country for re-election as President." This convention adopted the two-thirds rule, which has never been broken since in a Democratic convention. Although Clay had been nominated by the so-called National Republicans, the name was soon dropped by general agreement, and that of Whig adopted, with which party the so-called anti-Masonic party at once coalesced.

Jackson was re-elected, and his whole administration may be summed up in an expression very generally used at the time, that it was "the reign of Andrew Jackson." It was a period of most important events, of exceedingly dramatic incidents, and of great advancement in science, literature, and commerce. It had brought out the famous utterances of Hayne and Calhoun and Clay and Webster, while at or about this time Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, Prescott, Motley, Parkman, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow, Everett, and Bancroft were appearing upon the scene. Webster's dictionary was published just before Jackson's first election.

The Western States and Territories were now growing most rapidly, and the railroad was being extended in every portion of the Union. The inventive spirit of the times was largely in evidence, and great strides were made in both agricultural implements and manufacturing machinery.

But with equal or greater strides was Slavery becoming every year more powerful, more arrogant, and more despicable, and for the first time in opposition to this great evil which was spreading over the southern part of our land, rose quietly but emphatically a movement which was bound to exert in the very near future untold influences.

We have already alluded to the early work of Abolition societies, confined for the most part as it was to protests and petitions, and almost dying out after the prohibition of slave importations in 1808, and during the years which immediately followed.

After the result of the Missouri Compromise, however, the North awakened to the fact that it had made an abject surrender, that it had traitors in its own camp, and that the compromise had not forever settled the question. The sentiment in Virginia was now decidedly pro-Slavery, and when her constitution was revised in 1829, the non-slaveholding sections were defeated, and Virginia was thenceforward to be known as a slave State until there were to be no more slave States in our Union. Delaware and Maryland, as border States, having both pro- and anti-Slavery sentiment, must yet be regarded as of the slave and not the free States.

Of the one hundred square miles of territory which originally composed the District of Columbia, forty square miles were ceded to the Union in 1789 by Virginia, and retroceded to that State in 1846. The sixty square miles lying north of the Potomac had been ceded by Maryland in 1788, and as Congress had passed an act whereby the existing laws of Virginia and Maryland were to continue in full force and effect over the Federal District, and those States being slave States, their laws continued operative in the District until 1850.

In 1800 the seat of government was removed to Washington, and in the following year Congress took complete control of

the District. It is not to be wondered at that under the circumstances, and considering its location, Washington should early become a great mart for the slave trade. With no other industries of any importance, with no manufactures, and with opportunity for transportation by water, it proved a most profitable centre for those trafficking in negroes and transferring the slave property of Virginia and Maryland and Delaware, and even of more Northern States, to satisfy the demands in the South and Southwest.

As the seat of government grew in population, so grew the business of the slave trade, and day after day it was possible for our national legislators to look out of the windows of the Capitol, or from its porticoes, upon scores if not hundreds of scenes of slave selling, and almost to hear the words of the auctioneer, and even the lash of the whip as families were separated, as the mother was torn away from her children, and the evil compact made which brought such desolation and despair. But this very sound was as music to many of the so-called legislators, and the Representatives from the North, with some distinguished exceptions, were not willing to take upon themselves the burden of becoming the champions of liberty and justice. Petitions for the abolition of the slave trade, and of Slavery itself, in the District of Columbia were early and continuously presented to Congress, but with no result, except reports and resolutions similar to the following:

First, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of Slavery in any State of this confederacy. *Secondly*, That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with Slavery in the District of Columbia. And, "for the purpose of arresting agitation, and restoring tranquillity to the public mind," they recommended the adoption of this resolve:

That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers relating in any way to the subject of Slavery, or the abolition of Slavery, shall, without either being printed or referred, be laid upon the table.

Ex-President John Quincy Adams had been elected to Congress from his Massachusetts district in 1831, and was regularly

re-elected until his death, seventeen years after. He became the special advocate of all anti-Slavery petitioners, and presented these petitions day after day in spite of a most determined opposition, and even when cut off by the so-called "Gag Rule" he fought on year after year till he was again successful in at least having the petitions and memorials presented, if not considered. While not an out-and-out Abolitionist himself, yet he co-operated, whenever possible, with those who were trying to mould such sentiment, and he well appreciated and possessed a full realization of the crisis that seemed approaching and imminent; but he was powerless and unfortunate in being a score of years in advance of the time when the beneficent results of his work began to materialize. Scores of resolutions similar to that quoted above were adopted, and for nearly a generation the capital of the Republic carried on its slave trade unmolested, but not unnoticed.

It was now that Abolition materialized into practical shape, and to this end it was necessary that a class of men should not only devote their time and ability, but their very lives to the preaching of anti-Slavery sentiment. The pioneer of this movement was Benjamin Lundy. He was a native of New Jersey, born on January 4, 1789, of Quaker parents. At nineteen years of age he left his father's farm and settled in Wheeling, Virginia, a thoroughfare for slave dealers and traders while on their way from Maryland and Virginia to the South and Southwest. Here he saw exactly what Slavery was, and the impress made upon his youthful mind could not be obliterated. He soon acquired a small competency and, with his wife and two children, who were very dear to him, should have been a happy and contented man, but he could not forget those four years spent at Wheeling, and in 1815, at the age of twenty-six, he organized what was known as the "Union-Humane Society," consisting at first of only half a dozen persons. Within a few months, however, the number had swelled to as many hundreds, and included the first citizens of the locality, which was in Ohio, not far from Wheeling.

Charles Osborne, a neighbor, now started a small weekly journal called *The Philanthropist*, and Lundy was invited to

write for it. About this time he made a voyage to St. Louis on business, at which city he arrived in the fall of 1818, when the Missouri question was at its height. His journey was unsuccessful from a business standpoint, although his experience only intensified his desire to devote his life to the anti-Slavery cause. Osborne soon sold out his establishment, and his paper was removed to Jonesborough, Tennessee, its name being changed to *The Emancipator*. Lundy about the same time started, in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, a monthly entitled *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. For nearly three years Lundy's paper was the only anti-Slavery periodical issued in the United States, and it enjoyed a constantly increasing circulation and influence. In the winter of 1823-24 Lundy journeyed six hundred miles and back, to Philadelphia, for the purpose of attending the first American convention for the abolition of Slavery. Immediately afterwards he transferred his paper to Baltimore, and within the next few months organized many Abolition and anti-Slavery societies, mostly in North Carolina and Virginia. In the latter part of 1825 he made a journey to Hayti for the purpose of arranging for the reception of slaves whose masters were willing to emancipate them on the condition that they should leave the country. He now lost his wife, and in his sorrow consecrated himself to the cause of the negro, resolving to exert every energy to arouse the sympathy and co-operation of his countrymen.

In 1828, he went to New York and on to Boston. In his boarding-house at Boston he met William Lloyd Garrison, who had not yet given any attention to the Slavery question. Lundy made a most thorough convert of Garrison, inducing him to join him at Baltimore in the editorship of the *Genius*.

Lundy spoke in all the principal towns of southern New England and in New York, gaining sympathy wherever he went, and converts to his ideas. He soon after made another visit to Hayti, to Texas, and to Mexico, all for the purpose of finding a suitable location for colonization. His search, however, was unsuccessful, and he returned home and removed his paper from Baltimore to Washington, where it was now called *The National Inquirer*. It was merged into *The*

Pennsylvania Freeman, but his life-work was soon to end. He was now the object of violence and mob rule, and all his property was totally destroyed. In August, 1839, while visiting his children in Illinois, he was attacked by fever and died in the fifty-first year of his age. "Thus closed," says Greeley in *The American Conflict*, "the record of one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish, courageous lives that has ever been lived on this continent." But the seed which Lundy had sown and scattered broadcast over the North was to take deep root and result in widespread influence.

Garrison was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1805; was educated a printer, and edited or worked upon several publications, notably, *The Journal of the Times*, a National Republican organ which was devoted to temperance, anti-Slavery, and the circulation of memorials to Congress for the banishment of Slavery from the District of Columbia. This was discontinued, and about this time Garrison joined Lundy in Baltimore. In his new work Garrison from the first assumed the aggressive, and insisted upon unconditional and immediate emancipation. He had no sympathy with Lundy's colonization schemes, or for any policy whatever except absolute Abolition. He at once experienced trouble, fines being imposed and other penalties, even to forty-nine days in prison. While in prison his case excited sympathy in many quarters, and offers of financial help came from many sources. Henry Clay was on the point of paying his fine, but was anticipated by Arthur Tappan of New York. He now left Baltimore and Lundy, thinking to go to Washington and establish an anti-Slavery paper there, but instead finally concluded to go to Boston; and on the 1st of January, 1830, the first number of the *Liberator* appeared. The paper was like the man himself,—outspoken and aggressive. He took as its motto "Our Country is the World—Our Countrymen are all Mankind." Afterwards he adopted the motto "No Union with Slaveholders," and "The Constitution is a Covenant with Death, and an Agreement with Hell." He announced in his very first number that "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population—I will be as harsh as

truth and as uncompromising as justice—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.” The work upon this extraordinary publication was mostly done by Garrison himself, both as to editorial matter and the mechanical work of getting out the paper. In a very short time it had a circulation of upwards of five hundred. Garrison and his partner slept on the floor of a dingy little room, not knowing where they were to get the money for the paper required for the following week’s issue, and yet the Governor of Georgia dignified them and their work by offering a reward of five thousand dollars for their arrest and conviction.

Moreover, the opposition at home was almost as great as that now being aroused at the South. Garrison had not the sympathy at first of any one of any prominence or standing in the community. The business men of Boston, fearful of offending their Southern customers, frowned upon Garrison’s paper and its outspoken sentiments, and yet the little band of Abolitionists gained ground and increased in numbers. Some thought they were charitable enough to declare that Garrison had lost his reason.

Rev. Dr. Channing, a most eminent divine, had written a letter to Daniel Webster, May 14, 1828, suggesting that we should say to the South, “We consider Slavery as your calamity, not your crime; we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it.” Dr. Channing’s proposition was, that the United States should appropriate the money from the sale of public lands, and with it buy the slaves and set them free. England in 1833 bought and freed her West Indian slaves at a cost of ten million dollars. But Garrison’s work went on, and with it were riot and bloodshed and controversy pro and con, and, withal, a nearing of the crisis that was soon to come.

While the basis of the Abolition movement was undoubtedly founded upon morality and religion, still it was pervaded most thoroughly by the instincts of humanity and the cause of justice. Nowhere, perhaps, is the result of the agitation more tersely and yet comprehensively stated than by Mr. Rhodes

in Vol. I. of his *History of the United States*, from whom we quote as follows:

The influence of the *Liberator* cannot be measured by its subscribers, any more than the French revolutionists of 1789 can be reckoned as of no greater number than the readers of *The Social Contract*. If Rousseau had never lived, said Napoleon, there would have been no French Revolution. It would be historical dogmatism to say that if Garrison had not lived, the Republicans would not have succeeded in 1860. But if we wish to estimate correctly the influence of Garrison and his disciples, we must not stop with the enumeration of their avowed adherents. We must bear in mind the impelling power of their positive dogmas, and of their never-ceasing inculcation on those who were already voters and on thinking youths who were to become voters, and who, in their turn, prevailed upon others. We must picture to ourselves this process of argument, of discussion, of persuasion, going on for twenty-five years, with an ever-increasing momentum, and we cannot resist the conviction that this anti-slavery agitation had its part, and a great part, too, in the first election of Lincoln. It was due to Garrison and his associates that slavery became a topic of discussion at every Northern fireside. Those who had heard the new doctrine gladly tried to convince their family and their friends; those who were but half convinced wished to vanquish their doubts or have put to rest the rising suspicion that they were partners in a great wrong; those who stubbornly refused to listen could not fail to feel that a new force had made its appearance, with which a reckoning must be made. Slavery could not bear examination. To describe it was to condemn it. There was a certain fitness, therefore, in the demand of the Southerners that the discussion of slavery in any shape should be no longer permitted at the North.

But in what a state of turpitude the North would have been if it had not bred abolitionists! If the abolitionists had not prepared the way, how would the political rising of 1854-60 against the slave power have been possible? It is true that many ardent Republicans who voted for Lincoln would have repudiated the notion that they were in any way influenced by the arguments of Garrison and his associates. And it is equally true that in 1835 the average Northern man satisfied himself by thinking slavery in the abstract a great evil, but that, as it existed in the South, it was none of his concern;

he thought that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men" a good doctrine to be preached on Sunday, and "all men are created equal" a fit principle to be proclaimed on the Fourth of July; but he did not believe that these sentiments should be applied to the social condition of the South. But that was exactly the ground on which the abolitionists planted themselves, and, by stirring the national conscience, they made possible the formation of a political party whose cardinal principle was opposition to the extension of slavery, and whose reason for existence lay in the belief of its adherents that slavery in the South was wrong.

Pages could be filled with the events associated with Garrison's movements alone, to say nothing of similar events which were associated with his now most respectable band of followers and supporters. Naturally copies of the *Liberator* found their way to the South, and were read with amazement and anger by representatives of the Slave Power. It was a mere coincidence that in the year following the appearance of the *Liberator*, a great negro insurrection broke out in Virginia. Nat Turner, a negro of unusual intelligence, had worked up his fellow-laborers to a high pitch of excitement, and, taking an eclipse of the sun as a sign that they must rise up and kill those who had deprived them of their freedom, they slaughtered over sixty white men, women, and children. The punishment was unmerciful, falling upon both the innocent and guilty, but it gave to the slaveholders an excuse to claim that Garrison and his *Liberator* had been the means of influencing Turner and his associates to their action, and that no doubt similar action was liable to take place at any time, in any part of the South where any considerable number of negroes could be banded together. The contention, however, was absolutely wrong. Neither Turner nor any other slaves had ever seen a copy of the *Liberator*. Garrison had not the slightest sympathy with any such sentiment; he did not believe that Slavery should be abolished by insurrection or force of any kind, but nevertheless the blame rested upon him, with the consequence that the agitation in the South against the "meddlers" of the North became more fierce than ever, even to the point of attempted national legislation.

There were now several anti-Slavery journals published, among which, besides the *Liberator*, can be mentioned: the *Philanthropist*, the *Emancipator*, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the *Abolition Intelligencer*, the *Edwardsville Spectator*, the *Illinois Intelligencer*, the *African Observer*, *Freedom's Journal*, the *National Philanthropist*, the *Investigator*, the *Free Press*, and the *Liberalist*. Besides these professedly anti-Slavery journals, there were more than fifty daily and weekly newspapers whose columns admitted anti-Slavery arguments. There was also, from this time on, a great mass of miscellaneous literature, books, pamphlets, tracts, and writings of all sorts, bearing upon the now all-absorbing question of the day.

The anti-Slavery and Abolition societies had increased until their membership numbered fully two hundred thousand, a large majority of them being in the slaveholding States themselves. The Slave Power, now thoroughly alarmed, attempted to suppress the circulation of this anti-Slavery literature, and it must be admitted that they were helped in no small degree by those from the North who condemned Garrison and his life.

In his seventh annual message to Congress, December 2, 1835, President Jackson recommended the passage of a law prohibiting what he termed "incendiary" publications by mail throughout the Southern States. Governor Marcy of New York, in his annual message of January 5th following, also advised the passage of some law that would have the same effect. Southern papers joined in the demand, and the debate brought to the attention of the people the question of Slavery as it had never appeared to them before, and to such a degree that it became the foremost question of the day until the time of its final settlement.

President Jackson's recommendation was referred by the Senate to a select committee, of which John C. Calhoun was chairman. He reported that the measure proposed by the President was unconstitutional, and proposed that each State should determine the question for itself. A bill was framed, however, with the following provision:

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall not be lawful for any deputy postmaster, in any State, Territory, or District, of the United States, knowingly, to deliver to any person whatsoever, any pamphlet, newspaper, hand-bill, or other printed paper or pictorial representation, touching the subject of Slavery, where, by the laws of the said State, Territory, or District, their circulation is prohibited; and any deputy postmaster who shall be guilty thereof, shall be forthwith removed from office.

It was defeated by the vote of Mr. Van Buren, then Vice-President, and all attempt at legislation on the subject was ended.

Elijah P. Lovejoy now came upon the scene, and for a time was an active participant in the exciting events between 1830 and 1840. He had been graduated with high honors at Waterville College, Maine, in 1826, and soon became very religiously inclined. He entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton in 1832, and received the following year a license to preach. Aided by friends, he returned to St. Louis, where he had formerly been a teacher, and started the *St. Louis Observer*, devoted at first purely to religious subjects. Soon after, Lovejoy took decided ground against Slavery, though opposed to immediate and unconditional emancipation. He continued to give more and more attention to the subject, but in October left his post temporarily to attend the Presbyterian Synod. His paper and office were now threatened with violence, but on the promise of the proprietors of *The Observer* that nothing should be said on the offending subject until the editor's return, the excitement in a measure died down. On his return, Lovejoy at once assumed the aggressive, defending his course, and declaring that he had sworn eternal opposition to Slavery, and by the blessing of God would never go back, being fully prepared to abide the consequences.

Trouble now came thick and fast, and he decided to remove his paper to Alton, Illinois. Because of commenting upon the burning to death of a negro prisoner, his office was surrounded and torn down, and his press afterwards destroyed. *The Observer* was issued at Alton, September 8th, and was issued regularly there for nearly a year. Lovejoy had assured

citizens of St. Louis, who at a meeting had passed resolutions condemning Abolitionists, that he was not an Abolitionist as they understood the term, but was an uncompromising enemy of Slavery, and so expected to live and die.

On going to Illinois he became more persistent and aggressive in his writings than ever, and was soon the object of opposition from the citizens of Alton. Public meetings were called, which at first passed resolutions condemning Mr. Lovejoy's course. This was followed by an attack upon the office of *The Observer*, after two unsuccessful attempts had been made, and all his press and types were completely destroyed. An appeal for aid to re-establish *The Observer* was generously responded to. He at once purchased new printing materials, but as the new press was being conveyed to a warehouse a mob rolled it to the river bank, broke it into pieces, and threw it in. Mr. Lovejoy was now insulted and mobbed wherever he went, and finally was compelled to take refuge in the house of a friend, being told by those who had formerly supported him that he had no one but himself to blame, and that if he again started *The Observer* they would not help him. But another press had been ordered and was expected to arrive at Alton at any time. An arrangement was finally made for it to reach Alton at three o'clock on the morning of November 7th. The mayor had been notified of the time of its arrival, and asked for special officers to aid and protect it. On the previous evening half a hundred men met in the warehouse, where the press was to be stored, to organize for the purpose of defending it. Thirty of these men were armed and remained in the building all night. Mr. Lovejoy was not among them. At three o'clock in the morning the press arrived by steamboat, and a guard of the mob watching for it sounded a signal, when horns were blown throughout the city. The press was finally deposited safely in the warehouse. On the following night, however, when it was supposed that all trouble was over, Mr. Lovejoy with a few citizens were at the warehouse, when at ten o'clock some thirty persons knocked and stated that they wanted the press. Upon being told by Mr. Gillman, one of the owners of the warehouse, that those within would

protect the property with their lives, the leader of the mob said that they had resolved to have the press, and thereupon firing commenced on both sides. The whole town was now aroused, and the mayor was called upon to suppress the riot, but responded that it had gone beyond his power. The building was fired, and as Mr. Lovejoy stepped to the door his body received five bullets, and exclaiming, "Oh, God! I am shot, I am shot!" he instantly expired. The leaders of the mob, and even the murderers of Lovejoy himself, were acquitted.

Mr. Lovejoy was, after all, one of the mildest of the so-called anti-Slavery agitators; he was not even an Abolitionist, he was simply a religious enthusiast, thoroughly imbued with the evil influence of Slavery, and firmly resolved to tell the people his views at any cost, believing that he had a right to say and print what he pleased. He had even gone so far as to leave a slave State and move to a free State for the further prosecution of his work. His property was destroyed and his life was taken by Northern sympathizers with the Slave Power who joined their minions, and the end was not yet.

When Garrison had been taken through the streets of Boston by a riotous mob, and Lovejoy had been shot down when defending his own property, it was time for men to realize the gravity of the situation as it had never been appreciated before; and to the ranks of the Abolitionists came Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, John G. Whittier, Lewis Tappan, James G. Birney, Edward Beecher, and many others.

In 1839 a band of Abolitionists met in convention at Warsaw, New York, and nominated James G. Birney for President. This nomination was confirmed the following year at Albany in a national convention of delegates, adopting the name of the Liberty party. Only comparatively few votes were cast for this ticket in the election of 1840, but the party grew to most formidable proportions in the following presidential campaign. The Abolitionists were entirely in favor of a moral and persuasive accomplishment of their purposes. It is said that Wendell Phillips never voted, and that Garrison voted but once. So powerful and numerous had the Abolitionists

now become, that the inevitable dissensions came, and they were divided into two camps, one to further the discussion in politics, the other to continue it as purely a moral question. Mr. Clay was now becoming a leading candidate for presidential honors, and did not conceal his ambitions in that direction. Although he had been a slaveholder, he was thoroughly opposed to the institution and its continuance, but was for peace and compromise at whatever cost, and denounced most severely the agitation of the Abolitionists at the North. Discussions in both the House and Senate regarding Slavery, and particularly the influence of the Abolitionists, were now a frequent occurrence, and though the lines had never as yet been sharply drawn in a political way between the North and South, yet they were tightening, and the critical years were near at hand.

Mr. Van Buren easily defeated William H. Harrison for President in 1836. Two years before, the organization of the Whig party had gradually absorbed the National Republicans, Federalists, anti-Masons, and all other parties opposed to President Jackson. A convention held as early as the 20th of May, 1835, a year and a half before the presidential election, had nominated Van Buren at the dictation of Jackson, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky had been nominated for Vice-President. The opposing candidates were General Harrison, Judge McLean, Daniel Webster, and Hugh L. White. The campaign was a most bitter one, and personalities were indulged in to a greater extent than had ever before been known. Van Buren, however, obtained a clear majority of the people's vote, as also of the electoral vote.

The so-called Compromise Tariff of 1833 provided that all duties in excess of twenty per cent. should be reduced by ten per cent. January 1, 1834, should be still further reduced by ten per cent. January 1, 1836, still further by ten per cent. January 1, 1838, and a still further reduction of ten per cent. January 1, 1840, and that on January 1, 1842, one half of the remaining duties then in excess of twenty per cent. were to be taken off, and all the remaining duties in excess of twenty per cent. to be taken off July 1st of the same year, with the in-

tended result that after July 1, 1842, there would be a uniform duty of twenty per cent. It was meant by this gradual reduction to avoid any sudden disarrangement of commercial transactions, and both Mr. Clay, who had proposed and framed the measure, and President Jackson, who had signed it, believed that it could be repealed at any time if it was found to be working against the financial and industrial interests of the country.

The effect of the first reduction was not serious, although a change in revenue was at once noticeable. The revenue received from the sales of public lands, however, was still so large as, together with the revenue from customs, more than to suffice for the expenditures of the Government. Consequently President Jackson left office with no national debt, and with a good working surplus in the Treasury. At the same time, President Jackson cannot be called a successful financier. His action in regard to the United States Bank, and the scattering of money in so-called "pet" banks, led to the wildest sort of speculation, particularly in public lands. Not only individuals, but States were discounting the future and indulging in the most extravagant expenditures. The surplus revenue was being divided among the States, and expended by many as fast as received.

The effect of the second reduction of the Tariff was now evident in the still further decreased revenues; and with a demand from England, which country was now undergoing the utmost financial distress, for payments on the stocks and bonds owned abroad, came at first an inability and then an absolute refusal to pay. We had no gold or silver to speak of, and the now almost worthless paper of the banks became cheaper than ever.

Within a month after the inauguration of Van Buren, commercial failures began, business houses by the hundred failed, goods fell in price, the bottom was knocked out of the market, workingmen were laid off, and the panic was the most severe that we had ever known. It is unnecessary to pile up evidence regarding the severity of the panic of 1837. All authorities are agreed upon that, although they may differ as to the causes. Van Buren Denslow, referring to the conditions of this period

in a speech before the Chicago Philosophical Society in 1882, said :

The act was as complex and multitudinous in its effects as it was simple and child-like in its provisions. It deranged the industrial future of every man, woman and child in the United States. What it said could be written on one's thumb nail. What it did, no human hand could write. Ruin flew to every fireside on the fascinating wings of cheapness; famine stalked into every household, leering under the drunkenness of inflation, yet griped with the sharp pangs of hunger. One flood of imports destroyed our manufactures; their sales on credit ruined our merchants, and the merchants then destroyed our banks; and yet, while the whole people were remitted to farming in the years of 1838 and 1842, we were importers of food. The planter pointed to the starving free laborer and mocked at him, because he was less comfortable than the slave.

Van Buren was not the man to help matters by any executive action or suggestion. Whether blind to the true state of affairs, or utterly incapable of making any recommendations or adopting any plans for relief, he at least did little except to convene Congress in special session, where nothing was accomplished. It may be a harsh accusation, but it is none the less true, that the South was now rejoicing over the industrial downfall of the North. Not only that, but it was rejoicing openly, declaring that the Tariff of 1833 could not be repealed, and that the South would outstrip the North in commercial importance within a very few years. King Cotton was now plying the lash on every side, and expected soon to sit upon his throne as monarch of all he surveyed. President Van Buren paid homage to this sovereign, and, though honest, was at least a very weak man when compared with his predecessors.

But the South was by no means satisfied with what it had obtained, and was stretching out in all directions for greater territory and greater power, using the same old threat of Nullification and Secession whenever any strenuous opposition was made to its expressed desires. For instance, the following expression of Governor McDuffie of South Carolina, who was Calhoun's most servile henchman, gives some idea of the sentiment which was crystallizing below Mason and Dixon's line.

However they may be amalgamated in the crucible of an executive proclamation or of speculative theory, history bears testimony that the States are, in point of fact, distinct and separate communities, mutually independent of each other, and each possessing the inherent and undivided attribute of sovereignty. Not only are they separated geographically, and by a distinct and independent political organization, but they are still more practically separated by the diversity of their staple productions, creating a direct and irreconcilable conflict of interest between the exporting and the manufacturing States, as decided as ever existed between any two independent nations, ancient or modern. It is, for example, the undoubted interest, as it is the sacred right of the planting States, to exchange their staples for the manufactures of Europe, free from every obstruction or incumbrance.

Here we have the "Irreconcilable Conflict" expression, afterwards changed by Seward to "Irrepressible Conflict."

The panic of 1837 and its consequence was the only matter of vast historical importance to connect with the administration of Van Buren, and it is enough to show the esteem in which the man was held by all classes to say, that in the election of 1840 he obtained only sixty electoral votes against 234 for his successful opponent, General William H. Harrison, whom he had beaten four years previous. He carried only two Northern States, New Hampshire and Illinois, and these by very slight pluralities. In this campaign appeared for the first time the Liberty party, with James G. Birney, the Abolitionist, as its candidate for President. He received, however, but a few more than seven thousand votes, although he was destined four years later to receive nearly ten times as many. The candidacy of General Harrison, who headed the Whig ticket, had made the campaign a most interesting and lively one. It had been devoid for the most part of the kind of personalities so much indulged in during the campaign of four years previous, although the individuality of General Harrison became a most interesting feature of the campaign. It was full of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and everywhere the "log cabin" and "hard cider" were in evidence. Mr. Clay's friends had been greatly disappointed that their champion had been defeated

for the nomination, and it is said that John Tyler of Virginia, though a slaveholder and a States' rights man, was so devoted to Clay that when the latter was defeated for the nomination he burst into tears, and it was these tears that so moved the convention that they gave him second place on the ticket. Harrison's election was greeted with acclaim by the jubilant Whigs, and he was inaugurated with great display. Clay was offered the portfolio of Secretary of State, but declined it, when it was tendered to Daniel Webster.

While the spoils system had been very obnoxious to the Whigs when General Jackson was in power, now that their own candidate was elected great eagerness was manifested in every corner for holding office. General Harrison was at once beset by office-seekers, which, coming after his most fatiguing campaign, so thoroughly undermined his health, that just one month after his inauguration he died, and John Tyler, the Democrat and slaveholder, became the President of the United States.

February 22, 1819, the Spanish Minister at Washington signed a treaty whereby Spain ceded Florida, consisting of 59,268 square miles, to the United States, in return for which, claims to the amount of five million dollars of American citizens against Spain were paid by this country. Spain ratified this treaty in 1821. The boundary of Louisiana by this treaty was fixed as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of the Sabine in the Gulf of Mexico; up the west bank of the Sabine to the thirty-second degree of north latitude; thence north to the Red River; along the south bank of the Red River to the one hundredth degree of longitude east from Greenwich; thence north to the Arkansas; thence along the south bank of the Arkansas to its source; thence south or north, as the case might be, to the forty-second degree of north latitude, and along that parallel to the Pacific.

It will be seen, therefore, that in return for Florida the United States gave up the claim to Texas, with the Rio Grande as its western boundary.

In 1824 Mexico became a republic with a federal constitution, and in 1827 the state of Coahuila and Texas framed a

constitution, the thirteenth Article of which contained the following:

In this state no person shall be born a slave after this constitution is published in the capital of each district, and six months thereafter, neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext.

But American adventurers were already invading Texas, paying no attention to the abolition of Slavery. In 1836 the Texans declared their independence on the ground that the compact between Texas and Mexico had been broken, because Santa Anna had established a military despotism upon the overthrow of the Mexican government. Samuel Houston now led the Texans, winning the battle of San Jacinto, and the independence of Texas was recognized by all nations. The so-called republic of Texas adopted a constitution, which contained the following:

All persons of color, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude.

It was further provided that Congress could pass no law to free slaves or prevent their immigration into the territory, nor could slaveholders free their own slaves without the consent of Congress. Texas now, in 1837, asked for admission into the Union. Nothing of importance, however, was done in the matter during Van Buren's term, but upon Tyler's succession to Harrison's seat, the Slave Power began to look with wistful eyes towards the large territory that could be made into several slave States. Calhoun became Secretary of State in 1843, and at once became an earnest advocate of annexation, and bent every energy to that end, a treaty of annexation being secretly entered into, although it was rejected by the Senate. Texas now claimed all the territory east and north of the Rio Grande, and annexation, with a defence of her claim, meant war with Mexico. According to the Missouri Compromise, Slavery could not extend west of the Mississippi north of 36° 30', and therefore, unless the South could obtain more territory to the southwest of the Mississippi, it had no means of

extending its slave territory, while the North could extend its territory of free States to the west almost without limit. Representative Henry A. Wise of Virginia said in a speech in the House, January 26, 1842:

True, if Iowa be added on the one side, Florida will be added on the other. But there the equation must stop. Let one more Northern State be admitted, and the equilibrium is gone—gone forever. The balance of interests is gone—the safeguard of American property—of the American Constitution—of the American Union, vanished into thin air. This must be the inevitable result, unless, by a treaty with Mexico, the South can add more weight to her end of the lever. Let the South stop at the Sabine, while the North may spread unchecked beyond the Rocky Mountains, and the Southern scale must kick the beam.

The immense impetus given to industries and all commercial interests by the immediately successful workings of the Tariff of 1842 again led the jealous Slave Power to look with increasing anxiety toward the North, and the power that it would not only have in Congress, but in every material way, even to its resources in arms. Every possible means, therefore, must now be adopted to bring about the annexation of Texas, and as a slave Territory. The North was fully awake to the situation, and realized what the acquisition of such territory, capable of being made into several States, meant to the already powerful influence of the slaveholders. It naturally became the issue of the campaign in 1844. In the year 1827, during the administration of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Secretary of State, through the Mexican Minister, offered to Mexico one million dollars for the cession to us of her territory this side of the Rio Grande. In 1829, Van Buren, President Jackson's Secretary of State, offered four or five million dollars for Texas, but including no part of the valley of the Rio Grande, nor of that of the Nueces this side of it, but still Mexico would not sell. The discussion had been taken up in Congress, and the lines were strictly drawn.

Mr. Tyler at once became an ideal "Anti." He was anti-Tariff, anti-Improvement, anti-Bank, and anti-Coercion. His

vote was the only vote cast in the United States Senate in February, 1833, in opposition to President Jackson's so-called "Force Bill" against South Carolina's Nullification. He had supported Mr. Clay's so-called Compromise Tariff, and had opposed the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, and had voted for Mr. Clay's resolution censuring President Jackson. He had received every electoral vote cast for General Harrison, and should have been the President of the whole country, but immediately upon assuming office he became a most servile tool of the Slave Power, refusing to accede to requests of numerous bodies to free his own slaves. He immediately quarrelled with Henry Clay, and in fact, with about everybody; he vetoed a National Bank bill which had been passed by both Houses, although its provisions had been suggested by his own Secretary of the Treasury; and when Congress passed another bank bill, adopting his own suggestions, he vetoed that also. His Cabinet resigned their places with the exception of Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, who retained his position until 1843, when he also resigned. Mr. Calhoun, who succeeded Mr. Webster after a short occupancy of the office by Mr. Upshur, was now in practically complete control of the Government.

Mr. Webster had taken a pronounced stand against annexation, and in a speech made at Niblo's Garden, March 15, 1837, he said:

Gentlemen, we all see that, by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slaveholding country; and I frankly avow my unwillingness to do anything that shall extend the slavery of the African race on this continent, or add other slaveholding States to the Union. When I say that I regard Slavery in itself as a great moral, social, and political evil, I only use language which has been adopted by distinguished men, themselves citizens of slaveholding States. I shall do nothing, therefore, to favor or encourage its further extension. We have Slavery already amongst us. The Constitution found it in the Union; it recognized it, and gave it solemn guaranties. To the full extent of those guaranties, we all are bound, in honor, in justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution in favor of the slaveholding States

which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, in the fullness of their spirit and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress. It is a concern of the States themselves; they have never submitted it to Congress, and Congress has no rightful power over it. I shall concur, therefore, in no act, no measure, no menace, no indication of purpose, which shall interfere, or threaten to interfere, with the exclusive authority of the several States over the subject of Slavery as it exists within their respective limits. All this appears to me to be a matter of plain, imperative duty.

But, when we come to speak of admitting new States, the subject assumes an entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different.

The free States, and all the States, are then at liberty to accept or to reject. When it is proposed to bring new members into this political partnership, the old members have a right to say on what terms such new partners are to come in, and what they are to bring along with them. In my opinion, the people of the United States will not consent to bring into the Union a new, vastly extensive, and slaveholding country, large enough for half a dozen or a dozen States. In my opinion, they ought not to consent to it.

Ex-President Jackson in a letter to Mr. A. V. Brown, a Democratic member of Congress from Tennessee, wrote :

The question is full of interest also as it affects our domestic relations, and as it may bear upon those of Mexico to us. I will not undertake to follow it out to its consequences in those respects; though I must say that, in all aspects, the annexation of Texas to the United States promises to enlarge the circle of free institutions, and is essential to the United States, particularly as lessening the probabilities of future collision with foreign powers, and giving them greater efficiency in spreading the blessings of peace.

A stirring address to the people of the free States had been prepared by John Quincy Adams, William Slade, John R. Giddings, and other anti-Slavery Whig members of the Twenty-seventh Congress. From that address we quote the following :

The open avowal of the Texans themselves—the frequent and anxious negotiations of our own Government—the resolutions of

various States of the Union—the numerous declarations of members of Congress—the tone of the Southern press—as well as the direct application of the Texan Government—make it impossible for any man to doubt that Annexation, and the formation of several new Slaveholding States, were originally the policy and design of the Slaveholding States and the Executive of the Nation. . . . To prevent the success of this nefarious project—to preserve from such gross violation the Constitution of our country, adopted expressly “to secure the blessings of liberty,” and not the perpetuation of Slavery—and to prevent the speedy and violent dissolution of the Union—we invite you to unite, without distinction of party, in an immediate exposition of your views on this subject, in such manner as you may deem best calculated to answer the end proposed.

Mr. Van Buren, responding to a letter of inquiry as to his “opinions as to the constitutionality and expediency of immediately annexing Texas to the United States, so soon as the consent of Texas may be had to such Annexation,” replied in such a manner, that it was clear that while he was willing to admit the desirability of annexing Texas, following somewhat the arguments used in Jackson’s letter, who had called attention to the value of Texas as a dependency of a foreign power, yet he could not give any support to the scheme under the existing circumstances, leading, as he thought it would, to a war with Mexico. This stand Mr. Van Buren took, knowing that it would be fatal to his re-election or even renomination to the Presidency.

Mr. Clay was most emphatically against annexation, at least in the early part of 1844, saying, “For one I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas.” He said further in a letter to *The National Intelligencer*, dated Raleigh, N. C., April 17, 1844:

It is useless to disguise that there are those who espouse, and those who oppose, the annexation of Texas upon the ground of the influence which it would exert on the balance of political power between two great sections of the Union. I conceive that no motive for the acquisition of foreign territory could be more unfortunate, or pregnant with more fatal consequences, than that of obtaining it for the purpose of strengthening one part against another part of

the common confederacy. Such a principle, put into practical operation, would menace the existence, if it did not certainly sow the seeds of a dissolution of the Union.

It was now time for the national conventions. Mr. Birney had been nominated by the Liberty party in 1843, and, as will be seen, the increased vote which he received over four years previously was fraught with most important and widespread results. Mr. Van Buren, who had been defeated by General Harrison in 1840, was immediately after his defeat nominated by his friends and Democratic newspapers as the candidate of the Democratic party for 1844. Mr. Tyler, although he had courted the support of the Democrats and made himself obnoxious to the Whigs, who had elected him, nevertheless succeeded in obtaining more contempt from them than respect, and was thought of by no party for the nomination. South Carolina and Georgia were now united in support of Mr. Calhoun as their candidate, and the opponents of Van Buren in the North looked favorably upon the candidacy of General Lewis Cass of Michigan.

The May letters of Van Buren and Clay, both opposing the annexation of Texas because of the expectancy of war with Mexico, strengthened both men at the North, but only served to increase the opposition to both at the South. The Slave Power now wished to rid itself of pledges made to Van Buren, and every exertion was put forth to bring about that result. The Democratic convention was held at Baltimore on the 27th of May, and as Van Buren was sure to have a majority vote on the first ballot, the two-thirds rule was re-adopted in spite of the opposition of his friends.

The convention was stormy and full of debate. Van Buren led for four ballots, while Cass led on the following four. On the eighth ballot James K. Polk of Tennessee received forty-four, and on the ninth 233 against two for Van Buren and twenty-nine for Cass. Here was the first instance of the "dark horse" winning in our national conventions. Polk had hardly been thought of, much less discussed previous to the convention.

Silas Wright, a Senator from New York, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Van Buren, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by an almost unanimous vote. Being advised of the result of the convention by telegraph, and feeling that Van Buren had been betrayed, he wired at once his declination of the nomination. Only a short time before had a telegraph line been completed between Washington and Baltimore, and it was thought afterwards that had it not been possible to communicate with Mr. Wright by telegraph, he would have been persuaded to stand for the nomination. In this connection, Mr. A. K. McClure, in his *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, calls attention to the fact, that Jackson had been made a President because there were no telegraph or cables in 1815, when he had won the battle of New Orleans two weeks after peace had been declared; while Silas Wright ended his political career in disaster because he had had the advantage of the telegraph. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was nominated to take Mr. Wright's place, and, as will be seen hereafter, his nomination carried with it most important and disastrous results to the interests of the country. In the platform adopted we find the following resolution:

Resolved, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

The Whig convention had been held in Baltimore on the 1st of May, and was unanimous in support of Mr. Clay for the Presidency, his nomination being made by acclamation, Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey gaining the second place on the ticket. Here the first Whig national platform was adopted, and was as follows:

Resolved, That, in presenting to the country the names of Henry Clay for President and of Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President of the United States, this convention is actuated by the con-

viction that all the great principles of the Whig party—principles inseparable from the public honor and prosperity—will be maintained and advanced by these candidates.

Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising: a well-regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

Resolved, That the name of Henry Clay needs no eulogy. The history of the country since his first appearance in public life is his history. Its brightest pages of prosperity and success are identified with the principles which he has upheld, as its darkest and more disastrous pages are with every material departure in our public policy from those principles.

Resolved, That in Theodore Frelinghuysen we present a man pledged alike by his Revolutionary ancestry and his own public course to every measure calculated to sustain the honor and interest of the country. Inheriting the principles as well as the name of a father who, with Washington, on the fields of Trenton and of Monmouth, perilled life in the contest for liberty, and afterwards, as a Senator of the United States, acted with Washington in establishing and perpetuating that liberty, Theodore Frelinghuysen, by his course as Attorney-General of the State of New Jersey for twelve years, and subsequently as a Senator of the United States for several years, was always strenuous on the side of law, order, and the Constitution, while, as a private man, his head, his hand, and his heart have been given without stint to the cause of morals, education, philanthropy, and religion.

The campaign which followed was one of the most important and extraordinary of all our political campaigns. Mr. Clay was beloved by the people as had been no man since Washington, although it must be admitted that he had made enemies and some lukewarm friends when he had been earnestly and sincerely striving for the best good of our people, and for the Union; but though he had made mistakes of either heart or

head, the greatest mistake of his life was now made. The prospect of carrying both New York and Pennsylvania by the Whigs seemed very flattering, but on the 16th of August *The North Alabamian* published a letter from Mr. Clay in which he said:

I do not think it right to announce in advance what will be the course of a future Administration in respect to a question with a foreign power. I have, however, no hesitation in saying that, far from having any personal objection to the Annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it—without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms.

I do not think that the subject of Slavery ought to affect the question, one way or the other. Whether Texas be independent, or incorporated in the United States, I do not believe it will prolong or shorten the duration of that institution. It is destined to become extinct, at some distant day, in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable laws of population. It would be unwise to refuse a permanent acquisition, which will exist as long as the globe remains, on account of a temporary institution.

In the contingency of my election, to which you have adverted, if the affair of acquiring Texas should become a subject of consideration, I should be governed by the state of facts, and the state of public opinion existing at the time I might be called upon to act. Above all, I should be governed by the paramount duty of preserving the Union, entire, and in harmony, regarding it, as I do, as the great guaranty of every political and public blessing, under Providence, which, as a free people, we are permitted to enjoy.

On the other hand, Mr. Wright, who had been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, announced in his speeches that he could not consent to annexation under any terms which would give Slavery an advantage over freedom. This sentiment he repeated during the canvass. Mr. Clay was now put upon the defensive, and the Liberty party took advantage of his letter, going so far as to claim that Mr. Clay's election would be more likely to promote annexation than Mr. Polk's. Mr. Clay wrote another letter on September 23d to *The National Intelligencer*, and reasserted his unchanging objections to annexation, saying:

I am decidedly opposed to the immediate Annexation of Texas to the United States. I think it would be dishonorable, might involve us in war, would be dangerous to the integrity and harmony of the Union; and, if all these objections were removed, could not be effected upon just and admissible conditions.

But this explanation did not satisfy the Liberty party, nor a large mass of people who had been Mr. Clay's staunch supporters. Up to the time of his Alabama letter it seemed as if he would carry every free State: in fact the Democrats were becoming so frightened, that they at once entered into a scheme by which they should carry Pennsylvania, and with it other Northern States.

Besides the Texas annexation question, there entered into the campaign the Tariff question, dividing at times the issue of Annexation. The Tariff of 1842 had proved a complete success both from a revenue and a Protection standpoint. Mr. Clay had been the father of the "American System" so called, and had been known as a staunch Protectionist, although his compromise measure of 1833 had lost him many friends. He had, however, realized the error which he had been led into through his devotion for the Union, and his speeches and every utterance showed that he was again an uncompromising Protectionist. In one of his campaign speeches he said:

Let the amount which is requisite for an economical administration of the government, when we are not engaged in a war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports; and in adjusting a tariff for that purpose, let such discrimination be made as will foster and encourage our domestic manufactures. All parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue, and discrimination for protection.

Mr. Polk's position had been equivocal. While he had not openly opposed a Protective Tariff law, yet he was known to be thoroughly in sympathy with the Slaveholding Power, which now demanded absolute Free Trade, pure and simple. The candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Dallas, being an avowed Protectionist, enabled the party to raise the cry of "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842." This was the cry in Pennsylvania and other parts of the North, while in the South,

which the telegraph had not as yet penetrated, the cry was given out as "Polk, Dallas, and Free Trade." Mr. Polk was now thoroughly in league with the Southerners, and had come to an understanding with them. A year previous, while running for the office of Governor of Tennessee, he had said in a letter:

I have steadily, during the period I was a representative in Congress, been opposed to a protective policy, as my recorded votes and published speeches prove. Since I retired from Congress I had held the same opinions. In the present canvass for Governor I have avowed my opposition to the Tariff Act of the late Whig Congress, as being highly protective in its character and not designed by its authors as a revenue measure. I had avowed my opinion in my public speeches, that the interests of the country—and especially of the producing and exporting States—required its repeal, and the restoration of the Compromise Act of 1833.

While now, on June 19, 1844, he writes the following letter to John K. Kane, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

COLUMBIA, TENN., June 19, 1844.

DEAR SIR:

I have already received several letters in reference to my opinions on the subject of the Tariff, and among others yours of the 10th ultimo. My opinions on this subject have been often given to the public. They are to be found in my public acts, and in the public discussions in which I have participated.

I am in favor of a Tariff for revenue, such a one as will yield a sufficient amount to the Treasury to defray the expenses of Government economically administered. In adjusting the details of a revenue Tariff, I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties, as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry. I am opposed to a Tariff for protection merely, and not for revenue. . . .

In my judgment, it is the duty of the Government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation. I

heartily approve the resolutions upon this subject as passed by the Democratic National Convention, lately assembled at Baltimore.

I am with great respect,

Dear Sir, your ob't serv't,

JAMES K. POLK.

JOHN K. KANE, ESQ., Philadelphia.

The vote, as might be expected, was exceedingly close, Mr. Polk having 1,337,243, while Mr. Clay had 1,299,062, a plurality for Mr. Polk of 38,181. Mr. Birney obtained 62,300—15,812 of these being cast in New York, where Mr. Polk had only 5,106 plurality.¹ It can readily be seen that if Mr. Clay did not defeat himself, certainly the candidacy of Mr. Birney, the Abolitionist, did it for him. It is needless to say, that ex-President Jackson was highly elated at the defeat of Mr. Clay. He had entered most heartily into the contest, particularly in Tennessee, where the vote was so exceedingly close that it was not ascertained for many days; and when it was finally announced, it was found that Mr. Clay had carried the State by 113. But New York and Pennsylvania were lost to the Whigs, and so the Union. Their ablest and most beloved leader had been defeated, and in spite of charges of fraud, and several contests, they were bound to submit. The Kentucky electors, after casting their votes for Mr. Clay, prepared an address to be delivered to him at Ashland. The Electoral College, accompanied by a large concourse of citizens, was met at his door, and in replying to the address he said that he would not "affect indifference to the personal concern which I had in the political contest just terminated, but unless I am greatly self-deceived, the principal attraction to me of the office of President of the United States arose out of the cherished hope that I might be an humble instrument, in the hand of Providence, to accomplish public good"; and in conclusion he said: "I heartily thank you, sir, for your friendly wishes for my happiness in the retirement which henceforth best becomes me." Thus ended the most memorable presidential campaign and election which the country had as yet seen.

The control of the Government was now wholly in the hands

¹ Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*.

of slaveholders, annexationists, and Free-Traders. Mr. Polk immediately set about redeeming his pledges to Mr. Calhoun, one of which was to establish a new Democratic organ at Washington to take the place of the *Globe*. To this end he at once removed to Washington and aided in the purchase of the *Globe* with money which President Tyler had allowed to be taken from the public Treasury, and he gave notice to Democratic members of Congress that all who did not favor the immediate annexation of Texas need expect no favors after the 4th of March. He also acquiesced with the determination of Calhoun, that Governor Wright of New York should be read out of the Democratic party. He organized his Cabinet as follows: James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; John Y. Mason of Virginia, Attorney-General. Mason afterwards succeeded Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy, while Nathan Clifford of Maine, in 1846, and Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, in 1848, succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship.

But before Polk was inaugurated, the arrangements for the annexation of Texas were completed. President Tyler and Secretary Calhoun pushed the matter with the utmost vigor, so that upon the very last day of his term the President started a messenger to Texas to secure her assent to the annexation, which had been decreed by our national Congress. The third condition of the resolutions, which had been passed in both Houses of Congress, consenting that the Territory should be erected into a new State, was as follows:

Third. New States of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to the said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution; and such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union

with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited.

The condition appears ridiculous in the light of the fact that Texas had not possessed a single acre north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$. It, however, committed Congress to the endorsement of the claim of Texas to the entire left bank of the Rio Grande from its source to its mouth.

This sudden and rather unexpected result of the annexation question startled the North as much as it pleased the South, but the Representatives of the free States were powerless to do anything, at least for four years to come. Texas readily accepted the invitation to become a State, and was admitted December 29, 1845, being the last slave State to join the Union.

The Twenty-ninth Congress assembled December 1, 1845, with a Democratic majority in both branches. John W. Davis of Indiana was chosen Speaker of the House. Up to this time the anticipated and predicted war with Mexico had not materialized. No step whatever had been taken by Mexico following the admission of the new State. It now becomes necessary to record the most disgraceful and dishonorable event connected with our Government in American history. General Zachary Taylor, commanding the Southwestern Department, was sent to the boundary-line between Texas and Mexico with the intent and purpose of provoking war. Mexico was weak but courageous. Texas had made claim to territory to which she had no right or title whatever, and the spirit of the old Spaniards, although torn by internal dissensions, was roused to the point of not only acting upon the defensive, but to taking the aggressive. The armies of the two countries now faced each other, and, as Benton says in his *Thirty Years' View*, "being thus in presence, with anger in their bosoms and arms in their hands, that took place which everybody foresaw must take place—collisions and hostilities." Mexican troops were sent across the river, attacking and killing a few Americans. This was what the President wanted, and when the

news reached Washington, he immediately sent a message to Congress, declaring that "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress then declared, May 13, 1846, that war existed by act of Mexico, and ten million dollars was appropriated, and fifty thousand volunteers were called for the prosecution of the struggle. Although protesting against this unjust war, only fourteen Representatives and two Senators voted against the appropriation, believing that as war did actually exist from whatever cause, the Flag must be defended. It was, as it seemed to the North, a war on behalf of the Slave Power for the still further extension of slave territory. As must be inevitable when a vastly stronger power meets a weak force, we were victorious, even though our troops in nearly every battle faced larger numbers. The Mexicans showed great bravery, but against superior skill, better discipline and equipment. General Taylor and General Scott both became famous during this war, while two other afterwards famous generals, Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, served the apprenticeship of their military careers. Congress remained in session until the 10th of August, and when it was apparent that Mexico must finally succumb, President Polk believed that he might make a treaty of peace by the payment of a considerable sum of money to Mexico. Accordingly, on August 8th he sent a special message to Congress upon the subject, and a bill was reported making appropriations of thirty thousand dollars for expenses, and two million dollars to be used by the President in making such a treaty.

This bill seemed at first likely to pass both Houses without opposition, but the Northern Representatives in Congress were now thoroughly alarmed and fully awake to the situation, and after a consultation which occupied but a very short time, Mr. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, a Democratic Representative, was chosen as the one who should offer an amendment to the bill, providing as follows:

Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated

between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.

This was at once known, and continued to be known, as the Wilmot Proviso.¹ It was quickly adopted by a vote of eighty-five to eighty, and sent to the Senate, where, adjournment being so near, the bill and proviso both failed to be acted upon. More than a year afterwards, on the eve of a presidential convention and election, General Cass, on being asked by Mr. Nicholson of Tennessee his opinion regarding the Wilmot Proviso, said in a reply dated December 24, 1847:

The Wilmot Proviso has been before the country for some time. It has been repeatedly discussed in Congress and by the public press. I am strongly impressed with the opinion that a great change has been going on in the public mind upon this subject, in my own as well as others', and that doubts are resolving themselves into convictions, that the principle it involves should be kept out of the National Legislature, and left to the people of the confederacy in their respective local governments.

This is probably the first expression of the sentiment known afterwards as "Popular" or "Squatter Sovereignty," and was a questioning of the power of the Government to exclude Slavery from the Territories. The Thirtieth Congress on assembling December 6, 1847, elected Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, a Whig Speaker, by a majority of one. The Wilmot Proviso from now on came up repeatedly in different forms, only to be defeated in every instance.

¹ Schouler (vol. v., p. 67) says: "Of this famous Wilmot Proviso, David Wilmot, rural Pennsylvanian and Democrat of the last and next House, was unquestionably the author." This is an error. Jacob R. Brinkerhoff of Ohio was the author. Several copies of his original draft were made and distributed among the Free Soil Democrats in the House, with the understanding that whoever could first get recognition from the Speaker should offer it. Wilmot succeeded and won distinction therefor. The original Proviso was in Judge Brinkerhoff's possession until his death in 1880, and to it was added by him an account of its origin. After his death the family, at the suggestion of General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, to whom I am indebted for these facts, deposited it with Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress.—*A Political History of Slavery*, by William Henry Smith, vol. i., p. 83.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FREE-SOILERS—COMPROMISE OF 1850—FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL—"KNOW-NOTHINGS."

PEACE with Mexico had been made by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February, 1848, and immediately a bill for providing a Territorial Government for Oregon was brought before Congress, and referred to a Senate Committee, which reported it with amendments establishing Territorial Governments in Mexico and California also. In this bill was a proposition to the effect that all questions concerning Slavery in those Territories should be referred to the United States Supreme Court. This so-called Clayton Compromise was, however, defeated.

At the Democratic Convention of 1848, General Cass was nominated for the Presidency, and General William O. Butler of Kentucky was nominated for Vice-President. The New York Democrats were now divided into two factions, namely, the "Barnburners"¹ and "Hunkers."

The convention proposed to admit both factions, giving each delegate a half vote, but this proposition the "Barnburners" would not accept, and left the convention in a body, meeting later in a national convention at Buffalo, with the Free-Soil party, where Martin Van Buren was nominated for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. In a letter to the author, Senator George F. Hoar calls this

¹ From the story of the Dutch farmer who had burned his barn to free it from rats. This faction was afterwards known as "Softs" in distinction from the "Hunkers," who became known as "Hards" or "Hard-shells." The "Hunkers" had always been the conservative element of the Democratic party. The origin of the name is uncertain.

movement of the new party, now known as Free-Soilers, the origin of the Republican party; and because of the most important part played by this body of men in the years following, a considerable portion of their first platform is given, as follows:

Whereas, We have assembled in convention, as a union of free-men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences, in common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the Slave Power, and to secure free soil for a free people; and

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the national party organizations heretofore existing by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and

Whereas, These nominations so made furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control:

Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen dele-

gates, in the Congress of 1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period—clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due legal process.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy. No such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by any just implication from them.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved, That the true and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the Slave Power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is, No more slave States and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be ever kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the Senate of the United States was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the

future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

Resolved, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre by the reckless hostility of the Slave Power to the establishment of free government for free territory, and not only for them, but for our new brethren in New Mexico and California.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

The Whig National Convention which assembled at Philadelphia nominated General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana for President, and Millard Fillmore of New York for Vice-President. No resolutions were adopted, though an effort to affirm the principle of the Wilmot Proviso was defeated.

In November, 1847, the Liberty party met in convention at New York and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President. The Abolitionists supported Van Buren, the Free-Soil candidate. Though Van Buren polled nearly three hundred thousand votes, yet he did not carry a single State, and General Taylor easily obtained a plurality of the popular vote and a majority in the Electoral College.

During the debate regarding the organizing of the Territory of Oregon, several attempts were made to adopt amendments concerning Slavery in the Territory, but the bill finally passed without making reference to Slavery in any form, and Oregon became a free Territory.

Though General Taylor had been a slaveholder, and was non-committal upon the great issue during his campaign, he did not have the confidence of any considerable portion of the Slave Power. South Carolina and Tennessee were both opposed to him, as was also Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, his

own son-in-law. The parties were now becoming more and more divided, the Northern Democrats joining the Free-Soil party, while the Whigs, whose party was disintegrating, were taking sides both North and South.

Ex-Governor William H. Seward of New York took his seat in the Senate on the day of General Taylor's inauguration, joining Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. It was now necessary to make provision for the early organization of the new Territories of California and New Mexico. California was anxious to become a State, and the discovery of gold had carried swarms of colonists to that Territory, making a strong Government at once necessary. A constitution had been framed, and State officers and members of Congress elected under it, ready to take their seats as soon as California should be admitted as a State. The debate upon the several propositions presented was prolonged and earnest. The Slave Power had reached its last ditch, and was determined upon a resistance which taxed every effort of its ablest leaders. After a fruitless controversy Mr. Clay submitted, on June 3, 1849, a basis for a proposed compromise of all differences regarding Slavery in the Territories. Most violently did he defend his opposition against the attacks of Mr. Jefferson Davis and others in behalf of the slaveholders, but the most remarkable speech of all was that made on the 7th of March by Daniel Webster, in which he supported the various propositions advanced by Mr. Clay, and in many respects reversed his former expressed opinions upon the great issue of the day. His great speech was taken up at the South most enthusiastically and reprinted at Richmond and Charleston and New Orleans, from which points it was scattered throughout that whole section of the country. While in no way did he refer directly to Mr. Clay's propositions, at the same time the tenor of his whole address was favorable to their adoption, and no doubt had great influence in the final adoption of Mr. Clay's subsequent measures for compromise. On April 5th, a select committee was appointed, with Mr. Clay as its chairman, to consider the matter, and this committee reported substantially all the original propositions for compromise as follows:

1. The admission of any new State or States formed out of Texas to be postponed until they shall hereafter present themselves to be received into the Union, when it will be the duty of Congress fairly and faithfully to execute the compact with Texas, by admitting such new State or States.

2. The admission forthwith of California into the Union, with the boundaries which she has proposed.

3. The establishment of Territorial Governments, without the Wilmot Proviso, for New Mexico and Utah, embracing all the territory recently acquired from Mexico, not contained in the boundaries of California.

4. The combination of these two last measures in the same bill.

5. The establishment of the western and northern boundaries of Texas, and the exclusion from her jurisdiction of all New Mexico, with the grant to Texas of a pecuniary equivalent; and that section for that purpose to be incorporated in the bill admitting California, and establishing Territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico.

6. More effectual enactments of law to secure the prompt delivery of persons bound to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, who escape into another State; and

7. Abstaining from abolishing Slavery, but, under a heavy penalty, prohibiting the Slave-Trade, in the District of Columbia.

The death of General Taylor occurred on July 10th, Vice-President Millard Fillmore succeeding to the Presidency. All attempts to divide California by the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ failed, and this State was finally admitted and all the measures embraced in the Compromise provision were finally carried in the Senate without serious opposition. Although the proposition met with resistance in the House, it was finally adopted, each measure being decided upon separately, all the measures originally proposed by Mr. Clay becoming laws of the land, and known as the Compromise of 1850.

The debate and passage of the Compromise of 1850, following so closely upon the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the controversy over the Wilmot Proviso, stirred the country, particularly the North, to its very depths. The men and speeches of the time deserve more space than we can give them, but they must not be dismissed without a passing notice

Henry Clay had been a United States Senator from Kentucky as early as 1806. From 1811 to 1825 he had been a Representative almost continuously, occupying the Speaker's chair six terms. He had been Secretary of State from 1825 to 1829 and Senator from 1836 to 1842. He again entered the Senate in 1849, where he remained till his death in 1852. Says Rhodes: "Other Americans have been intellectually greater, others have been more painstaking, others still have been greater benefactors to their country; yet no man has been loved as the people of the United States loved Henry Clay." It might be added that no man ever loved his country more. Although a slaveholder, he realized the social and economic evils of the institution. The private life of his early and middle age was far from being above reproach, but this can also be said of many another of our great statesmen, and twice have we elected a President whose early habits are too unsavory to be discussed. Clay was, with all his faults, sincere, honest, and patriotic, and his return to the Senate in 1849 was to crown every effort of his life to perpetuate the Union. It was no light task to attempt arbitration between the free and slave sections in 1850. But he framed his propositions and defended them in a masterful manner that carried persuasion and conviction.

Daniel Webster first entered Congress in 1813 as a Representative from New Hampshire. He moved to Boston in 1816, and was a Representative from Massachusetts from 1823 to 1827; he was elected Senator the latter year, and held his seat until 1841; he was Secretary of State from 1841 to 1843, during which period he negotiated the Ashburton treaty¹ with Great Britain; he again entered the United States Senate in 1845, becoming Secretary of State in 1850, and remained at the head of Mr. Fillmore's Cabinet until his death in 1852. His great speeches in reply to Hayne and Calhoun have already been alluded to. He became an ardent Protectionist before the Tariff of 1828, which he firmly supported, and as firmly opposed the Compromise Tariff of 1833. In his love for his

¹ A treaty drawn up by Lord Ashburton, Commissioner from Great Britain, and Secretary Webster, settling the Northwest boundary.

country, he showed almost, if not quite, the zeal of Clay. He believed in, and had well defended the Constitution. He believed, above all else, in one grand nationality, a great and inseparable Union. Occupying the elevated and exalted position which he did, it could hardly be otherwise than that he should have ambitions for the Presidency; but the fourteen electoral votes which Massachusetts gave him in 1836 was the nearest that his efforts or the efforts of his friends could bring him to the coveted position. He was, perhaps, the greatest orator America has ever known, and it is not surprising that his speech upon the propositions of Mr. Clay should have been looked forward to with the keenest anticipation. Up to a few days previous to the delivery of his famous 7th of March speech, he had never believed that the country was in any real or immediate danger of dissolution, but it is quite likely that the speech of Mr. Calhoun, made upon the 4th of March, had taken deep root in his mind, and that he became actuated by only one thought, namely, that of persuading his colleagues in both Houses to accept the Compromise, and forestall, as in 1820 and 1832, any chances for carrying out the often-made threat of the slaveholders for disunion. There is no doubt that Mr. Webster, with many others, believed that the greatest danger to the country was continued controversy. He felt that if the question of Slavery in the new Territories could be settled in some way, peace and harmony would come, and perhaps the question be laid at rest forever. This is perhaps the most charitable view that can be taken of the sentiments expressed in his great speech of the 7th of March. Certain it was that he repudiated and denied many of the expressions of former days in their interpretation, and seemed to argue as an advocate retained by the Slave Power. Pain and indignation throughout the North followed the delivery of his speech, and whatever were his motives or purpose, the meanest, of course, were attributed to him. It can hardly be believed fifty years after the delivery of that speech, that he was trying to court the favor of the South in his presidential ambitions, knowing, as he must have known, that for every vote gained below Mason and Dixon's line he would certainly lose two or three

above it. It seemed for a time as if his service for his country and fellow-men of forty years was all to be neutralized by the action of that fatal day, and yet, as the Compromise was adopted, and it was for a time thought that the Slavery question was settled "forever," many of those who were at first most indignant began to feel that perhaps, after all, Mr. Webster had not been wholly wrong. But be it as it may, an American of to-day, who points with pride to the great career of that peerless Massachusetts orator and statesman, might wish that he had never delivered that memorable speech of the 7th of March, 1850.

John C. Calhoun was one of the most unique characters in American history. He entered Congress from South Carolina in 1811, retaining his seat until 1817, when he became Secretary of War in President Monroe's Cabinet. He was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1825, which position he held for eight years. Following that, he occupied a seat in the United States Senate until 1843, becoming Secretary of State under President Tyler in 1844. He was again re-elected to the Senate in 1845, where he remained until his death, March 31, 1850, less than a month after his speech upon the Compromise resolutions. It has already been noted that Mr. Calhoun, although at first an ardent Protectionist, changed his views and afterwards became a Free-Trader. His views upon the Tariff question, and upon every public question which entered into his life, were influenced and controlled solely by his love for the South in general and South Carolina in particular. Like Clay and Webster, he loved his country, but the country that Clay and Webster loved was bounded by the farthestmost lines of its whole territory, while the country of John C. Calhoun was bounded on the north by Mason and Dixon's line. Like Clay and Webster, Calhoun had also aspirations to be President, but it must be said that they were secondary to his ambitions for his State and its power. He had most ably and even heroically, time and time again, defended the doctrines which he believed to be right and best for his section of the country.

He thought and taught that Slavery "is a positive good,"

advantageous alike to the negro and his owner. Webster, his most persistent opponent, said of him that "nothing low or meanly selfish came near the head or heart of Mr. Calhoun." He well knew his power and his ability to lead. He dominated every other mind, and from the day that he entered public life until the day that he laid down that life, he never for a moment knew his equal in advocating and demanding the rights of the slaveholder and of defending the slaveholder's territory. When he entered the Senate upon the 4th of March, 1850, on which day his contribution to the controversy over the Compromise measures was to be presented, he was too weak to stand or to deliver his well-prepared speech. Sitting with his eyes almost closed, he listened to its delivery as it was read by Senator Mason. The speech contained little that was new, except in its adaptation to and interpretation of the measures before Congress. Mr. Calhoun knew no fear, and had not been timid or reluctant about threats of Nullification and secession and disunion. He certainly had been consistent throughout his long career in his desire for preserving the power of the South against the always-increasing wealth and power of the North, and yet one must wonder how a man so astute, so shrewd, so penetrating, could be blind to the great fact apparent on every hand, that Slavery was impoverishing the land as well as the landowner. Time and time again had the great advocates of the North pointed out this fact to Calhoun, but it had fallen evidently upon heedless ears and upon a mind unwilling to accept such teachings.

Besides the great speeches of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, many other most able addresses were made during the controversy, any one of which, in a setting by itself, would have been considered a most able argument. Among these latter may be mentioned those by Jefferson Davis, William H. Seward, Stephen A. Douglas, Salmon P. Chase, Thomas H. Benton, Lewis Cass, John Davis, William L. Dayton, John P. Hale, George E. Badger, James M. Mason, John M. Berrien, Robert J. Walker, Robert M. T. Hunter, Roger S. Baldwin, Andrew P. Butler, and others. But only two of these need be referred to here. Jefferson Davis in his speech said:

But, Sir, we are called upon to receive this as a measure of compromise! As a measure in which we of the minority are to receive something. A measure of compromise! I look upon it as but a modest mode of taking that, the claim to which has been more boldly asserted by others; and, that I may be understood upon this question, and that my position may go forth to the country in the same columns that convey the sentiments of the Senator from Kentucky, I here assert, that never will I take less than the Missouri Compromise line extending to the Pacific Ocean, with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the territory below that line; and that, before such Territories are admitted into the Union as States, slaves may be taken there from any of the United States, at the option of the owners. I can never consent to give additional power to a majority to commit further aggressions upon the minority in this Union; and I will never consent to any proposition which will have such a tendency, without a full guarantee or counteracting measure is connected with it.

Up to the 11th of March no one had yet spoken for the anti-Slavery North. It was upon this day that William H. Seward of New York, with only a year to his credit in the United States Senate, made one of the most important of the many speeches of that session. The telling points which he made against the adoption of any compromise need not here be repeated, but, speaking of the governmental power over the Territories, he said:

The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The Territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are His stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness.

While this reference to a "higher law" was made most emphatic by this declaration of Seward, and although the origin of this expression has been most generally attributed to him,

yet it was by no means the first time that the sentiment had been advanced.

At Charleston, S. C., July 29, 1835, the mails, supposed to contain a quantity of Abolition literature, were searched and all such matter burned, not waiting for the instructions expected from Washington. Amos Kendall, the Postmaster-General, said in his letter of "instructions":

I am satisfied that the Postmaster General has no legal authority to exclude newspapers from the mail, nor to prohibit their carriage or delivery on account of their character or tendency, real or supposed.

But I am not prepared to direct you to forward or deliver the papers of which you speak. By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live; and, if the former be permitted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have taken. Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained, and the circumstances by which you are surrounded.

On the 28th of April, 1836, in St. Louis, a mulatto prisoner had killed an officer. He was at once chained to a tree and burned to death. When the affair came before the grand jury, the judge, bearing the most fitting name of Lawless, said in his charge:

If, on the other hand, the destruction of the murderer of Hammond was the act, as I have said, of the many—of the multitude, in the ordinary sense of these words—not the act of numerable and ascertainable malefactors, but of congregated thousands, seized upon and impelled by that mysterious, metaphysical, and almost electric frenzy, which, in all ages and nations, has hurried on the infuriated multitude to deeds of death and destruction—then, I say, act not at all in the matter; the case then transcends your jurisdiction—it is beyond the reach of human law.

The maiden speech of Seward, while it attracted considerable attention, was naturally belittled by his elders, although his

personal friends looked upon it as a great and successful effort. It served, however, to bring Seward to the front and put him upon the first round of the ladder that leads towards a presidential nomination.

Whatever might have been the conflicting opinions in the North regarding the adoption of the Compromise, once in effect it was generally accepted, and for a time it was hoped and believed that the Slavery question had again been settled "forever." Particularly were business men and commercial bodies pleased with the outcome. Even those who regarded with fear the carrying out of the new law resolved to acquiesce in the conditions laid down, and to aid in carrying out the law as it was found upon the statutes. At first there was a disposition in certain States of the South not to submit to the settlement, but to keep up the opposition. The attempt failed, however, and so-called "Unionists" were elected in several States.

Had it not been for the Fugitive Slave law, there is no doubt that complete acquiescence would have been had throughout the North, but this part of the Compromise was not only unacceptable in theory, but positively intolerable in practice. So important a bearing did this law have upon immediately future events, that its provisions are briefly given as follows:

- 1, the powers of judges under the act of 1793 were now given to United States commissioners; 2, the territorial courts were also to have the power of appointing such commissioners; 3, all United States courts were so to enlarge the number of commissioners as to give facilities for the arrest of fugitive slaves; 4, commissioners were to have concurrent jurisdiction with United States judges in giving certificates to claimants and ordering the removal of fugitive slaves; 5, United States marshals and deputies were required to execute writs under the act, the penalty for refusal being a fine of \$1000, the marshal being further liable on this bond for the full value of any slave escaping from his custody "with or without assent" of the marshal or his deputies; the commissioners, or officers appointed by them, were empowered to call the bystanders to help execute writs; and all good citizens were required to aid and assist when

required; 6, on affidavit before any officer authorized to administer an oath, United States courts or commissioners were to give the claimant a certificate and authority to remove his fugitive slave whence he had escaped; in no case was the testimony of the fugitive to be admitted in evidence; and the certificate, with the seal of the court, was to be conclusive evidence of the claimant's title, thus cutting off any real benefit of the writ of habeas corpus from the fugitive; 7, imprisonment for six months, a fine of \$1000, and civil damages of \$1000 to the claimant, were to be the punishment for obstructing an arrest, attempting a rescue, or harboring a fugitive after notice; 8, commissioners were to be paid fees of \$10 when a certificate was granted, and of \$5 when their decision was in favor of the alleged fugitive; fees of other officers were to follow the rules of the court; 9, on affidavit by the claimant that he apprehended a rescue, the marshal was not to surrender the fugitive to the claimant at once, but was first to take him to the state whence he had fled, employing any assistance necessary to overcome the rescuing force; 10, any claimant, by affidavit before any court of record in his own State or Territory, might obtain a record with a general description of the fugitive, and an authenticated copy of such record was to be conclusive evidence, on proof of the identity of the fugitive, for issuing a certificate in any State or Territory to which the slave had fled.

If the anticipation of this law was attended with evil forebodings, it can well be imagined what the practical application brought to the North, where the general feeling was well expressed by the summing up of Greeley in his *American Conflict*, as follows:

It was entirely proper that Congress should provide at once for the temporary government of all the territories newly acquired from Mexico; and there was no radical objection to doing this in one bill, if that should seem advisable. As the establishment of a definite boundary between New Mexico and Texas was essential to the tranquillity and security of the Territory, that object might fairly be contemplated in the act providing a civil government therefor. But why Texas should be paid Ten Millions of dollars for relinquishing her pretensions to territory never possessed by, nor belonging to, her—territory which had been first acquired from Mexico by the forces and then bought of her by the money of the Union—is not

obvious; and why this payment, if made at all, should be a make-weight in a bargain covering a variety of arrangements with which it had no proper connection, is still less explicable. And when, on the back of this, was piled an act to provide new facilities for slave-catching in the Free States, ostensibly balanced by another which required the slave-traders of Washington to remove their jails and auction-rooms across the Potomac to that dull old dwarf of a city which had recently been retroceded to Virginia, as if on purpose to facilitate this arrangement, the net product was a corrupt monstrosity in legislation and morals which even the great name of Henry Clay should not shield from lasting opprobrium.

The slaveholders at once took advantage of the new law, and had it been implicitly obeyed the whole country would have been engaged in slave hunting. Circumstances attending the search for negroes throughout the North were revolting and brutal in the extreme. In some cases the apprehension was just, but, in more, unjust, and Northern opposition was now aroused against the execution of a law which was considered both unconstitutional and inhuman. Within a year after the passage of the Fugitive Slave law more negroes were seized than during the previous sixty years. Hundreds of free negroes were claimed and taken back to a life of slavery. Sometimes the so-called fugitive would have his first intimation of seizure by a blow on the head from some heavy weapon, and being knocked down, bleeding and insensible, he would be carried before the commissioner, who, eager to make his ten dollars by identifying him, again committed him back to Slavery. The scenes and incidents concurrent with the execution of this law were many and varied, but, after all, of much the same character. So indignant became the citizens of the North over the every-day scenes of cruelty and injustice, that new personal liberty laws were passed by Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. These laws were adopted at various times during the decade following the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, and tended somewhat if not wholly to modify many of its provisions. As had been anticipated, the Compromise, and especially the Fugitive Slave

law, sounded the death-knell of the Whig party. Its last convention was held on the 16th of June, 1852, when on the fiftieth ballot General Winfield Scott received the nomination for President, William A. Graham of North Carolina being nominated for Vice-President. The contest had been between Mr. Fillmore and General Scott, although Webster received from twenty to thirty votes on every ballot. The platform contained the following Slavery plank:

Eighth, That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress known as the Compromise Measures of 1850—the act known as the Fugitive Slave law included—are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, as far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however, the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union.

Two weeks before, the Democratic National Convention had been held in Baltimore and had nominated General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire on the forty-ninth ballot, after a prolonged conflict between Cass, Buchanan, Douglas, and Marcy. William R. King of Alabama, on the second ballot for Vice-President, had 277 to eleven for Jefferson Davis, and was nominated. With reference to the Slavery question, the Democratic platform said:

Resolved, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, and not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take

incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and to endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress, and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this National platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress—the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

The Free-Soil Democracy held their convention at Pittsburg on the 11th of August, and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President, and George N. Julian of Indiana for Vice-President. The campaign was one-sided from the start, when it was seen at once that there was no hope for the Whigs or General Scott. The Democrats were thoroughly united and enthusiastic over their young and popular candidate, and at the election he carried every State in the Union but four, Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He obtained a clear majority of the popular vote, and his electoral vote was 254 to forty-two for Scott. The Democrats also elected an overwhelming majority to both Houses of Congress. President Pierce in his inaugural was most emphatic in his commendation of the Compromise of 1850, in declaring that the rights of the South should be preserved, and that the laws should be respected and cheerfully obeyed, adding:

Notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiment which then existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be

doubted, has given renewed vigor to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured.

Had it not been for the friction caused by the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in the North, there might have been, for all evidence to the contrary, a long period of harmony and peace.

No matter how they felt, a large majority of citizens throughout the country believed in accepting the Compromise of 1850 as a finality upon the Slavery question, and sincerely felt that it would lead to a harmonious *status quo* between the sections and between the States. It is true that the Abolitionists and those who had been members of the Liberty party, as well as the Free-Soilers, were still in favor of maintaining the agitation by one means or another. But for the most part during the spring and summer of 1853 all was comparatively quiet, particularly as contrasted with the exciting scenes during the controversy and passage of the great Compromise law. "Douglas is reported to have gone to his home in Illinois, declaring that he never expected to make another speech on the subject of Slavery."¹ "And this determination," says Nicolay and Hay's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, "was echoed and re-echoed, affirmed and re-affirmed by the recognized organs of the public voice, from the village newspapers to the presidential message, from the country debating school to the measured utterances of Senatorial discussion."

On the other hand, Charles Sumner, who had succeeded Webster as a Senator from Massachusetts in 1851, at once became an uncompromising opponent of Slavery and so continued, dividing with Seward and Chase the first honors of debate for the few years following. It is said that the speech of Sumner on the 5th of November, 1850, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, was like a war-cry for the Free-Soil party and led to his election as Senator.

Sumner had previously been a Whig, and had unsuccessfully

¹ Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems*, p. 79.

tried to influence Webster to become a leader of the Whigs as an anti-Slavery party. He made his last Whig speech in September, 1847, in support of a resolution at a Whig State convention, and stated that an anti-Slavery man should be supported for the Presidency. The resolution was lost, and Sumner, John A. Andrew, E. Rockwood Hoar, Charles Francis Adams, and others withdrew and became Free-Soilers.

On Thursday, the 26th of August, 1852, the Senate having under consideration the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, Mr. Hunter of Virginia moved the following amendment :

That, where the ministerial officers of the United States have or shall have incurred extraordinary expense in executing the laws thereof, the payment of which is not specifically provided for, the President of the United States is authorized to allow the payment thereof, under the special taxation of the District or Circuit Court of the District in which the said services have been or shall be rendered, to be paid from the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the Judiciary.

Mr. Sumner seemed to have been waiting for this very opportunity and moved the following amendment to the amendment :

Provided, That no such allowance shall be authorized for any expenses incurred in executing the Act of September 18, 1850, for the surrender of fugitives from service or labor; which said Act is hereby repealed.

He at once took the floor and made a most impassioned speech in favor of his amendment. For that day at least the Slavery question had not been settled "forever." It was as depicted in one of the Free-Soil organs of the time in the following lines, which are taken from Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems* :

To kill twice dead a rattlesnake
 And off his scaly skin to take
 And through his head to drive a stake
 And every bone within him break
 And of his flesh mince-meat to make ;

To burn, to sear, to boil, to bake,
Then in a heap the whole to rake,
And over it the besom shake,
And sink it fathoms in the lake,
Whence after all quite wide awake
Comes back that very same old snake.

Sumner in his speech, after commenting upon the "extraordinary expenses," said:

On the subject which for years has agitated the public mind, which yet palpitates in every heart and burns on every tongue, which in its immeasurable importance dwarfs all other subjects, which by its constant and gigantic presence throws a shadow across these halls, they impose the rule of silence. . . . This challenges the very discussion it pretends to forbid. Debate, inquiry, discussion, are the necessary consequence. Silence becomes impossible. Slavery, which you profess to banish from public attention, openly by your invitation enters every political meeting and every political convention. The discussion of Slavery will proceed wherever two or three are gathered together,—by the fireside, on the highway, at the public meeting, in the Church. The movement against Slavery is from the Everlasting Arm. Even now it is gathering its forces, soon to be confessed everywhere. It may not be felt yet in the high places of office and power, but all who can put their ear humbly to the ground will hear and comprehend its incessant and advancing tread.

On the other hand, Rufus Choate said in the Whig Convention of that same year, only a short time previous to Sumner's declaration in the Senate:

Why should we not engage ourselves to the finality of the entire series of measures of compromise? . . . The American people know, by every kind and degree of evidence by which such a truth ever can be known, that these measures, in the crisis of their time, saved this nation. I thank God for the civil courage which, at the hazard of all things dearest in life, dared to pass and defend them, and "has taken no step backward." I rejoice that the healthy morality of the country, with an instructed conscience, void of offence towards God and man, has accepted them. Extremists denounce all compromises ever. Alas! do they remember such is

the condition of humanity that the noblest politics are but a compromise, an approximation—a type—a shadow of good things—the buying of great blessings at great prices? Do they forget that the Union is a compromise, the Constitution—social life—that the harmony of the universe is but the music of compromise, by which the antagonisms of the infinite Nature are composed and reconciled? Let him who doubts—if such there be—whether it were wise to pass these measures, look back and recall with what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour! How every countenance, everywhere, brightened and elevated itself! How, in a moment, the interrupted and parted currents of fraternal feeling reunited! Sir, the people came together again as when, in the old Roman history, the tribes descended from the mount of Secession—the great Compromise of that Constitution achieved—and flowed together behind the eagle into one mighty host of reconciled races for the conquest of the world. Well, if it were necessary to adopt these measures, is it not necessary to continue them? . . . Why not, then, declare the doctrine of their permanence? In the language of Daniel Webster, “Why delay the declaration? Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I am for it.”¹

No new legislation was, however, enacted till 1854. Before, however, taking up the momentous events of that year, we will endeavor briefly to gather up a few important threads which have been lost in our chronological story of the history of our country as peculiarly related to Slavery.

The alternate admission of slave States and free States, which tended to preserve a balance of power in the Senate, was more emphasized later than at first. In 1819 Alabama was admitted, and in 1820 Maine; Missouri being admitted in 1821. For fifteen years the slave and free States were equally represented in the Upper House. In 1836 Arkansas had been admitted as a slave State, and the following year Michigan was admitted as a free State. Again for eight years the balance was held. But in 1845, Florida and Texas both being admitted as slave States, it gave to that section a majority of two States, and four votes in the Senate. Iowa was admitted in 1846, and the admission of Wisconsin and California in 1848 and 1850

¹ *Memoirs of Rufus Choate*, Brown, p. 270.

respectively gave the North a preponderance, which was not again overcome by the slave States.

The complexion of political parties had been constantly undergoing changes during the twenty years from 1835 to 1855. With the election of 1852 the Whig party can be said to have expired altogether as a great independent organization. While the Democratic party in a way had been growing stronger, yet it had been rent by internal dissensions repeatedly, and by various minor factions. After the removal in 1833 of the United States deposits from the Bank of the United States to State banks, many new local banks were formed, particularly in New York State. This led to repeated scandals, and in 1835 a portion of the Democrats of New York City, most of whom were members of Tammany Hall, organized as an Equal Rights party. At a meeting held October 29, 1835, the two factions of Tammany Hall attempted to control the proceedings. The lights being turned off, the Equal Rights men lit loco-foco matches and attempted to continue the meeting. The name Loco-Foco applied to them by the opposing Democrats and by the Whigs stuck for many years, and even the whole Democratic party was for a period of about ten years often alluded to as the Loco-Foco party. The Loco-Focos were repeatedly defeated, but continued to keep up their strength as an organization. Before the Compromise of 1850 had been adopted, however, the Democratic party became reunited, and the name was rarely heard afterwards.

In 1850 President Fillmore approved the position taken by the Whigs in Congress, that the Slavery question had been settled, and should not again be reopened. This caused at once a severe split in the party, and those opposing the faction which considered the Slavery question settled were known as Conscience Whigs, and those approving were known as Cotton Whigs. These names were particularly applied in Massachusetts, while in New York the adherents of Fillmore and his views were known as Silver Grays and Snuff-takers, while those opposing, headed by William H. Seward, were called Woolly Heads, or Seward Whigs.

In March, 1852, there appeared in book form a novel entitled

Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which had, without attracting any particular attention, been published serially in the *National Era*, an anti-Slavery paper of Washington. The book at once created an immense sensation, not only throughout this country, but abroad, where it was said to have been translated into a score of different languages. It is impossible to estimate the number of copies of this book which were printed and sold, though the number reached the millions. It was received with delight by the Abolitionists and anti-Slavery people of the North. To Mrs. Stowe Garrison wrote that "all the defenders of Slavery have let me alone and are abusing you." The author was overwhelmed with congratulations from every hand. The book was soon dramatized, and its wonderful influence still further spread to all who witnessed the scenes upon the stage. It gave to the masses an appreciation and realization of what Slavery meant in a way which they had never before considered. It affected young and old alike rich and poor, the learned and the ignorant. The reading of the book and the witnessing of its stage production produced an effect that it was absolutely impossible to efface. There is no knowing to what extent Mrs. Stowe and her wonderful novel hastened the culmination of affairs, but the influence was of great measure.

In 1853 was held the so-called "Crystal Palace" at New York, a great international industrial exhibition. It served to bring the American inventions to the front, and to show to the world the immense strides we were taking in commerce and production. Soon after the closing of the exhibition, Commodore Perry entered the harbor of one of the ports of Japan at the head of the first fleet of steamers that had ever entered the harbor of that island. The Commodore favorably influenced the Japanese, who believed that all Americans and Europeans were barbarians, and through his efforts a treaty was made between Japan and the United States, admitting our ships and establishing a trade which has been continued ever since.

During the first session of the Thirty-second Congress (1851-52) petitions were presented for the organization of a Ferri-

tory composed of the region west of Missouri and Iowa, but no action was taken at this session. At the second session of the same Congress, however, after Mr. Willard P. Hall of Missouri had presented to the House a bill organizing the Territory of Platte, the bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, and Mr. William A. Richardson of Illinois, of that Committee, reported a bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. This bill met with Southern opposition, but was passed. It now went to the Senate and was sent to the Committee on Territories, which Committee reported it through Stephen A. Douglas. It was finally laid on the table, and consequently all attempt at organizing a Territory west of Missouri was defeated for that session. It was apparent, therefore, that the Slave Power had determined to resist any attempt to organize any free Territory, and there was no little foreboding of what might result from any attempt by the Thirty-third Congress to bring about such legislation.

The Thirty-third Congress met December 5, 1853. On the 14th Mr. Augustus C. Dodge of Iowa submitted a bill to the Senate to organize the Territory of Nebraska. It was referred to the Committee on Territories, from which Mr. Douglas of Illinois reported it with several amendments, but there was no word concerning Slavery. At the same time the report contained the following:

From these provisions, it is apparent that the Compromise measures of 1850 affirm, and rest upon, the following propositions:

First,—That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the Territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

The bill was recommitted, and on the 23d reported again by Mr. Douglas from his Committee on Territories very much altered. In the meantime Mr. Archibald Dixon of Kentucky had given notice that, whenever the bill should come up, he would offer the following amendment:

Sec. 22. *And be it further enacted*, That so much of the 8th section

of an act approved March 6, 1820, entitled "An Act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit Slavery in certain territories," as declares "That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be forever prohibited," shall not be so construed as to apply to the Territory contemplated by this act, or to any other Territory of the United States; but that the citizens of the several States or Territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories or States to be formed therefrom, as if the said act, entitled as aforesaid, and approved as aforesaid, had never been passed.

This proposition not only surprised but startled the leading men of both parties. Mr. Douglas in his aspirations for the Presidency realized at once that he must make a bold coup to retain his prestige. On the 23d he reported from his committee an entirely different bill referring to the same region. Instead of one Territory to be called Nebraska, he now proposed to create two Territories, one to be known as Kansas, composed of the territory west of Missouri, and the other to be known as Nebraska, composed of the residue of the region. The bill contained these provisions:

Sec. 21. *And be it further enacted,* That, in order to avoid all misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the Compromise measures of one thousand eight hundred and fifty, to wit:

First, That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the Territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

Second, That "all cases involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are referred to the adjudication of the local

tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Third, That the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the organized Territories, the same as in the States.

Regarding the election of a delegate to Congress, the provision was made :

That the Constitution, and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States.

The following most important proposition was added :

Except the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the Legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measures, and is declared inoperative.

Senators Chase, Sumner, Cass, and others, when Mr. Douglas called his new bill the next morning for consideration at once, asked that more time be given for examination of a bill containing changes of such vital character. Mr. Dixon of Kentucky, however, sustained Mr. Douglas, and in expressing satisfaction with the bill, said :

The amendment which I notified the Senate that I should offer at the proper time, has been incorporated by the Senator from Illinois into the bill which he has reported to the Senate. The bill, as now amended, meets my views, and I have no objection to it. I shall, at the proper time, as far as I am able to do so, aid and assist the Senator from Illinois, and others who are anxious to carry through this proposition, with the feeble abilities I may be able to bring to bear upon it. I think it due to myself to make this explanation, because I do not wish it to be understood that, upon a question like this, I have, or could have, any motive except that which should influence a man anxious to secure what he believes to be a great principle—that is, Congressional non-interference in all the Territories, so far as this great question of Slavery is concerned.

I never did believe in the propriety of passing the Missouri Compromise. I thought it was the result of necessity. I never thought that the great Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clay), when he advocated that measure, did so because his judgment approved it, but because it was the result of a combination of circumstances which drove him to the position he assumed; and I have never thought that that measure received the sanction either of his heart or of his head.

The amendment, then, which I gave notice that I would propose—and which I intended to have proposed, if it had not been rendered wholly unnecessary by the amendment reported by the Senator from Illinois, from the Committee on Territories, of which he is the honored Chairman—I intended to offer, under the firm conviction that I was carrying out the principles settled in the Compromise acts of 1850; and which leave the whole question of Slavery with the people, and without any Congressional interference. For, over the subject of Slavery, either in the States or Territories of the United States, I have always believed, and have always contended, that Congress had no power whatever, and that, consequently, the act of 1820, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise act, is unconstitutional; and, at the proper time, I shall endeavor to satisfy the Senate and the country of the truth of these propositions.

Mr. Douglas responded as follows:

As this discussion has begun, I feel it to be my duty to say a word in explanation. I am glad to hear the Senator from Kentucky say that the bill, as it now stands, accomplishes all that he desired to accomplish by his amendment, because his amendment seemed to myself, and to some with whom I have consulted, to mean more than what he now explains it to mean, and what I am glad he did not intend it should mean.

We supposed that it not only wiped out the legislation which Congress has heretofore adopted, excluding Slavery, but that it affirmatively legislated Slavery into the Territories. The object of the Committee was neither to legislate Slavery in or out of the Territories; neither to introduce nor exclude it; but to remove whatever obstacle Congress had put there, and apply the doctrine of Congressional non-intervention, in accordance with the principles of the Compromise measures of 1850, and allow the people to do as they pleased upon this, as well as all other matters affecting their interests.

The explanation of the honorable Senator from Kentucky shows that his meaning was not what many supposed it to be, who judged simply from the phraseology of the amendment. I deem this explanation due to the Senator and to myself.

Here was suddenly thrust before the country for the first time the idea that the Missouri Compromise had been nullified by the Compromise of 1850: in fact, the intimation was made that the restriction of Slavery below 36° 30' no longer held good. Mr. Dixon contended that the restriction had never been in effect because of its being unconstitutional. Mr. Douglas certainly did not intend to support this contention, but did claim that the Compromise of 1850 had superseded the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and that its provisions tended to nullify the early restriction. And yet only four years before, Stephen A. Douglas had said of the Missouri Compromise that it was "canonized in the hearts of the American people as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

Mr. Sumner had given notice of an amendment to the effect that no provision should tend to abrogate the Act of March 6, 1820, to the effect that Slavery should forever be prohibited in the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30'. The amended bill was taken up and debated at length and most ably. Chase, Seward, Sumner, Wade, and others were found in opposition, while Douglas was well supported. By a vote of thirty to thirteen it had been decided that the portion of the clause declaring that the restriction of 1820 was superseded by the Compromise of 1850 should not be stricken out; but Mr. Douglas himself afterwards moved that the clause be stricken out, and replaced by the following:

Which being inconsistent with the principle of Non-Intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise measures), is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions

in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.¹

This was passed by a vote of thirty-five to ten, while Mr. Chase moved to add the following:

Under which, the people of the Territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit the existence of Slavery therein.

This was voted down by a vote of thirty-six to ten, and it was consequently decided by the Senate that the new Territories should not have the right to prohibit Slavery even if they wished. It was then moved by Mr. Badger, that it should be further

Provided, That nothing herein shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of 6th of March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing Slavery.

The bill was passed by yeas and nays on March 3d, the vote being as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Adams of Miss., Atchison of Mo., Badger of N. C., Bayard of Del., Benjamin of La., Brodhead of Pa., Brown of Miss., Butler of S. C., Cass of Mich., Clay of Ala., Dawson of Ga., Dixon of Ky., Dodge of Ia., Douglas of Ill., Evans of S. C., Fitzpatrick of Ala., Geyer of Mo., Gwin of Cal., Hunter of Va., Johnson of Ark., Jones of Ia., Jones of Tenn., Mason of Va., Morton of Fla., Morris of N. H., Pettit of Ind., Pratt of Md., Rusk of Tex., Sebastian of Ark., Shields of Ill., Slidell of La., Stuart of Mich., Thompson of Ky.,

¹ It is no exaggeration to say that never elsewhere has a sentence of the English language been so freighted with consequences as was this. It invited the representatives of thirty million people to bloody strife on the borders of Missouri and the plains of Kansas; it annihilated the Whig party; it divided the Democratic party of the North; it organized, consolidated, and made invincible the Republican party of the Union and finally it involved the country in a civil war, in which not less than two million American citizens took part, and not less than four hundred thousand gave their lives. All this was the fruit of the alliance between the slave-holders of the South and the Democratic party of the North.—George S. Boutwell, *Why I am a Republican*, p. 21.

Thompson of N. J., Toucey of Conn., Weller of Cal., Williams of N. H.—37.

Nays—Messrs. Bell of Tenn., Chase of O., Dodge of Wis., Fessenden of Me., Fish of N. Y., Foot of Vt., Hamlin of Me., Houston of Tex., James of R. I., Seward of N. Y., Smith of Conn., Sumner of Mass., Wade of O., Walker of Wis.—14.

On May 8th, more than two months after the bill had been sent to the House, it was moved as an amendment to a bill which had been previously reported but not taken up. It was agreed that the debate should close on Saturday, the 20th, and by a parliamentary manœuvre of Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia no amendments were added, and the bill finally passed on the 22d by a vote of 113 to 100. The entire 44 votes contributed by the free States in support of the measure were cast by Democrats. From the slave States it was supported by 12 Whigs and 57 Democrats. Of the opposition, 91 votes came from the free States, of which 44 were those of Whigs, 3 of Free-Soilers, and 44 of Democrats. Only nine members from the slave States opposed it, and only two of the Whigs who opposed the bill were returned to the next House. On being sent back to the Senate the House bill passed by a vote of 35 to 13. On May 30th the bill was signed by President Pierce and became a law.

It is needless to say that the excitement in the North became even more intense than during the debate. Pulpit, press, and people were at once fully awake to the gravity of the situation; public meetings were held, and it is safe to say that there was not a city, town, or hamlet north of Mason and Dixon's line which was not given to excited discussion on the now great question known as the Kansas-Nebraska law. The speeches which had been made both in the Senate and House had most clearly defined the situation, and shown to the people that the Slave Power had again not only held its own, but had gone across the line and made the attempt at least to take possession of the whole country for its favorite institution.

As the father of the bill which was finally passed, it is likely that the speech of Mr. Douglas attracted more attention than that of all the others combined. Stephen A. Douglas had

entered the House of Representatives from Illinois in 1843, where he remained for four years, at which time he was elected a United States Senator, retaining his seat until 1861. It cannot be disputed that Mr. Douglas was playing politics, and making every move both openly and in secret that seemed to him most likely to further his ambitions for the presidential nomination in 1856. His wife was a Southern woman, and his acquaintance with Southern leaders was very wide, though he by no means possessed their entire confidence. Without the whole Southern vote it would be impossible for him to carry off the prize. Whether sincere or not, Douglas announced that his new idea was for the purpose of ending the Slavery question rather than agitating it, and yet it had exactly the opposite effect. The author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had repeatedly expressed his belief that the Compromise of 1850 had settled the question for all time, and now within a few years he hurls into the United States Congress a shell whose explosion is heard in every portion of the country. It is said that the action of Douglas was taken without any consultation with Southern leaders, although he had advised with one or two Western Senators. But though he had felt the utmost confidence in his ability to carry through the measure, at the same time the rising protests from the whole North admonished him of the wisdom of seeking the aid of the administration. Consequently Douglas, on Sunday morning, January 22d, together with the Democratic members of the Territorial Committees of both Houses, after calling upon Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, accompanied by him went to the White House. Davis first had a private interview with the President, who afterwards met the entire delegation and pledged his support to the repeal. This was in less than two months after he had said in his message, "that this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured." But Pierce, too, was looking for the presidential nomination in 1856 just as anxiously as was Douglas, and pledges and presidential nominations are sometimes uncongenial, so the bill had the unqualified support of the administration, and the Slavery

question assumed a character more vital than ever before in the history of the country. The term "Popular Sovereignty," or, as it was more generally known, "Squatter Sovereignty," was now on every lip, and so craftily had Douglas defended the idea, that it must be confessed that for some time in certain minds it gained in favor, but the great speeches of Sumner, Seward, Chase, and Wade were echoed throughout the North, and soon began to carry conviction in every State.

Several attempts had been made in the early history of the Republic to organize a political party which should have as its fundamental principle opposition to the foreign element. Aimed first at the increasing immigration, its efforts were afterwards directed at the foreign population which had already obtained a foothold and a vote. The movement had been spasmodic and of little importance previous to 1835, when it was revived in New York City, but, like all previous efforts, ended in failure. In 1852 and 1853, however, there developed an organization bound to assume most formidable proportions, and to have great influence for a time upon our national affairs. It took the form of a secret, oath-bound fraternity, with the original name of *The Sons of '76*, or *The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner*. Membership in the Order was governed by degrees, and its real name and object were not revealed to members until they had taken the higher degrees, consequently, when asked regarding their organization, the answer was invariably, "I don't know," from which they became known as "Know-Nothings." The first and most ostensible object of the Order seems to have been directed against the Roman Catholic Church, and the largely increased number of immigrants which flocked to the country just preceding 1850, who upon being naturalized took a large share of the offices. The watchword of the new Order was that "Americans must rule America," and its favorite countersign was the traditional order of Washington, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." Nominations for office were made by secret conventions of delegates, or else the Order endorsed selections of the best men from both the Whig and Democratic tickets. The party soon became known as the American party, by which name it

was designated about equally with the term Know-Nothings. Its growth was large and rapid. The subject of Slavery was at first carefully avoided, or, if considered at all, the custom was supported as being an American institution. The disintegration of the Whig party after the election of 1852, and the unsuccessful attempts of the Free-Soil party to crystallize into any considerable numbers, as well as the division in the Democratic party, all tended to give an impetus to the new organization. It was intended by the leaders of the American party that they should exclude, by their votes, not only Catholics, but all foreigners from gaining office, whether municipal, county, State, or national. It was intended also to make an effort to change naturalization laws, and that foreigners should not be allowed to vote until after they had resided in this country twenty-one years, although some were willing to limit the time to fifteen years.

The motives of the new party might to some extent be endorsed, although their methods must certainly be condemned. They were contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and to many of the laws of the land. It was required that every member should take an oath that he was a native of the United States, that neither he nor his wife nor his parents were Roman Catholics, and that he would never vote for any man unless he was a Protestant and an American-born citizen.

During the year 1854 the party attained its highest efficiency, shaping the nominations and deciding the elections in the Middle States, some Western States, a part of the New England States, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and even in the South. In November of the same year a national delegation of the councils of the American party met at Cincinnati. Intelligence and character were prominent in the gathering, though it included but few men of national and public renown.

Kenneth Raynor of North Carolina, who had been a Whig member of Congress, was a leading spirit of the convention, and proposed the third, or Union, degree, which was adopted. Mr. Raynor had been a slaveholder and a firm advocate of the

rights of the slaveholding States, but was a staunch Union man and had hoped that the American party might be instrumental in checking the disunion sentiment at the South. Upon being authorized, Mr. Raynor conferred the third, or Union, degree upon all the delegates present. The ceremony was made most impressive, and the recipients of the degree were received into the brotherhood of the Order of the American Union.

Its membership was soon after estimated at between a million and a quarter and a million and a half. While as yet the party was not united upon the Slavery question, yet a preponderance became the exponents of anti-Slavery, and, in different States, had joined in passing resolutions condemning the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They had elected to the Senate of the United States Wilson of Massachusetts, Harlan of Iowa, Seward of New York, Hale of New Hampshire, Bell of Tennessee, Trumbull of Illinois, and many Representatives to the Lower House. It was, however, apparent before no great length of time had elapsed, that the American party, even with its wonderful growth and wide influence, could not survive with such un-American policies and un-American methods. Its very name was a misnomer, and its methods were at variance with every idea of justice and fair play. Its early death came as will be noted in subsequent pages.

CHAPTER V.

THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS—FUGITIVE SLAVES—SENTIMENT CRYSTALLIZING THROUGHOUT THE NORTH.

A GREAT debt must be acknowledged to Frederick Law Olmstead by every student of the condition, workings, and influence of Slavery during the decade from 1850 to 1860. From his actual experiences of personal contact with both slaves and masters, Mr. Olmstead in his several journeys reaped a fund of information which he dispassionately related in a manner both impartial and unprejudiced. First in all literature on the subject of Slavery, said George William Curtis, are, "in spirit and comprehension, the masterly, careful, copious, and patient works of Mr. Olmstead." Mr. Curtis also commended the book written by Frances Anne Kemble, entitled *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-39*, as follows: "This book is a permanent and most valuable chapter in our history; for it is the first ample, lucid, faithful, detailed account from the actual headquarters of a slave plantation in this country." Books innumerable have been written on the Slavery question, containing both fact and fiction. The literature manufactured by the Abolitionists for the twenty years preceding the war has never been preserved to any great extent, and perhaps it is just as well. No doubt it was for the most part honestly written, but the writers were too prejudiced and too earnest for an impartial historian to give much weight to their statements.

Perhaps there is to-day no abler exposition of Slavery in all its various phases for the reader who wishes to confine him-

self to a brief and concise yet comprehensive view of the subject, than that contained in Vol. I. of Rhodes's admirable *History of the United States*, considerable of which is taken with due credit from the works of Olmstead. Mr. Rhodes calls attention, first, to the physical condition of the slave, showing that the cost of his food was from about two to five cents a day; that his clothes were of the cheapest and most scant material, and that his cabin was for the most part foul and wretched. The hours of labor were practically from sunrise to sunset, or even longer, which in summer-time meant from fifteen to eighteen hours. The treatment of the slave by the master and owner was far different from that accorded by the overseer. It was the overseer's business to make the slave as profitable to his master as possible, and floggings were the rule rather than the exception. Even the killing of a slave was not infrequent, though not a very profitable transaction. Slaves were never allowed to give testimony; and cruelty, even to murder, could be committed, without fear, by any overseer so disposed. But worse than the ordinary conditions of the system as seen on the plantation were the attendant circumstances of traffic. The constantly increasing demand for slaves in the Southwest, after the prohibition of importations in 1808, gave to the border States an opportunity to sell their surplus stock, and the result was almost daily private and auction sales from Richmond to Savannah and New Orleans.

As previously noted, Washington, the capital, was one of the principal marts, and even after the slave trade was abolished there, it was simply transferred across the river to Alexandria. It was those scenes at the auction-block that most prejudiced the onlookers against the institution. It was here that Abraham Lincoln gained his first impressions of the evil. In May, 1831, when twenty-two years of age, Lincoln went to New Orleans, where he remained a month. While there, he daily saw the traffic in slaves, and the following, as related by Mr. Herndon, though in the opinion of Miss Tarbell it may not be an exact statement, is no doubt very near the truth:

In New Orleans for the first time Lincoln beheld the true horrors

of human slavery. He saw "negroes in chains — whipped and scourged." Against this inhumanity his sense of right and justice rebelled, and his mind and conscience were awakened to a realization of what he had often heard and read. No doubt, as one of his companions has said, "Slavery ran the iron into him then and there." One morning in their rambles over the city the trio passed a slave auction. A vigorous and comely mulatto girl was being sold. She underwent a thorough examination at the hands of the bidders; they pinched her flesh, and made her trot up and down the room like a horse, to show how she moved, and in order, as the auctioneer said, that "bidders might satisfy themselves whether the article they were offering to buy was sound or not." The whole thing was so revolting that Lincoln moved away from the scene with a deep feeling of "unconquerable hate." Bidding his companions follow him, he said: "Boys, let 's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing [meaning Slavery], I 'll hit it hard."

While there seems to have been no compunction about separating parents from their children, wives from their husbands, or brothers and sisters, when it was to the advantage of the dealer to do so, at the same time the practice of keeping families together was a custom in many cases thought to be for the best interest of the owner, as it gave the slave a better disposition to work. We may, even beyond self-interest, give to many slaveholders the credit of exerting a humane feeling in this matter of separating families. It is quite likely that instances of tearing apart relatives may have been more emphasized than the more numerous cases to the contrary, which in most instances were not noted.

Naturally a being who had to work from the time he awakened in the morning till he lay down to sleep at night would find little time for gaining education or even enlightenment beyond that essential for his mere animal existence. It hardly required the laws which were enacted to prevent the teaching of negroes, for there was little time or opportunity or even inclination either for them to learn or to have them learn. A partly educated negro became a dangerous piece of property. He might incite his fellows to revolt or run away, or he might plan an insurrection. It was, therefore, the almost universal

policy to give the slaves but little chance to learn anything beyond the requirements of their tasks. In this connection, however, it may be said that it was thought by some owners an advantage to have their negroes "get religion" to a limited extent. A slave who could read passages in the Bible, and who could teach the meaning to others, was by some masters thought more valuable than those who could not read or talk about the Scriptures. There is no doubt that the negro race was and is inclined to be very "religious" if given the opportunity, but, after all, it was a very small part of the existence of the negro before he was emancipated.

It has been said that Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a most faithful and honest portrayal of parallel conditions to each character and scene which appeared in that wonderful book. It is no doubt instructive to the person who has not been south of Mason and Dixon's line, to read the condition of Slavery so interestingly described by Mrs. Stowe, as also the works of various writers who gave truthful accounts of their own experience throughout the South. At the same time, in all literature there cannot be found any more interesting description of slave life than that of one who was born and brought up in Slavery, who experienced most of the conditions of good and bad, and who escaped from the thralldom, and afterwards was able to be numbered among the most prominent men that America has ever known, white or black. We give, therefore, in the following few pages a brief epitome of the life of Frederick Douglass as written by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *The Men of Our Times*.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

The first thing that every man remembers is his mother. Americans all have a mother at least that can be named. But it is exceedingly affecting to read the history of a human being who writes that during all his childhood he never saw his mother more than two or three times, and then only in the night. And why? Because she was employed on a plantation twelve miles away. Her only means of seeing her boy were to walk twelve miles over to the place where he was, spend a brief hour, and walk twelve miles back, so as to be

ready to go to work at four o'clock in the morning. How many mothers would often visit their children by such an effort? and yet at well remembered intervals the mother of Frederick Douglass did this for the sake of holding her child a little while in her arms, lying down a brief hour with him.

That she was a woman of uncommon energy and strength of affection this sufficiently shows, because as slave mother she could do him no earthly good—she owned not a cent to bring him. She could not buy him clothes. She could not even mend or wash the one garment allotted to him.

Only once in his childhood did he remember his mother's presence as being to him anything of that comfort and protection that it is to ordinary children. He, with all the other little live stock of the plantation, were dependent for a daily allowance of food on a cross old woman whom they called Aunt Katy. For some reason of her own, Aunt Katy had taken a pique against little Fred, and announced to him that she was going to keep him a day without food. At the close of this day, when he crept shivering in among the other children, and was denied even the coarse slice of corn bread which all the rest had, he broke out into loud lamentations. Suddenly his mother appeared behind him—caught him in her arms, poured out volumes of wrathful indignation on Aunt Katy, and threatened to complain to the overseer if she did not give him his share of food—produced from her bosom a sweet cake which she had managed to procure for him, and sat down to wipe away his tears and see him enjoy it. This mother must have been a woman of strong mental characteristics. Though a plantation field hand, she could read, and if we consider against what superhuman difficulties such a knowledge must have been acquired, it is an evidence of wonderful character. Douglass says of her that she was tall and finely proportioned. With affecting simplicity he says: "There is in Pritchard's *Natural History of Man*, p. 157, the head of a figure the features of which so resemble those of my mother, that I often recur to it with something of the feeling which I suppose others to experience when looking on the pictures of dear departed ones."

The face alluded to is copied from a head of Rameses the great Egyptian king of the nineteenth dynasty. The profile is European in its features, and similar in class to the head of Napoleon. From all these considerations, we have supposed that the mother of Douglass must have been one of that Mandingo tribe of Africans who

were distinguished among the slaves for fine features, great energy, intelligence, and pride of character. The black population of America is not one race. If slaveholders and kidnappers had been busy for years in Europe stirring up wars in the different countries, and sending all the captives to be sold in America, the mixture of Swedes, Danes, Germans, Russians, Italians, French, might all have gone under the one head of *white men*, but they would have been none the more of the same race. The negroes of this country are a mixture torn from tribes and races quite as dissimilar. The Mandingo has European features, a fine form, wavy, not woolly hair, is intelligent, vigorous, proud, and brave. The Guinea negro has a coarse, animal head, is stupid, dirty, cunning. Yet the argument on *negro* powers is generally based on some such sweeping classification as takes the Guinea negro for its type.

The father of Frederick Douglass was a white man, who, he never knew—it would have been of no advantage to him had he known—but there is reason to think that those fine intellectual gifts, that love of liberty, and hatred of slavery which have led him to the position he now occupies among freemen, were due to the blood of his mother. That silent, noble black woman, whose wrongs were borne in such patience, whose soul must so often have burned within her, whose affections were stronger than weariness, and whose mind *would* possess the key of knowledge even though she gained it at such terrible sacrifices and hazards, she is to be honored as the mother of Garrison is, as having lived in her son and being the true author and inspirer of all that is good and just in him.

After a few short interviews the communication between Douglass and his mother ceased. She was taken sick, had a long illness, and died without a word or message, or any token passing between her and her child. He running wild, a dirty little animal on the distant plantation, she suffering, wasting, dying in silence—going into the great Invisible where so many helpless mothers have gone to plead for their children before God.

The plantation of Colonel Loyd, on which Fred Douglass was raised, was a representative fact illustrating what may be known of slavery. *There* might be seen a large airy elegant house, filled with every luxury and comfort, the abode of hospitality and leisure. Company always coming and going—bountiful tables spread with every delicacy of sea and land—choice cookery, old wines, massive plate, splendid curtains and pictures, all combined to give the

impression of a joyous and abundant life. Fifteen well dressed, well trained servants, chosen for good looks and good manners, formed an obsequious army of attendants behind the chairs of guests at the dinner hour, or waited on them in their private apartments.

The shrubbery, the flower gardens, the ample lawns, were laid out with European taste, the stables had studs of the finest blood horses at the disposal of guests—all was cultivation, elegance, and refinement.

Colonel Loyd was supposed to own a thousand slaves, and what the life was on which all this luxury and elegance was built, the history of Douglass and his mother may show. Colonel Loyd owned several contiguous farms or plantations, each one under an overseer, and all were under the general supervision of an agent who lived on the central plantation and went by the name among the slaves of Old Master. Between this man and his family, and Colonel Loyd and his family, there was none of the intercourse of equals. No visits were ever exchanged, and no intercourse except of a necessary business character ever took place. The owner and his family had nothing to do with the management of the estates any further than to enjoy and dispense the revenues they brought; all the rest was left to "Old Master and the Overseers." The estate was as secluded from all influence of public opinion, and the slaves were as completely in the power of the overseers, as the serfs in the feudal ages. Even the vessels which carried the produce of the plantation to Baltimore, were owned by Colonel Loyd. Every man and boy by whom these vessels were worked, excepting the captains, were Colonel Loyd's property. All the artisans on all the places, the blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shoemakers, weavers and coopers, also were pieces of property belonging to Colonel Loyd. What chance was there for laws or for public sentiment, or any other humanizing influence, to restrain absolute power in a district so governed?

One of the earliest lessons in the practical meaning of Slavery was taught to the child by hearing the shrieks and groans of a favorite Aunt Esther, under the lash of Old Master. She was a finely formed, handsome woman, and had the presumption to prefer a young slave man to her master, and for this she was made the victim of degradation and torture.

On another occasion he saw a young girl who came from one of the neighboring plantations, with her head cut and bleeding from the brutality of the overseer, to put herself under the protection of

Old Master. Though the brutality of her treatment was perfectly evident, he heard her met only with reproaches and oaths and ordered to go back at once or expect even severer treatment. This was a part of an unvarying system. It was a fixed rule, never to listen to complaints of any kind from a slave, and even when they were evidently well founded, to affect to disregard them. That the slave was to have no appeal in any case from the absolute power of the overseer, was a fundamental maxim of the system.

Endowed by his mother with an intelligent and thoughtful organization, young Douglass began early to turn in his mind the dark question, "*Why am I a slave?*" On this subject he pushed enquiries among his little play-fellows and the elderly negroes, but could get no satisfactory solution, except that some remembered that their fathers and mothers were stolen from Africa. When not more than seven or eight years old these thoughts burned in him, whenever he wandered through the woods and fields, and a strong determination to become a freeman in future life took possession of him. It may have been inspired by the invisible guardianship of that poor mother, who, unable to help him in life, may have been permitted higher powers in the world of spirits.

The comments which Douglass makes on many features of slave life, as they affected his childish mind, are very peculiar, and show slavery entirely from an inside point of view.

In regard to the physical comforts of plantation life, he gives the following account:

"It is the boast of slaveholders that their slaves enjoy more of the physical comforts of life than the peasantry of any country in the world. My experience contradicts this. The men and the women slaves on Colonel Loyd's plantation received as their monthly allowance, eight pounds of pickled pork or their equivalent in fish. The pork was often tainted and the fish of the poorest quality. With this, they had one bushel of unbolted Indian meal, of which quite fifteen per cent. was fit only for pigs; with this one pint of salt was given, and this was the entire monthly allowance of a full grown slave, working constantly in the open field, from morning till night, every day of the month, except Sundays. This was living on a fraction more than a quarter of a pound of poor meat per day, and less than a peck of corn meal per week, and there is no work requiring more abundant supply of food to prevent physical exhaustion, than the field work of a slave.

“ So much for food. Now as for raiment. The yearly allowance of clothing for slaves on this plantation, consisted of two linen shirts, one pair of tow trowsers for summer, a pair of trowsers and jacket of slazy workmanship for winter, one pair of yarn stockings, and one pair of coarse shoes. The slave’s entire apparel could not have cost more than eight dollars a year. Children not yet able to work in the field had neither shoes, stockings, jackets, or trowsers given them. Their clothing consisted of two coarse tow linen shirts per year, and when these failed, they went literally naked till next allowance day. Flocks of children from five to ten years old might be seen on Colonel Loyd’s plantations as destitute of clothing as any little heathen in Africa and this even in the frosty month of March.

“ As to beds to sleep on, *none* were given—nothing but a coarse blanket, such as is used in the North to cover horses—and these were not provided for little ones.

“ The children cuddled in holes and corners about the quarters, often in the corners of the huge chimneys with their feet in the ashes to keep them warm.”

An average day of plantation life is thus given:

“ Old and young, male and female, married and single, drop down together on the clay floor of the cabin each evening with his or her blanket. The night, however, is shortened at both ends. The slaves work often as long as they can see, and are late in cooking and mending for the coming day, and at the first grey streak of morning are summoned to the field by the driver’s horn.

“ More slaves are whipped for oversleeping than for any other fault. The overseer stands at the quarter door, armed with his cowhide, ready to whip any who may be a few minutes behind time. When the horn is blown, there is a rush for the door, and the hindermost one is sure to get a blow from the overseer. Young mothers working in the field were allowed about ten o’clock to go home and nurse their children. Sometimes they are obliged to take their children with them and leave them in the corners of the fences, to prevent loss of time. The overseer rides round the field on horseback. A cowskin and a hickory stick are his constant companions. The slaves take their breakfast with them and eat it in the field. The dinner of the slave consists of a huge piece of ash cake, that is to say, unbolted corn meal and water, stirred up and baked in the ashes. To this a small slice of pork or a couple of salt herring were

added. A few moments of rest is allowed at dinner, which is variously spent. Some lie down on the 'turning row' and go to sleep. Others draw together and talk, others are at work with needle and thread mending their tattered garments; but soon the overseer comes dashing in upon them. Tumble up—tumble up is the word, and now from twelve o'clock till dark, the human cattle are in motion, wielding their clumsy hoes, inspired by no hope of reward, no sense of gratitude, no love of children, no prospect of bettering their condition, nothing save the dread and terror of the driver's lash. So goes one day and so comes another." This is slavery as remembered by a cultivated, intelligent man who was born and bred a slave.

In regard to his own peculiar lot as a child on this plantation, he says: "I was seldom whipped, and never severely, by my old master. I suffered little from any treatment I received, except from hunger and cold. I could get enough neither of food or clothing, but suffered more from cold than hunger. In the heat of summer or cold of winter alike I was kept almost in a state of nudity—no shoes, stockings, jacket, trowsers—nothing but a coarse tow linen shirt reaching to the knee. This I wore night and day. In the daytime I could protect myself pretty well by keeping on the sunny side of the house, and in bad weather in the corner of the kitchen chimney. The great difficulty was to keep warm at night. I had no bed. The pigs in the pen had leaves, and horses in the stable had straw, but the children had nothing. In very cold weather I sometimes got down the bag in which corn was carried to the mill, and got into that. My feet have been so cracked by the frost that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.

"The manner of taking our meals at old master's indicated but little refinement. Our corn-meal mush, when sufficiently cooled, was placed in a large wooden tray, or trough, like those used in making maple sugar here in the north. This tray was set down, either on the floor of the kitchen or out of doors on the ground; and the children were called, like so many pigs; and like so many pigs they would come, and literally devour the mush—some with oyster shells, some with pieces of shingles, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest got most, and he that was strongest got the best place; and few left the trough really satisfied. I was the most unlucky of any, for Aunt Katy had no good feeling for me; and if I pushed any of the other children, or if they told her anything

unfavorable of me, she always believed the worst, and was sure to whip me."

The effect of all this on his childish mind is thus told:

"As I grew older and more thoughtful, I was more and more filled with a sense of my wretchedness. The cruelty of Aunt Katy, the hunger and cold I suffered, and the terrible reports of wrong and outrage which came to my ear, together with what I almost daily witnessed, led me, when yet but eight or nine years old, to wish I had never been born. I used to contrast my condition with the blackbirds, in whose wild and sweet songs I fancied them so happy! Their apparent joy only deepened the shades of my sorrow. There are thoughtful days in the lives of children—at least there were in mine—when they grapple with all the great primary subjects of knowledge, and reach in a moment, conclusions which no subsequent experience can shake. I was just as well aware of the unjust, unnatural, and murderous character of slavery, when nine years old, as I am now. Without any appeal to books, to laws, or to authorities of any kind, it was enough to accept God as a father, to regard slavery as a crime."

Douglass's remarks on the singing of slaves are very striking. Speaking of certain days of each month when the slaves from the different farms came up to the central plantation to get their monthly allowances of meal and meat, he says that there was always great contention among the slaves as to who should go up with the ox team for this purpose. He says:

"Probably the chief motive of the competitors for the place, was a desire to break the dull monotony of the field, and to get beyond the overseer's eye and lash. Once on the road with an ox team, and seated on the tongue of his cart, with no overseer to look after him, the slave was comparatively free; and, if thoughtful, he had time to think. Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by masters or overseers. '*Make a noise, make a noise,*' and '*Bear a hand,*' are the words usually addressed to the slaves when there is silence amongst them. This may account for the almost constant singing heard in the Southern States. There was generally more or less singing among the teamsters, as it was one means of letting the overseer know where they were, and that they were moving on with the work. But on allowance day, those who visited the great house farm were peculiarly excited and noisy. While on their way, they would make the dense

old woods, for miles around, reverberate with their wild notes. These were not always merry because they were wild. On the contrary, they were mostly of a plaintive cast, and told a tale of grief and sorrow. In the most boisterous outbursts of rapturous sentiment there was ever a tinge of deep melancholy. I have never heard any songs like those anywhere since I left slavery, except when in Ireland. There I heard the same *wailing notes*, and was much affected by them. It was during the famine of 1845-6. In all the songs of the slaves there was ever some expression in praise of the great house farm; something which would flatter the pride of the owner and possibly draw a favorable glance from him.

“ ‘ I am going away to the great house farm,
O yea ! O yea ! O yea !
My old master is a good old master,
O yea ! O yea ! O yea ! ’

“ I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meanings of those rude, and apparently incoherent songs. I was myself within the circle, so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones, loud, long, and deep, breathing the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. The hearing of those wild notes always depressed my spirits, and filled my heart with ineffable sadness. The mere recurrence, even now, afflicts my spirit, and while I am writing these lines, my tears are falling. To those songs I trace my first glimmering conceptions of the dehumanizing character of slavery. I can never get rid of that conception. Those songs still follow me, to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathies for my brethren in bonds.”

When Douglass was ten years old a great change took place in his circumstances. His old master sent him to Baltimore to be a family servant in the house of a family connection.

He speaks with great affection of his new mistress, Miss Sophia Auld. It is the Southern custom for the slave to address a young married lady always by this maiden title. She had never before had to do with a slave child, and seemed to approach him with all the tender feelings of motherhood. He was to have the care of her own little son, some years younger, and she seemed to extend

maternal tenderness to him. His clothing, lodging, food were all now those of a favored house boy, and his employment to run of errands and take care of his little charge, of whom he was very fond. The kindness and benignity of his mistress led the little boy to beg her to teach him to read, and the results are thus given:

“The dear woman began the task, and very soon, by her assistance, I was master of the alphabet, and could spell words of three or four letters. My mistress seemed almost as proud of my progress, as if I had been her own child; and supposing that her husband would be as well pleased, she made no secret of what she was doing. Indeed, she exultingly told him of the aptness of her pupil, of her intention to persevere in teaching me, and of the duty which she felt it to teach me at least to read *the Bible*. Here arose the first cloud over my Baltimore prospects, the precursor of drenching rains and chilling blasts.

“Master Hugh was amazed at the simplicity of his spouse, and probably for the first time, he unfolded to her the true philosophy of slavery, and the peculiar rules to be observed by masters and mistresses, in the management of their human chattels. Mr. Auld promptly forbade the continuance of her instruction; telling her, in the first place, that the thing itself was unlawful; that it was also unsafe, and could only lead to mischief. To use his own words, further, he said, ‘If you give a nigger an inch, he will take an ell; he should know nothing but the will of his master, and learn to obey it. Learning would spoil the best nigger in the world; if you teach that nigger’—speaking of myself—‘how to read the Bible, there will be no keeping of him; it would forever unfit him for the duties of a slave, and as to himself, learning would do him no good, but probably a great deal of harm—making him disconsolate and unhappy. If you learn him now to read, he ’ll want to know how to write; and this accomplished, he ’ll be running away with himself.’ Such was the tenor of Master Hugh’s oracular exposition of the true philosophy of training a human chattel; and it must be confessed that he very clearly comprehended the nature and the requirements of the relation of master and slave. His discourse was the first decidedly anti-slavery lecture to which it had been my lot to listen. Mrs. Auld evidently felt the force of his remarks; and, like an obedient wife, began to shape her course in the direction indicated by her husband. The effect of his words on *me* was neither slight nor transitory. His iron sentences, cold and harsh, sunk deep into my

heart, and stirred up not only my feelings into a sort of rebellion, but awakened within me a slumbering train of vital thought. It was a new and special revelation, dispelling a painful mystery, against which my youthful understanding had struggled, and struggled in vain, to wit: the *white* man's power to perpetuate the enslavement of the *black* man. 'Very well,' thought I, 'knowledge unfits a child to be a slave.' I instinctively assented to the proposition; and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

But the desire of learning, once awakened, could not be hushed, and though Douglass's mistress forbore his teaching, and even became jealously anxious to prevent his making further progress, he found means to continue the instruction. With a spelling-book hid away in his bosom, and a few crackers in his pocket, he continued to get daily lessons from the street boys at intervals when he went back and forth on errands. Sometimes the tuition fee was a cracker, and sometimes the lesson was given in mere boyish good will. At last he made money enough to buy for himself, secretly, a reading book, *The Columbian Orator*. This book was prepared for schools during the liberty-loving era succeeding the American Revolution, when southern as well as northern men conspired to reprobate slavery. There consequently young Fred found most inspiring documents. There was a long conversation between a master and a slave where a slave defended himself for running away by quoting the language of the Declaration of Independence. Douglass also says of this book:

"This, however, was not all the fanaticism which I found in this *Columbian Orator*. I met there one of Sheridan's mighty speeches on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, Lord Chatham's speech on the American war, and speeches by the great William Pitt and by Fox. These were all choice documents to me, and I read them over and over again, with an interest that was ever increasing, because it was ever gaining in intelligence; for the more I read them the better I understood them. The reading of these speeches added much to my limited stock of language, and enabled me to give tongue to many interesting thoughts, which had frequently flashed through my soul, and died away for want of utterance."

All this knowledge and expansion of mind, of course, produced at first intellectual gloom and misery. All the results of learning to read, predicted by the master, had come to pass. He was so

morose, so changed, that his mistress noticed it, and showered reproaches upon him for his ingratitude. "Poor lady," he says, "she did not know my trouble and I dared not tell her—her abuse felt like the blows of Balaam on his poor ass, she did not know that an *angel* stood in the way.

"My feelings were not the result of any marked cruelty in the treatment I received; they sprung from the consideration of my being a slave at all. It was *slavery*—not its mere *incidents*—that I hated. I had been cheated. I saw through the attempt to keep me in ignorance; I saw that slaveholders would have gladly made me believe that they were merely acting under the authority of God, in making a slave of me, and in making slaves of others; and I treated them as robbers and deceivers. The feeding and clothing me well, could not atone for taking my liberty from me."

About this time Douglass became deeply awakened to religious things, by the prayers and exhortations of a pious old colored slave who was a drayman. He could read and his friend could not, but Douglass, now newly awakened to spiritual things, read the Bible to him, and received comfort from him. He says: "He fanned my already intense love of knowledge into a flame by assuring me that I was to be a useful man in the world. When I would say to him, how can these things be, his simple reply was, '*Trust in the Lord.*' When I told him that I was a *slave for life*, he said: 'The Lord can make you free, my dear. All things are possible with Him, only have faith in God. If you want your liberty, ask the Lord for it in faith, and *He will give it to you.*'" Cheered by this advice, Douglass began to offer daily and earnest prayers for liberty.

With reference to this he began to turn his thought towards acquiring the art of writing. He was employed as waiter in a ship-yard, and watching the initial letters by which the carpenters marked the different parts of the ship, he thus in time acquired a large part of the written alphabet. This knowledge he supplemented by getting one and another boy of his acquaintance on one pretence or other, to write words or letters on fences or boards. Then he surreptitiously copied the examples in his master's copy-book at home, when his mistress was safely out of the house, and finally acquired the dangerous and forbidden gift of writing a fluent, handsome current hand.

He had various reverses after this as he grew in age and developed

in manliness. He was found difficult to manage, and changed from hand to hand like a vicious, intractable horse. Once a celebrated negro breaker had a hand upon him, meaning to break his will and reduce him to the condition of a contented animal, but the old story of Pegasus in harness came to pass. The negro breaker gave him up as a bad case, and finally his master made a virtue of necessity, and allowed him to hire his own time. The bargain was that Douglass should pay him three dollars a week, and make his own bargains, find his own tools, board and clothe himself. The work was that of caulker in a shipyard. This, he says, was a hard bargain; for the wear and tear of clothing, the breakage of tools, and expenses of board made it necessary to earn at least six dollars a week, to keep even with the world, and this percentage to the master left him nothing beyond a bare living.

But it was a freeman's experience to be able to come and go unwatched, and before long it enabled him to mature a plan of escape, and the time at last came when he found himself a free colored citizen of New Bedford, seeking employment, with the privilege of keeping his wages for himself. Here it was that, reading for the first time the *Lady of the Lake*, he gave himself the name of Douglass, and abandoned forever the family name of his old slaveholding employer. Instead of a lazy, thriftless young man to be supported by his earnings, he took unto himself an affectionate and thrifty wife, and became a settled family man.

He describes the seeking for freeman's work as rapturous excitement. The thought, "I can work, I can earn money, I have no master now to rob me of my earnings," was a perfect joyous stimulus whenever it arose, and he says, "I sawed wood, dug cellars, shovelled coal, rolled oil casks on the wharves, helped to load and unload vessels, worked in candle works and brass foundries, and thus supported myself for three years." "I was," he says, "now living in a new world, and wide awake to its advantages. I early began to attend meetings of the colored people in New Bedford, and to take part in them, and was amazed to see colored men making speeches, drawing up resolutions, and offering them for consideration."

His enthusiasm for self-education was constantly stimulated. He appropriated some of his first earnings to subscribing for the *Liberator*, and was soon after introduced to Mr. Garrison. How Garrison appeared to a liberated slave may be a picture worth preserving, and we give it in Douglass's own words.

“Seventeen years ago, few men possessed a more heavenly countenance than William Lloyd Garrison, and few men evinced a more genuine or a more exalted piety. The Bible was his text book—held sacred, as the word of the Eternal Father—sinless perfection—complete submission to insults and injuries—literal obedience to the injunction, if smitten on one side to turn the other also. Not only was Sunday a Sabbath, but all days were Sabbaths, and to be kept holy. All sectarian false and mischievous—the regenerated, throughout the world, members of one body and the *Head* Jesus Christ. Prejudice against color was rebellion against God. Of all men beneath the sky, the slaves, because most neglected and despised, were nearest and dearest to his great heart. Those ministers who defended slavery from the Bible, were of their ‘father the devil’; and those churches which fellowshipped slaveholders as Christians, were synagogues of Satan, and our nation was a nation of liars. Never loud or noisy—calm and serene as a summer sky, and as pure. ‘You are the man, the Moses, raised up by God, to deliver his modern Israel from bondage,’ was the spontaneous feeling of my heart, as I sat away back in the hall and listened to his mighty words; mighty in truth—mighty in their simple earnestness.”

From this time the course of Douglass is upward. The manifest talents which he possessed, led the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to feel that he could serve it better in a literary career than by manual labor.

In the year 1841, a great Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Nantucket, where Frederick Douglass appeared on the stage and before a great audience recounted his experiences. Mr. Garrison followed him, and an immense enthusiasm was excited—and Douglass says: “That night there were at least a thousand Garrisonians in Nantucket.” After this the general agent of the Anti-Slavery Society came and offered to Douglass the position of an agent of that society, with a competent support to enable him to lecture through the country. Douglass, continually pursuing the work of self-education, became an accomplished speaker and writer. He visited England, and was received with great enthusiasm. The interest excited in him was so great that several English friends united and paid the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for his purchase of his liberty. This enabled him to pursue his work of lecturer in the United States, to travel unmolested, and to make himself every way conspicuous without danger of recapture.

He settled himself in Rochester, and established an Anti-Slavery paper, called *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, which bore a creditable character for literary execution, and had a good number of subscribers in America and England.

Two of Frederick Douglass's sons were among the first to answer to the call for colored troops, and fought bravely in the good cause. Douglass had succeeded in rearing an intelligent and cultivated family, and in placing himself in the front among intelligent and cultivated men. Few orators among us surpass him, and his history from first to last is a comment on the slavery system which speaks for itself.

In this career we find first that revolting condition of cohabitation between master and slave, then we find the separation of parent and child, the cruelty to the child, the anguish of the mother, knowing of that cruelty and not being able to prevent it, the growing up of the child, oftentimes beaten, and abused in both mind and body; then again we see the same creature under different circumstances and improved conditions, with a mistress who is trying to improve the mind against the wishes of the master who desires to keep it in ignorance; then finally the escape from the enthrallment, and the development of that mind, and afterwards the example of what such a mind can accomplish where opportunity and ambition, and the plaudits of fellow-men urge him on to a brilliant and full career. Not every one of the millions of emancipated slaves can become a Frederick Douglass, neither can every one of the forty million males of the United States become an Abraham Lincoln.

In another portion of this work will be given a *résumé*, as far as can be gathered, of what the negro race has already accomplished, and what it is doing to-day in the commercial and educational world. It is not well at this point to depart chronologically from our work, and before leaving the period of about 1850 we must refer briefly to the condition of the master, as we have to the slave.

While it was the boast of the slaveholder, that he was better off than the free men of the North, yet he knew that his boast was not an honest one. He could not help but realize that the free States of the North were making progress in every

way faster than were the slave States of the South. He must have realized that his land was year after year becoming more and more impoverished, and while the demand for his one staple crop was increasing, yet he was never adding to his substantial wealth, except as the accession of slave property was counted a gain. There were no schools, no colleges, no libraries, no great institutions of finance, no churches with famous occupants of pulpits,—nothing but a limited aristocracy.

An examination of the condition of slaves will show various contradictory examples, as we know that many were tolerably well fed, well clothed, and well housed. There is no doubt that thousands upon thousands of negroes were better off before the war than after, but this by no means affects the system as a whole, either morally or economically, in its influences upon fully one third of the country, both as to territory and population. The degradation and the cruelty witnessed on the plantation and in the slave marts could not be justified on the plea that it was not universal.

It would perhaps be impossible to overstate or to exaggerate the evils which were attendant upon the system, and though we were to enumerate all the instances that could be gathered of kindness and decency, they could not begin to balance the horrors of the other side. The greatest evil of all was that which one does not like to dwell upon, but which must be chronicled even briefly.

From the age of fourteen or fifteen till nature intervened, the female slave not only did her share of work in the field, but willingly gave her body and soul to further the passions and profits of her master. The comely were simply concubines, and the fruitful, breeders. A female slave was valued for her bearing powers and her attractiveness of form and feature. It is not necessary in this work to give pages of proof of this condition. It matters not how universal was the custom. It did prevail, and chastity was a thing unknown or uncultivated. The favorite slave was proud of her owner's attention, and the fruitful well knew their value. Over five hundred thousand, or twelve per cent. of the colored people

in the slave States, were mulattoes at the outbreak of the war. During the decade from 1850 to 1860 the proportion of mulattoes born in the South was fully fifteen per cent.

But pandering to the master was not such a hardship as the fast breeding for commercial purposes. No time was lost after issue before the return to the field, or a return to pregnancy.

To Northern women this phase of Slavery appealed most strongly, and no doubt did much to mould public opinion. It was not the effect on the female slave that excited concern any more than the effect on the children of the masters. As well bring up youth in a brothel. True, they were sent to Northern schools, but the young men followed in the footsteps of their fathers. The evil was even condoned and defended by statesmen and clergy, though sometimes denied as belonging not to Slavery, but humanity. But the wives of the masters knew it, and never denied or defended it or condoned it. They suffered for the most part in silence, as they suffered afterwards with their Northern sisters during the Great Struggle.

There is no doubt that many owners of slaves fully realized the blight upon them, but were without the moral courage to attempt its removal. Samuel Bowles travelled through the South in the winter of 1844-45, and among his letters to the *Springfield Republican* is found the following:

The fact is, in regard to slavery, the owners are generally much more the objects of pity and sympathy than the slaves; they suffer from its blighting curse greatly and sensibly, while the latter are more contented, better fed and clothed, than the free blacks either at the North or South. This is true, if my observation the past winter has been worth anything, and I fully believe that a great majority of citizens of the slave States are fully aware how great the curse is which weighs them down, and would gladly throw it off, if it could be done in any reasonable and proper manner, without completely impoverishing them, or endangering their personal safety and success.

From Smith's *A Political History of Slavery* is taken the following table, classifying owners of slaves:

Number owning one slave.....	68,820
Number owning more than one and under five.....	105,682
Number owning more than five and under ten	80,675
Number owning more than ten and under twenty	54,595
Number owning more than twenty and under fifty.....	29,733
Number owning more than fifty and under one hundred ...	6,976
Number owning more than one hundred and under two hundred.....	1,479
Number owning more than two hundred and under three hundred.....	187
Number owning more than three hundred and under five hundred.....	56
Number owning more than five hundred and under one thousand.....	9
Number owning one thousand and over.....	2
	<hr/>
	348,214

The political power of the South was not only centred in these 348,214 slaveholders, but was further concentrated in the hands of less than one half this number, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia. The two owners of one thousand slaves each under the three-fifths clause of the Constitution enjoyed a representation equal to twelve hundred Northern citizens. The *Richmond Examiner* tersely explained the political power of the South as follows:

She makes and unmakes Presidents. She dictates her terms to the Northern Democracy, and they obey her. She selects from among the faithful of the North a man upon whom she can rely, and she makes him President. She takes the initiative in punishing traitors like Van Buren, and her sisters of the South unite with her, and the traitors are cast out. In and out of Congress in the science of politics, she holds the North to her purpose.

The evils of Slavery, as shown in the physical and moral condition of both slave and master, as well as the economic phases, were tolerated rather than desired by the masses either at the South or North. The leaders at the South were sectional and selfish and fully realized and took advantage of their power. Calhoun led because his followers wished to be led.

Outside of the halls of Congress there was but little intellect in the South to compare with the great names in literature, science, and art that came to the front at the North. Says Olmstead in the *Cotton Kingdom* :

From the banks of the Mississippi to the banks of the James, I did not (that I remember) see, except perhaps in one or two towns, a thermometer, nor a book of Shakespeare, nor a piano-forte or sheet of music, nor the light of a Carcel or other good centre-table or reading lamp, nor an engraving or copy of any kind of a work of art of the slightest merit.

While De Tocqueville wrote of the difference between the slave and the free States as seen externally :

The traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio to the point where that river joins the Mississippi may be said to sail between liberty and Slavery; and he only needs to look around him in order to decide in an instant which is the more favorable to humanity. On the southern bank of the river the population is thinly scattered; from time to time one descries a gang of slaves at work, going with indolent air over the half-desert fields; the primeval forest unceasingly reappears; one would think that the people were asleep; man seems to be idle, nature alone offers a picture of activity and life. From the Northern bank, on the contrary, there arises the busy hum of industry which is heard afar off; the fields abound with rich harvests; comfortable homes indicate the taste and care of the laborer; prosperity is seen on all sides; man appears rich and content; he labors.

One naturally wonders how it was possible for such an institution to live on so little and constantly to increase its power and influence, particularly in the halls of Congress. It must be remembered that in 1820 and again in 1850 we were legislating not against Slavery itself, but against the extension of Slavery. There is no doubt that the commercial North was quite willing that the institution of Slavery should continue to exist at the South without any interference. The North manufactured for the South, and for a time the slaveholders were good customers. Therein lay the great secret of the

fact that the Slave Power was able to combine with its own votes enough Northern votes for its purpose. In preceding pages it has already been noted that an ambition to attain or retain the Presidency was the cause of one or more statesmen, even though born in the North and in full knowledge of the evils of the system, giving their influence to the South and the Slave Power.

Immediately after the Compromise of 1850, both the just and unjust sequences of the Fugitive Slave laws were seen in full force throughout the North; and many citizens who would scorn to take a penny's worth of what did not belong to them, or depart a hair's breadth from the path of integrity and right, combined day after day, week after week, and month after month to aid the fugitive slave to gain his freedom by establishing a secret method of transference from one town to another until the poor negro would get over the line into Canada. This was known as the Underground Railroad, and though the number of escapes were few as compared with the whole number in bondage, yet the methods were irritating in the extreme to the owners, who condemned the whole North as encouraging the runaways.

When the so-called Personal Liberty laws were enacted in State after State to offset iniquities connected with the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave law, and when the condition of the slave himself, and of the revolting circumstances attending the system, not only on the plantation, but in transit and sale, became known more and more through impartial sources than by means of the Abolition literature of the time, then gradually, through the press and the pulpit, and perhaps through a power stronger than either, the women of the North, came a full realization and appreciation of how great the curse was to our country. Even then, had there been no more attempt at legislation after the Compromise of 1850, in which men of all parties were willing to acquiesce, however much they disagreed with the policy of that law,—even then it is possible that there would have been no interference or attempt at interference for years to come. But when, in addition to all that had transpired before, came the repeal of the Missouri Compromise,

and with it the possibility that Slavery might be carried into any new Territory and adopted in any new State, then followed the revolt in every State, county, and hamlet of the entire North. The Slave Power had overstepped itself. At last it had gone too far, and now in some way it must be checked. Deep was the apprehension, not only in every Northern hamlet, but in every Northern household, of what might come in the near future. Even then no positive and decisive step was immediately taken, and, strange to say, when it was taken it was not by the statesmen or leaders among men; it was taken by the masses, and the leaders followed after.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS DURING 1854 TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

IT was a curious anomaly that in the early part of 1854, more than two generations after the founding of the Republic upon the principle that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," 350,000 slaveholders controlled the laws and government of the 30,000,000 people of the United States. The Slave Power had gained the legal right to go into any State of the Union and hunt and regain possession of not only runaway slaves, but any negro who might be apprehended, calling to their assistance court officers and other officers of the law, as well as private citizens. Furthermore, they had succeeded in repealing the law restricting Slavery to certain portions of the country, and had made it possible for their institution to be adopted in any new State admitted to the Union that so willed.

No political party was able to elect enough members of Congress to overrule the united will of the slaveholders, and until the anti-Slavery sentiment of the North should be so welded together, and its exponents should be so united into one party as to be able to send to Washington enough men to outvote the representatives of the Slave Power, there was no hope that its advance could be checked. The earnestness of the Abolitionists, the pronouncements of the press, the sermons of the pulpit, and the addresses from the rostrum were not sufficient to control the ever-increasing and onward march of

Slavery. Only in one way could the further progress of the evil be averted, and that was through the organization, and development, and power of a great political party, which must sweep almost the entire North in order to outvote the now solid South, and pass laws which would arrest and check, if not overthrow the power that now seemed almost irresistible. Not only was the Slaveholding Power at the South solidified and united, but a considerable part of the Democratic party of the North, led by Douglas and his supporters, had joined with the Southerners in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which restricted Slavery forever to the boundary-line of 36° 30'.

Even before this repeal had become a law, groups of men in different parts of the North, and particularly the West, were earnestly debating and consulting together as to the wisdom of forming a new party. Strangely enough, there was no concerted action, even though the same thoughts penetrated the minds of men in different portions of the country. It will probably not be possible to trace to the earliest date the first positive meeting which led to the formation of the new party. It is quite likely that there was no considerable gathering of men, nor discussion of plans and policies, until Mr. A. E. Bovay, a Whig of Ripon, Wisconsin, together with a Mr. Bowen, a Democrat, and a Mr. Baker, a Free-Soiler, issued a call for a public meeting to consider the now alarming situation. Perhaps there is no better description of this and a subsequent meeting extant than that given by Mr. Charles M. Harvey in the *Chautauquan*, September, 1897, from which we quote as follows:

ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Henry Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, published in 1874, while its author was Vice-President of the United States, in its chapter on the "Origin of the Republican Party," contains these words:

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the movements that contemplated definite action and the formation of a new party was made in Ripon, Fond du

Lac County, Wis., in the early months of 1854, in consequence of a very thorough canvass, conference, and general comparison of views inaugurated by A. E. Bovay, a prominent member of the Whig party, among the Whigs, Free Soilers, and Democrats of that town. A call was issued for a public meeting to consider the grave issues which were assuming an aspect of such alarming importance.

The meeting thus called was held in the Congregational church at Ripon, February 28, 1854. A resolution was adopted in the meeting that if the bill then pending in the Senate to throw open to slavery the territories of Kansas and Nebraska should pass, the old party organizations in Ripon should be cast off, and a new party, to be called the Republican, formed on the sole issue of opposition to slavery extension. The bill passed the Senate, in which body it originated, on March 3, 1854, and on March 20, the second meeting, participated in by men of all parties, was held, this time in a schoolhouse, at which Bovay was the leading spirit. By a vote of the assemblage the town committees of the Whig and Free Soil parties were dissolved, and a committee of five—three Whigs, one Democrat, and one Free-Soiler—was chosen to begin the task of forming a new party. At these two meetings was started the earliest systematic work begun anywhere in the country to bring about the coalition of the enemies of slavery extension, who were eventually fused into a homogeneous and aggressive party, adopting the name Republican.

The writer of this article has known Maj. Alvan E. Bovay (his title was gained by service in the war of secession) for many years, and after careful investigation is convinced that the claims which Wilson and other writers make for Mr. Bovay's connection with the initial movement of the Republican party are correct. A brief statement of the conditions which led to the partisan upheaval of 1854-56, and of the methods which Bovay and his collaborators employed in prosecuting their work, ought to be of especial interest just now, when most of the members of one or two of the small parties and many of those of the large ones are saying that the time is ripe for the creation of a new political organization to voice the sentiment of conservative persons on the vital issues of the time. There will be no partisanship in this *résumé*. The fires of passion lighted in the forties and fifties, which later brought on the conflagration of 1861-65, were extinguished long ago. Partisan names remain, but the issues which divided the people in that period have no connection with the questions dealt with by the parties of to-day.

Just before the adoption of the Compromise of 1850, John C. Calhoun, in a letter to a member of the Alabama legislature, said that the time for adjustments on the slavery question had passed, and that it was the duty of the South to "force the issue on the North." "We are now stronger than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally," he declared. "Unless we bring on the issue, delay to us will be dangerous indeed."

From the Southern view-point, Calhoun was right. Relatively to the North the South was stronger in 1789 than it was in 1820. It was stronger in 1820 than when Calhoun wrote, and stronger then than it was in 1861. In 1789 the free and slave sections were almost exactly equal in population. In 1860, the North's population was 19,128,418, while the South's, including slaves, was only 12,315,372. Their number of members in the House of Representatives was not greatly different in 1789, but in 1860 the North had 147 and the South only 90. In the House of Representatives, in which membership was based on population, the North left the South far behind; hence the South, in defense of slavery, tried to preserve the balance in the Senate, in which the representation of the states was equal. When in 1850 California was admitted as a free state, with no chance to gain a new state in the South to offset it, this balance was broken, never to be restored.

The spirit of the Calhoun letter found formal expression in the Senate in 1847, when Calhoun, in a series of resolutions, contended in substance that the Constitution of its own force carried slavery into the territories; that neither Congress nor the legislature had a right to exclude slavery from any region while it remained a territory; and that slavery could not be prohibited in it except when the territory became a State, and then only by the State's regularly constituted authority. This was the South's new view on slavery. It was voiced in the House of Representatives a few months earlier by Rhett, of South Carolina; it was adopted by Jefferson Davis and the other southern leaders eventually, and it received judicial sanction by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case in 1857, so far as the Court's *obiter dictum* can give such sanction.^o This was the antithesis of the Wilmot Proviso. The Wilmot Proviso, proposed by David Wilmot (a Pennsylvania Democrat) in 1846, shortly after the beginning of the war with Mexico, would, by act of Congress, shut slavery out from the territory to be gained from Mexico, and, in effect, from all the territories.

Douglas' bill of 1854 creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was an attempt to steer a middle course between the South's position as set forth by Calhoun, and the North's as represented by the Wilmot Proviso. This bill left the question of the admission or exclusion of slavery to the people of the territories, through their legislatures. This was the principle of popular sovereignty which had been outlined by Cass as early as 1847, and which Calhoun dubbed "squatter sovereignty." The Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed the Senate on March 3, 1854, and the House on May 22, and was signed by President Pierce on May 30.

Alarmed and enraged at the project to give slavery an equal chance with freedom in territory from which it had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the North's pulpit, press, and legislatures thundered against the Nebraska Bill from the moment of its introduction in the Senate, and after its enactment Douglas said he could have traveled from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own burning effigies. Out of the convulsion which the passage of this act caused, emerged the Republican party.

Even before the passage of this act many persons saw the necessity for uniting all the opponents of slavery extension who were scattered among different parties, large and small, into one compact and aggressive organization. The man who took the first practical steps to bring about this union was Alvan E. Bovay. Mr. Bovay was born in the town of Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., on July 12, 1818. He received a good education, passed several years in New York City, reading law and teaching school alternately, was admitted to the bar, and settled in Ripon, Wis., in 1850. He was elected to the assembly of that state in 1858 and 1859, refused a nomination to the state senate in the latter year (although this would have been equivalent to an election), subsequently declined nominations to other offices, held the rank of major in the Nineteenth Wisconsin Infantry in the Civil War, and was provost marshal of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., for over a year. Later he returned to Wisconsin, where he resided until a few years ago, when he removed to his present home in Brooklyn, N. Y.

As early as 1852 Mr. Bovay felt that the end of the Whig party, of which he was a member, was near. While visiting New York in that year he told his forebodings to Horace Greeley, with whom he had long been acquainted. He said the Whig party's vitality was gone; that its issues no longer commanded popular attention; that

the slavery question was absorbing the active minds of the country; that the party would be overwhelmingly defeated in that year's campaign; that it would soon afterward dissolve; and that on its ruins would rise a new and greater organization composed of the scattered bands of freedom's friends, whose rallying cry would be the exclusion of slavery from the territories. On being asked by Greeley—who thought the Whigs would win, and consequently that there would be no need or chance for another party—what the name of this new party would be, Bovay answered, “Republican.”

Defeat came to the Whig party in 1852 under such disastrous conditions (the Whigs carried only four of the thirty-one states, and they made in their platform an abject surrender to slavery in their endorsement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850) that Bovay felt the time for the new party was close at hand. Douglas' Nebraska Bill brought on the crisis which Bovay expected, and on February 26, 1854, before the bill passed either house, he wrote to Greeley thus:

It seems to me you can no longer doubt or remain passive. . . . The Nebraska Bill is sure to become a law. Slavery has been growing stronger instead of weaker, and as long as its opponents gather in little bands here and there it will continue to grow in power and aggression. . . . Your paper is now a power in the land. Advocate calling together in every church and schoolhouse in the free states all the opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, no matter what their party affiliations. Urge them to forget previous political names and organizations, and to band together under the name I suggested to you at Lovejoy's Hotel in 1852. I mean the name “Republican.” It is the only one that will serve all purposes, present and future—the only one that will live and last.

Greeley was not yet prepared for the new party, nor was the East, and in a letter to Bovay, dated March 7, 1854, he said:

I faintly hope the time has come which Daniel Webster predicted when he said, “I think there will be a North.” But I am a beaten, broken-down, used-up politician, and have the soreness of many defeats in my bones. However, I am ready to follow any lead that promises to hasten the day of northern emancipation. Your plan is all right if the people are ripe for it. I fear they, too, generally wish (with John Mitchell) that they had a good plantation and negroes in Alabama—or even Kansas. However, we will try and do what we can. But remember that editors can only follow where the people's heart is already prepared to go with them. They can direct and animate a healthy public indignation, but not “create a soul beneath the ribs of death.”

In the *Tribune*, though, Greeley took a more decided tone. Often in that paper, while the Nebraska Bill was before Congress, he urged

the destruction of party lines and the union of the foes of slavery extension in a single organization. He did not as yet suggest the name Republican for the new party, but after the bill was passed he did this in an editorial in the *Tribune* of June 24, 1854, entitled "Party Names and Public Duty."¹

Long before this date Bovay had, at his Wisconsin home, taken practical steps, as Wilson states, toward the formation of the party. More than once he has related to the writer of this article the manner in which he worked. In a recent letter he writes:

I went from house to house and from shop to shop and halted men on the streets to get their names for the meeting of March 20, 1854. At that time there was not more than a hundred voters in Ripon, and by a vast deal of earnest talking I obtained fifty-three of them. . . . We went into the little meeting, Whigs, Free Soilers, and Democrats. We came out of it Republicans, and we were the first Republicans in the Union. . . . I had one great advantage in this work. I was an intimate friend of Horace Greeley's, and he would always listen to me on political matters. . . . He did not always assent to my propositions, but in the end he did to most of them, and he did to this one after a good deal of nagging. It was not one letter that I wrote to him, but many, before he displayed the Republican flag in the *Tribune's* columns. I was more solicitous about the name than about the organization. I knew the organization had to come, but the politicians might easily pick up another name, and a great advantage would have been lost. My friend Greeley valued names too lightly. A good name is a tower of strength. "Democracy" is a word which charms. The influence of the name has been marvelous. "Republican" is its only counterpart—significant, flexible, magical—and I was determined to secure it for the new party. . . . I wanted the name to appear early editorially in the *Tribune*, and it did.

It is not claimed here that Bovay is the creator of the Republican party. The spirit was active in 1854, in every village and city in the free states, which would have created that party even if Bovay and Greeley had never been born. Bovay, however, was the first person who set out in a resolute, persistent, and practical way to form the party; he was the first to suggest the name, and Greeley, through his paper, which had the largest circulation and influence of any journal in the country at that time, gave his valuable aid in making the party project and name known to the country.

In Washington, on May 9th, the morning after the House took up the Kansas-Nebraska bill, about thirty members of the House of Representatives were called together by Israel

¹ This editorial was in the *Tribune* of June 16th, see page 214.

Washburn of Maine, and held a meeting at the rooms of Thomas D. Eliot and Edward Dickinson of Massachusetts. It was agreed that only through a new party could be any reasonable hope of restricting the arrogant and triumphant Slave Power. The word "Republican," as a name for the new party was agreed upon as appropriate. Soon after, Mr. Washburn addressed a public meeting in Bangor, Maine, where he referred to "this great consideration that now overrides all the old party divisions and effete organizations of the country." "Every true Republican," he said, "must take the place, if not the name, of that wise, conservative party, whose name and purpose were the welfare of the whole Union and the stainless honor of the American name." Alluding on another occasion to the Washington meeting, Mr. Washburn acknowledged that Dr. Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, had been the first and moving impulse that led to it, and that he "strove incessantly to bring members of different parties to act together in opposition to the Nebraska iniquity"; and "after the purpose to form such a party had been arrived at, there was no one present who did not feel that the measure was only carrying out the policy of which Dr. Bailey had been the earliest, the ablest, and the most influential advocate."

At Jackson, Michigan, on February 22, 1854, the so-called Free Democrats of Michigan held a convention and passed resolutions, declaring freedom national, and Slavery sectional, and denouncing the attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise as "an infamous outrage on justice, humanity, and good faith."

Kinsley S. Bingham was nominated for Governor, and the ticket contained, besides, the names of men who had formerly been known as Whigs. Two of the speakers had been leading Whigs, Henry Barns of the *Detroit Tribune*, and Halmer H. Emmons, the latter expressing the hope that before the day of election "all the friends of freedom would be able to stand upon a common platform against the party and platform of the slave propagandists."

Throughout the entire State of Michigan preceding and following this convention were held public meetings for the

purpose of denouncing the Kansas-Nebraska act. They were entirely outside of party lines, and were often without a call of any kind, being what might be termed impromptu local mass-meetings. One of these meetings was held at Detroit on the 18th of February. Among the speakers was Zachariah Chandler, and the resolutions adopted, as well as the tone of the whole meeting, were defiant in the extreme. Besides these mass-meetings many private conferences were held between Whigs, Free-Soilers, and the so-called anti-Nebraska Democrats. It seemed at first impossible to harmonize the different sentiments, or to combine the parties into a new organization. The Whig party was loath to give up its name, and neither the Free-Soilers nor anti-Nebraska Democrats were strong enough to control the situation. The *Detroit Tribune*, then edited by Joseph Warren, began the publication of articles advocating the organization of a new party to be composed of all elements opposed to Slavery extension. The first thing to be done was to bring about the withdrawal of the State ticket known as the Free Democratic ticket. Of this, Mr. Warren writes:

One of the first and chiefest obstacles to be overcome in order to ensure the co-operation of all the opponents of slavery extension in the movement looking to the organization of a new party, was to induce the Free Soilers to consent to the withdrawal of their ticket from the field, thus placing themselves on the same footing as the Whigs (who as yet had made no nominations), free from all entangling alliances and in a position to act in a way likely to prove most effectual. But formidable as this obstacle seemed to be in the beginning, it was promptly removed through the wisely directed and patriotic efforts of the prominent leaders of the party. Such men as Hovey K. Clarke, Silas M. Holmes, Kinsley S. Bingham, Seymour Treadwell, all on the Free Soil ticket, F. C. Beaman, S. P. Mead, I. P. Christiancy, W. W. Murphy, Whitney Jones, U. Tracy Howe, Jacob S. Farrand, Rev. S. A. Baker, proprietor, and Rev. Jabez Fox, editor of the *Detroit Free Democrat*, were especially active and influential in preparing the way for this necessary preliminary step.

At a mass-meeting of the Free Democrats held at Kalama-

zoo, Michigan, the ticket nominated on the 22d of February was withdrawn. Previous to this there had appeared in the columns of the *Detroit Tribune*, which was copied by the *Detroit Free Democrat* after the withdrawal of the Free Democratic ticket, a call for a mass-meeting to be held at Jackson, July 6th, of all the opponents of Slavery extension. This call was signed by thousands of citizens from every part of the States, filling two columns of newspaper space, besides which there were several hundred names received too late for publication. The call was worded as follows:

TO THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN.

A great wrong has been perpetuated. The slave power of this country has triumphed. Liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri compromise, a solemn compact, entered into by our fathers, has been violated, and a vast territory dedicated to freedom has been opened to slavery.

This act, so unjust to the North, has been perpetuated under circumstances which deepen its perfidy. An administration placed in power by Northern votes has brought to bear all the resources of executive corruption in its support.

Northern Senators and Representatives, in the face of the overwhelming public sentiment of the North, expressed in the proceedings of public meetings and solemn remonstrances, without a single petition in its favor on their table, and not daring to submit this great question to the people, have yielded to the seductions of executive patronage, and, Judas-like, betrayed the cause of liberty; while the South, inspired by a dominant and grasping ambition, has, without distinction of party, and with a unanimity almost entire, deliberately trampled under foot the solemn compact entered into in the midst of a crisis threatening to the peace of the Union, sanctioned by the greatest names of our history, and the binding force of which has, for a period of more than thirty years, been recognized and declared by numerous acts of legislation. Such an outrage upon liberty, such a violation of plighted faith, cannot be submitted to. This great wrong must be righted, or there is no longer a North in the councils of the nation. The extension of slavery, under the folds of the American flag, is a stigma upon liberty. The indefinite increase of slave representation in Congress is destructive to that

equality between freemen which is essential to the permanency of the Union.

The safety of the Union—the rights of the North—the interests of free labor—the destiny of a vast territory and its untold millions for all coming time—and finally, the high aspirations of humanity for universal freedom, all are involved in the issue forced upon the country by the slave power and its plastic Northern tools.

In view, therefore, of the recent action of Congress upon this subject, and the evident designs of the slave power to attempt still further aggressions upon freedom—we invite all our fellow citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a *Union* at the North to protect liberty from being overthrown and dwnthrodden, to assemble in mass convention on Thursday, the 6th of July next, at 4 o'clock, P.M., at Jackson, there to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this State against the aggression of the slave power.

The following record of the proceedings of the day is taken from the *Life of Zachariah Chandler*, published by the *Detroit Post and Tribune*, in 1880, from which source have been drawn the preceding facts concerning the movement in Michigan:

The response to this appeal was the gathering at Jackson, on a bright mid-summer day, of hundreds of influential men from all parts of Michigan, representing every shade of anti-slavery feeling, and thoroughly alive to the importance of the occasion and the difficulty of the task projected. The convention far outstripped in numbers the preparations for its accommodation, and, after filling to excess the largest hall in the town, it adjourned to meet in a beautiful oak grove, situated between the village and the county race-course, on a tract of land then known as "Morgan's Forty." The growth of Jackson has since covered this historic ground with buildings, and the spacious grove has dwindled to a few scattered oaks shading the city's busy streets. A rude platform erected for speakers was appropriated by the officers of the convention, and about it thronged a mass of earnest men, the vanguard of the Republican host. In a body so incongruous and unwieldy, confused purposes, discordant views, and conflicting interests were unavoid-

able, but the universal fervor of the fusion sentiment formed a broad foundation for harmonious action, and the convention did not lack for shrewd and sagacious political managers with the skill to direct earnest effort into practical channels. Such differences of opinion as there were on questions of policy and as to candidates exhausted themselves in private conferences and secret committee deliberations, and the convention itself did its business with promptness, without discord, and amid a genuine enthusiasm.

Its temporary chairman was the Hon. Levi Baxter, of Jonesville, a pioneer settler of Southern Michigan, and the founder of a family of marked prominence in that State. He was well known as the master spirit of many important business enterprises, had been a Whig and then a Free Soiler, and had been elected to the State Senate by a local coalition of both those parties in his own county. After a brief address by Mr. Baxter, Jeremiah Van Renselaer was chosen temporary secretary, and this committee on permanent organization was appointed: Samuel Barstow, C. H. Van Cleek, Isaac P. Christiancy, G. W. Burchard, Lovell Moore, James W. Hill, Henry W. Lord, and Newell Avery. While they were deliberating, the convention adjourned to the oak grove, and there listened to brief speeches until a permanent organization was effected with the following gentlemen as officers of the first Republican State convention ever held:

President—David S. Walbridge, of Kalamazoo.

Vice-Presidents—F. C. Beaman, Oliver Johnson, Rudolph Diepenbeck, Thomas Curtis, C. T. Gorham, Pliny Power, Emanuel Mann, Charles Draper, George Winslow, Norman Little, John McKinney, W. W. Murphy.

Secretaries—J. Van Renselaer, J. F. Conover, A. B. Turner.

Mr. Walbridge was a prominent merchant of Central Michigan, and an exceedingly active and earnest Whig. He had already served several terms in the Legislature and was afterward a Republican Congressman for four years from Michigan. His selection as president of the convention was a wise recognition of the important Whig element in its membership. The great throng next separated into representatives of the four congressional districts, and chose the following committee on resolutions: Jacob M. Howard, Austin Blair, Donald McIntyre, John Hilsendegen, Charles Noble, Alfred R. Metcalf, John W. Turner, Levi Baxter, Marsh Giddings, E. Hussey, A. Williams, John McKinney, Chas. Draper, M. L.

Higgins, J. E. Simmonds, Z. B. Knight. The chairmanship of this important committee naturally fell to Jacob M. Howard, of Detroit, a lawyer of eminence and rare powers, the first Whig Congressman from Michigan, and a man of deservedly high reputation for intellectual vigor and personal integrity. He was afterward for nine years a Republican Senator, and at Washington earned national distinction as the author of the Thirteenth Amendment and by much able and laborious public service. Mr. Howard had prepared a draft of a platform in advance of the convention, and the committee met to consider it under a clump of trees on the outskirts of the grove (at the present intersection of Franklin and Second streets in the city of Jackson). No material modifications were made in the document, which was adopted substantially as written by Mr. Howard, except that Austin Blair proposed to add two resolutions relating to State affairs purely. As to the expediency of this action there was some difference of opinion, and finally Mr. Blair submitted his propositions as a minority report, and the convention adopted and thus added them to the main platform. Over the resolution formally christening the new party "Republican," there was no special discussion. There had already been suggestions made throughout the country that, for the new organization evidently about to be born, it might be expedient to revive "the name of that wise conservative party, whose aim and purpose were the welfare of the whole Union and the stainless honor of the American name."¹ The history of this resolution in the Howard platform had been thus given with undoubted correctness by Mr. Joseph Warren in a published letter:

"The honor of having named and christened the party the writer has always claimed and now insists belongs jointly to Jacob M. Howard, Horace Greeley and himself. Soon after the writer began to advocate, through the columns of the *Tribune*, the organization of all opponents of slavery into a single party, Horace Greeley voluntarily opened a correspondence with him in regard to this movement, in which he frankly communicated his views and gave him many valuable suggestions as to the wisest course to be pursued. This correspondence was necessarily very short, as it began and ended in June, it being only five weeks from the repeal of the compromise, May 30, to the Jackson convention. In his last letter, received only a day or two before it was to assemble, Mr. Greeley

¹ Israel Washburn in an address at Bangor, Maine.

suggested to him 'Republican,' according to his recollection, but, as Mr. Howard contended, 'Democrat-Republican' was an appropriate name for the proposed new party. But this is of comparatively little consequence. The material fact is, that this meeting the writer's cordial approval, he gave Mr. Greeley's letter containing the suggestions to Mr. Howard on the day of the convention, after he had been appointed chairman of the committee on resolutions, and strongly advised its adoption. This was done and the platform adopted."

While the committee on resolutions was absent, the convention was addressed by Zachariah Chandler, Kinsley S. Bingham, and a number of others. No complete record was made of Mr. Chandler's remarks upon this occasion, but the report of the convention in the *Detroit Free Democrat*, prepared by its secretary, contained this: "We would say in parenthesis that an allusion most generally made by Mr. Chandler to Mr. Bingham drew from the crowd three rousing cheers for the latter gentleman." The *Jackson Citizen* also gave the following reference to Mr. Chandler's remarks: "When in the course of his speech he gave a brief history of the Wilmot Proviso in Michigan, alluding to the anti-slavery resolutions passed by a Democratic State convention in 1849, and the resolutions of instructions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress by the Legislature on the same subject, and then exclaimed that 'not one of our Representatives had ever been *honest* enough to carry them out except Kinsley S. Bingham,' a spark of enthusiasm fired the crowd, the shout of approbation ran through the vast assembly, and, if any doubt had previously existed as to who should be the man, that doubt was then removed." These addresses were followed by the report of the committee on resolutions, which was read by Mr. Howard amid frequent outbursts of applause, and was as follows:

JACKSON PLATFORM.

The freemen of Michigan, assembled in convention in pursuance of a spontaneous call, emanating from various parts of the State, to consider upon the measures which duty demands of us, as citizens of a free State, to take in reference to the late acts of Congress on the subject of slavery and its anticipated further extension, do

Resolve, That the institution of slavery except in punishment of crime is a great moral, social and political evil; that it was so

regarded by the fathers of the republic, the founders and best friends of the Union, by the heroes and sages of the Revolution who contemplated and intended its gradual and peaceful extinction as an element hostile to the liberties for which they toiled; that its history in the United States, the experience of men best acquainted with its workings, the dispassionate confession of those who are interested in it; its tendency to relax the vigor of industry and enterprise inherited in the white man; the very surface of the earth where it subsists; the vices and immoralities which are its natural growth; the stringent police, often wanting in humanity and revolting to the sentiments of every generous heart, which it demands; the danger it has already wrought and the future danger which it portends to the security of the Union and our constitutional liberties—all uncontestably prove it to be such evil. Surely that institution is not to be strengthened and encouraged against which Washington, the calmest and wisest of our nation, bore unequivocal testimony; as to which Jefferson, filled with a love of liberty, exclaimed: "Can the liberties of a nation be ever thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are *the gift of God*; that they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest!" And as to which another eminent patriot in Virginia, on the close of the Revolution, also exclaimed: "Had we turned our eyes inwardly when we supplicated the Father of Mercies to aid the injured and oppressed, when we invoked the Author of Righteousness to attest the purity of our motives and the justice of our cause, and implored the God of battles to aid our exertions in its defence, should we not have stood more self-convicted than the contrite publican?" We believe these sentiments to be as true now as they were then.

Resolved, That slavery is a violation of the rights of man as man; that the law of nature, which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another; that God and nature have secured to each individual an inalienable right of equality, any violation of which must be the result of superior force; and that slavery

therefore is a perpetual war upon its victims; that whether we regard the institution as first originating in captures made in war, or the subjection of the debtor as the slave of his creditor, or the forcible seizure and sale of children by their parents or subjects by their king, and whether it be viewed in this country as a "*necessary evil*" or otherwise, we find it to be, like imprisonment for debt, but a relic of barbarism as well as an element of weakness in the midst of the State, inviting the attack of external enemies, and a ceaseless cause of internal apprehension and alarm. Such are the lessons taught us, not only by the histories of other commonwealths, but by that of our own beloved country.

Resolved, That the history of the formation of the constitution, and particularly the enactment of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio, abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but to prevent the spread of slavery. And we, reverencing their memories and cherishing free republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow, at whatever expense, to defend, thus publicly proclaim our determination to oppose by all the powerful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts, direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this country, or to permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new slave States into the Union.

Resolved, That the constitution of the United States gives to Congress full and complete power for the municipal government of the territories thereof, a power which from its nature cannot be either alienated or abdicated without yielding up to the territory an absolute political independence, which involves an absurdity. That the exercise of this power necessarily looks to the formation of States to be admitted into the Union; and on the question whether they shall be admitted as *free* or *slave* States Congress has a right to adopt such prudential and preventive measures as the principles of liberty and the interests of the whole country require. That this question is one of the gravest importance to the free States, inasmuch as the constitution itself creates an inequality in the apportionment of representatives, greatly to the detriment of the free and to the advantage of the slave States. This question, so vital to the interests of the free States (but which we are told by certain political doctors of modern times is to be treated with utter indifference) is one which we hold it to be our right to *discuss*; which we hold it the

duty of Congress in every instance to determine in unequivocal language, and in a manner *prevent* the spread of slavery and the increase of such unequal representation. In short, we claim that the North is a *party to the new bargain, and is entitled to have a voice and influence in settling its terms.* And in view of the ambitious designs of the slave power, we regard the man or the party who would forego this right, as untrue to the honor and interest of the North and unworthy of its support.

Resolved, That the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," contained in the recent act of Congress for the creation of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, thus admitting slavery into a region till then sealed against it by law, equal in extent to the thirteen old States, is an act unprecedented in the history of the country, and one which must engage the earliest and serious attention of every Northern man. And as Northern freemen, independent of all former parties, we here hold this measure up to the public execration, for the following reasons:

That it is a plain departure from the policy of the fathers of the republic in regard to slavery, and a wanton and dangerous frustration of their purposes and their hopes.

That it actually admits *and was intended to admit* slavery into said Territories, and thus (to use the words applied by Judge Tucker, of Virginia, to the fathers of that commonwealth) "sows the seeds of an evil which like a leprosy hath descended upon their posterity with accumulated rancor, visiting the sins of the fathers upon succeeding generations." That it was sprung upon the country stealthily and by surprise, without necessity, without petition, and without previous discussion, thus violating the cardinal principle of republican government, which requires all legislation to accord with the opinions and sentiments of the people.

That on the part of the South it is an open and undisguised breach of faith, as contracted between the North and South in the settlement of the Missouri question in 1820, by which the tranquillity of the two sections was restored; a compromise binding upon all honorable men.

That it is also an open violation of the compromise of 1850, by which, for the sake of peace, and to calm the distempered pulse of certain enemies of the Union at the South, the North accepted and acquiesced in the odious "fugitive slave law" of that year.

That it is also an undisguised and unmanly contempt of the pledge given to the country by the present dominant party at their national

convention in 1852, not to "*agitate the subject of slavery in or out of Congress,*" being the same convention that nominated Franklin Pierce to the Presidency.

That it is greatly injurious to the free States, and to the Territories themselves, tending to retard the settlement and to prevent the improvement of the country by means of free labor, and to discourage foreign immigrants resorting thither for their homes.

That one of its principal aims is to give the slave States such a decided and practical preponderance in all the measures of government as shall reduce the North, with all her industry, wealth and enterprise, to be the mere province of a few slave-holding oligarchs of the South—a condition too shameful to be contemplated.

Because, as openly avowed by its Southern friends, it is intended as an entering wedge to the still further augmentation of the slave power by the acquisition of the other Territories, cursed with the same "leprosy."

Resolved, That the obnoxious measure to which we have alluded ought to be *repealed*, and a provision substituted for it, prohibiting slavery in said Territories, and each of them.

Resolved, That after this gross breach of faith and wanton affront to us as Northern men, we hold ourselves absolved from all "*compromises*" (except those expressed in the constitution) for the protection of slavery and slave owners; that we now demand measures of protection and immunity for ourselves; and among them we demand the *repeal of the fugitive slave law*, and an act to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That we notice without dismay certain popular indications by slaveholders on the frontier of said Territories of a purpose on their part to prevent by violence the settlement of the country by non-slaveholding men. To the latter we say: Be of good cheer, persevere in the right, remember the Republican motto, "*The North will Defend You.*"

Resolved, That postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.

Resolved, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first

principles of republican government, and against the schemes of an aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed, or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as *Republicans* until the contest be terminated.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the calling of a general convention of the free States, and such of the slaveholding States, or portions thereof, as may desire to be there represented, with a view to the adoption of other more extended and effectual measures in resistance to the encroachments of slavery; and that a committee of five persons be appointed to correspond and co-operate with our friends in other States on the subject.

Resolved, That in relation to the domestic affairs of the State we urge a more economical administration of the government and a more rigid accountability of the public officers; a speedy payment of the balance of the public debt, and the lessening of the amount of taxation; a careful preservation of the primary school and university funds, and their diligent application to the great objects for which they were created; and also further legislation to prevent the unnecessary or imprudent sale of the lands belonging to the State.

Resolved, That in our opinion the commercial wants of Michigan require the enactment of a general railroad law, which, while it shall secure the investment and encourage the enterprise of stockholders, shall also guard and protect the rights of the public and of individuals, and that the preparation of such a measure requires the first talents of the State.

The resolutions were adopted almost unanimously, and thereupon Isaac P. Christiancy, as chairman of the committee of sixteen appointed by the Kalamazoo convention, came forward and announced the absolute abandonment of the State ticket and organization of the Free Democracy—an act which was greeted with loud and prolonged applause. A committee of ninety, consisting of three from each Senatorial district in the State, and including the names of Jacob M. Howard, Moses Wisner, Charles M. Crowell, Fernando C. Beaman, and Chas. T. Gorham, was next appointed to nominate a State ticket, and the convention adjourned until evening. At that session, which was held in one of the village halls, a State central committee was chosen, and the committee on nominations reported the following ticket which was unanimously endorsed by the convention, this closing its formal proceedings:

Governor—Kinsley S. Bingham, of Livingston.

Lieutenant-Governor—George A. Coe, of Branch.

Secretary of State—John McKinney, of Van Buren.

State Treasurer—Silas M. Holmes, of Wayne.

Attorney-General—Jacob M. Howard, of Wayne.

Auditor-General—Whitney Jones, of Ingham.

Commissioner of Land Office—Seymour B. Treadwell, of Jackson.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Ira Mayhew, of Monroe.

Member of Board of Education—John R. Kellogg, of Allegan.

(To fill vacancy)—Hiram L. Miller, of Saginaw.

The response of the anti-slavery masses to the action of the convention was prompt and cordial. Some of the more earnest and enthusiastic Whigs who had hoped that the Northern wing of their party could be transformed into an efficient champion of slavery restriction—Mr. Chandler had shared in this feeling—at first doubted the wisdom of what had been done. They found themselves called upon to make large sacrifices of cherished traditions and ties, and felt that their representation upon the fusion State ticket was not in due proportion to the number of votes they would be expected to contribute to its election. But this not unnatural feeling of early disappointment had but a brief existence among the Whigs of strong anti-slavery convictions. As the good faith of the movement, the spontaneous character of the popular uprising, and the possibility of accomplishing anti-slavery union throughout the North became clear, they laid aside all hesitation and joined with sincere ardor in the work of Republican organization. Before the close of the summer of 1854 the strong leaders and the intelligent rank and file of the Michigan Whigs had accepted the new fellowship, and the action of the Jackson convention received their hearty acquiescence and loyal support. Mr. Chandler rendered valuable service in the following campaign as an organizer of Republicanism throughout Michigan and put into this work enough of his characteristic vigor to earn from the Democratic papers the title of the "traveling agent" of the "new Abolition party." There was still among the Whigs a small conservative minority who, chiefly through the inspiration of pro-slavery sentiment and under the leadership of the *Detroit Advertiser*, made a desperate effort to prevent the abandonment of their party organization. They procured the signing of a circular addressed to the Whig committee asking that a State convention should be held, and in compliance with this request a call

was issued for a convention to meet at Marshall on October 4. When it assembled it was found that the great majority of its delegates favored union with the Republicans. They controlled its proceedings throughout, and put in the chair Rufus Hosmer who was then the head of the now Republican State central committee, elected a State central committee composed of ardent fusionists, defeated the schemes for the nomination of a ticket, and issued an address urging the Whigs of Michigan to unite in this campaign with all other opponents of the spread of slavery. This decisive action made the Michigan election of 1854 a contest between Republicanism and the Democracy (which held its convention at Detroit on September 14, and placed John S. Barry at the head of its State ticket).

The local result of the Jackson convention was a permanent political revolution. In November the Republicans elected their entire State ticket (giving Mr. Bingham 43,652 votes to 38,675 for Mr. Barry), three of the four Congressmen, and a Legislature with an overwhelming majority in both branches against the Kansas-Nebraska policy. The Republican ascendancy thus established in Michigan has never been impaired. That party has been victorious in every State election since 1854; and of the Governors since chosen every one who was at that time a resident of the State (Henry H. Crapo did not settle in Michigan until 1856) was a member of the Jackson convention. Michigan has also since sent only Republicans to the Senate; every one of them except Thomas W. Ferry (who had barely attained his majority in 1854) was a prominent actor in the scenes "under the oaks." It has sent seventy-six Republicans and only seven Democrats to the House of Representatives, and the Republicans have controlled both branches of every Legislature since 1854. Iowa is the only State which can point to a similar record of uninterrupted Republican victory. In Vermont the Democrats have been uniformly defeated, but the opposition ticket in 1854 was not called Republican. Of the States which have been admitted since 1854, three (Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota) have been steadfastly Republican, but Michigan surpasses them in the duration, while she equals them in the quality, of her fidelity to the party of Freedom. Each of the other Northern States has at least once chosen an anti-Republican Governor, while Michigan (with Iowa) has been uniformly Republican.

If we except the public meeting in Bangor, Maine, which

was addressed by Mr. Washburn, wherein he suggested the name "Republican" for the new organization, the first movement towards the formation of a Republican party in New England is found in Vermont, where, at the Whig State convention, held on the 8th of June, 1854, resolutions were adopted inviting "all free men of Vermont and the people of all the other States who are disposed to resist the encroachments and the extension of Slavery to co-operate and send delegates in case a national convention shall be called for that purpose."

On the 16th of the same month a call was issued for a convention of "all persons who are in favor of resisting by all constitutional means the usurpations of the propagandists of Slavery." This convention met on the 13th of July, the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 excluding Slavery from the Northwest Territory, the same date as the Republican conventions at Madison, Wisconsin; Columbus, Ohio; and in Indiana. Among the resolutions adopted was one concluding with these words: "We propose, and respectfully recommend to the friends of freedom in other states, to co-operate and be known as Republicans." A delegation to a national convention was chosen in case one should be held, consisting of one Free-Soiler, three Whigs, and one anti-Slavery Democrat; a State ticket was nominated, but a fusion ticket was afterwards made up and elected.

It is impossible to gather any details of the first Republican movement in Maine, except that a meeting was held, on August 7th, at Strong, where the Republican party of that State was said to be organized. Says Hon. Joseph H. Manley in a letter to the author:

The Convention held in Strong, August 7, 1854, was a Convention of the Free Soils, the Whigs and the Morrill Democrats. They met, appointed a Committee of conference, and nominated a candidate for Senator, and declared him the candidate of the Republican party. This was the birth of the Republican party in Maine, at least, if not in the country. There was no meeting between the Strong meeting and the election. The Conventions had been held prior to the Strong meeting. The meeting held at Strong on August

19th, 1884,¹ was an afternoon meeting at which Julius C. Burrows spoke, and Governor Dingley and Mr. Blaine. I was present at that meeting. It was a great meeting.

What turned the election in 1854 was the temperance issue. The Franklin County meeting, or Strong meeting, declared in favor of the Maine law and its strict enforcement. It was the breaking up of parties.

In Massachusetts, very soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Samuel Hoar of Concord invited several prominent men to meet and discuss the situation. A committee was formed and a more formal meeting was held early in July, concerning which meeting we take the following from the *Springfield Daily Republican* of July 10, 1854:

THE CONCORD MOVEMENT—THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION.

The *Boston Commonwealth* gives these particulars of the meeting called by the Concord Committee for consultation and action in view of the present condition of parties and political questions in state and nation:

Among those present were Samuel Hoar, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Francis Adams, William Aspinwall, Charles Theodore Russell, Henry Wilson, Dr. Abraham K. Thompson, George Morey, G. F. Hoar, Simon Brown, Wm. S. Morton, Marcus Morton, Jr., R. W. Emerson, F. W. Bird, Wm. Jackson, Gersham B. Weston, Orison Underwood, Charles M. Ellis, J. G. Goodrich, M.C., and others.

A free and friendly debate took place, the feeling being unanimous, with one or two exceptions, that it was desirable that there should be a grand meeting of the whole people, in mass convention or by delegates, without distinction of party, and that no other mode of political opposition would be of any permanent benefit. There were differences of opinion as to the best mode of holding a Convention, whether by delegates or by a movement of the mass; and also some disagreement as to the time. The result was, that a resolution was unanimously adopted, that inasmuch as a call was already in circulation and signed by numbers of people, calling a Convention of the people to meet at Worcester on the 20th inst., it was unnecessary to take any further action on the subject.

We learn that the call for the meeting on the 20th is already signed by large numbers of people, of all parties. In some of the business portions of the city, it has been signed by nearly all the business men. In the towns where it has been circulated it meets with great favor. In other towns people have been waiting for the result of this meeting.

¹ See p. 210.

As we judged, the call for the convention of the 20th embarrassed the Concord movement. It obliged those engaged in that movement to suspend action in the line they had marked out. But for that call, we presume the meeting would have issued one for a State convention of men of all parties sympathizing in regard to the recent legislation of Congress upon the slavery question, to be held at a later day. Such a call and such a time would have been, on many accounts, vastly preferable. We quite regret that they were forestalled. Things being as they are, however, it appears to us not only wisdom but duty for men of all organizations to co-operate heartily and zealously in the gathering of the 20th at Worcester. The call is broad enough and generous enough. It does not necessitate any special, narrow, partizan course. It need not, unless it is found practicable, over-ride any existing local political organizations. It simply calls upon the people of Massachusetts "to consult together and take such action as the crisis requires." It calls upon Massachusetts to speak her sentiments, without distinction of party, upon the late extraordinary action of northern doughfaces and southern slaveocrats. Such a call should be responded to, and Massachusetts should speak, not by a faction, nor with divided voice, but in thundertones, the feelings that animate and burn in her bosom at this moment.

From the *Springfield Daily Republican* of July 21, 1854, we take the following concerning the Worcester convention of July 20, 1854:

THE CONVENTION.

Worcester, Thursday, July 20.

A preliminary meeting of persons who had assembled at an early hour this morning, was held in the City Hall at 9 o'clock, for the purpose of arranging a plan for the organization of the convention. Putnam W. Taft of Worcester presided at this meeting, and W. H. Harris and Thomas Drew of Worcester were secretaries. At the suggestion of H. H. Chamberlain, who said this gathering sprang spontaneously from the people, and had no organized head to lead off its action, a committee was selected by nomination to supply this deficiency, and report a plan of organization. Messrs. Chamberlain of Worcester, Oliver B. Morris of Springfield, Charles Wright of Hinsdale, William Clark of Northampton, Thomas Snell of Stur-

bridge, Amasa Walker of North Brookfield, and William Fish of Lowell, were thus appointed.

At the call of this meeting, some six hundred gentlemen were present, and the committee appointed embraced gentlemen of all the old political parties. The committee reported at 10.30 suggesting that the permanent organization of the convention be now made in the usual form, with the initiatory aid of the officers of this preliminary meeting, and this was agreed to, and the officers of the preliminary meeting constituted the officers *pro tempore* of the gathering, whose number had now swollen to about 1200 persons.

By general consent, a more detailed organization was delayed until after the arrival of the special train from the east, and meantime the crowd called for various persons to address them.

At half-past eleven, there was a call for the permanent organization of the gathering, and the following gentlemen were selected to report officers: George F. Williams of Boston, J. M. Earle of Worcester, William Clark of Northampton, Paoli Lathrop of South Hadley Falls, Walter Lafin of Pittsfield, Augustus Morse of Leominster, Charles Wright of Hinsdale, P. Emory Aldrich of Worcester, F. B. Fay of Chelsea. They subsequently reported the following, who were voted into place unanimously:

President, Oliver B. Morris of Springfield.

Vice-Presidents—Joseph Brownell of New Bedford for congressional district No. 1; Alpheus M. Worthington of Bridgewater for No. 2; Stephen M. Allen of West Roxbury for No. 3; William Bingham of Boston for No. 4; William O. Haskell of Chelsea for No. 5; Robert Rantoul of Beverly for No. 6; Eliot P. McIntire of Charlestown for No. 7; William Fish of Lowell for No. 8; Adam Harrington of Shrewsbury for No. 9; William Clark of Northampton for No. 10; Increase Sumner of Great Barrington for No. 11.

Secretaries—John I. Baker of Beverly, James G. Fuller of Charlestown, F. H. Underwood of Cambridge, Augustus Morse of Leominster.

Before these officers were reported and took their seats, an arrival of several hundred more people, by the eastern train, more than filled the hall, and it was agreed to adjourn until 1 P.M. upon the common. Here at that hour, Judge Morris returned his thanks for the honor of the presidency, and described briefly the object of the assemblage as the protection of the people of the country in their own rights.

The following were appointed a committee to report resolutions: Walter Laffin of Pittsfield, Seth Webb, Jr., of Dedham, P. Emory Aldrich of Worcester, Robert Carter of Dedham, P. W. Taft of Worcester, Lucius B. Comins of Roxbury.

This committee retired, under the marshalship of General Wilson, and, after some time, the free soil members returned to the platform under the same guidance, and through Mr. Webb reported the following

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved,—That the unquestionable existence of a settled purpose on the part of the Slave Power, to convert the Republic which our fathers founded on principles of justice and liberty into a slave-holding despotism, whose vital and animating spirit shall be the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, calls for the immediate union of all true men into a party which shall make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions.

Resolved,—That, in co-operation with the friends of freedom in other states, we hereby form ourselves into the *Republican Party* of Massachusetts, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes :

To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law ;

To restore the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska ;

To prohibit slavery in all the territories ;

To resist the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery therein shall be prohibited ;

To refuse admission into the union of any more slave states ;

To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia ;

To protect the constitutional rights of all citizens going to other states.

Resolved,—That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the personal freedom of all her citizens.

Resolved,—That we recommend the assembling, at some central and convenient place, of a National Convention, with a view to the adoption of effectual measures to resist the encroachments of the Slave Power.

Resolved,—That this Convention invites the Republicans of every town and city in the Commonwealth to send delegates to the number of three times their representatives in the General Court, to be held at —— on Thursday, the 10th of August, for the purpose of nominating candidates for state officers and forming a platform of state policy.

These resolutions, after slight verbal alterations, were nearly unanimously adopted by the assembly gathered about the rostrum. The place for the meeting of the convention provided for in the last resolution, was left with the officers of this gathering to select.

The nominating convention was held at Worcester on September 7th, instead of the date mentioned in the above

resolutions, and from the *Springfield Republican* of September 8, 1854, we take the following account of this convention:

REPUBLICAN OR FREE SOIL STATE CONVENTION.

HENRY WILSON NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—INCREASE SUMNER FOR
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

The world has had abundant assurances that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." So there was the same savory incense at the Republican State Convention at Worcester, on Thursday, that we have been accustomed to see vapoing forth at free soil state conventions in previous years. There were a few men who have, until this year, acted with either the Whig or administration parties, participating as bottle-holders on the occasion; but essentially, practically, and *resultingly*, it was a thoroughly Massachusetts free soil gathering.

John A. Andrew of Hingham, chairman of the provisional committee appointed at the meeting in July, officiated as *pro tempore* chairman.

Mr. Rantoul proved not to be present, as expected, and *Gen. Morse*, one of the vice-presidents, officiated as presiding officer. He performed his duties with more energy than grace. The muster-field is evidently his forte rather than the presiding chair of a public hall. In the afternoon, he was relieved by John A. Andrew, who did better.

Amasa Walker of North Brookfield, was called out, and made a brief and earnest speech. He defined the contest pending in the country as between Slavery, Romanism and Rum, on the one side, and Freedom, Protestantism and Temperance, on the other. This remark was received with great applause.

Charles Sumner, U. S. Senator, was early introduced, and spoke for an hour and a quarter with, if anything, more than his usual surpassing eloquence and vigor. He examined the slavery discussion under these two questions: "What is our duty? How shall we perform it?" Without touching, in especial, upon local politics, or attacking the Whigs further than to express his want of confidence in their sincerity in opposing the pro-slavery tendencies of the government, and his conviction of their inability successfully to overcome them, and to sneer at Governor Washburn as a cipher in the Burns case,—Mr. Sumner devoted himself to a defense of his own radical course upon the subject of slavery, and to an appeal to his

audience against the fugitive slave law. On this last point, he was particularly vigorous and severe in his language, attacking the judiciary who administered and sustained the law, and vindicating his right to obey the Constitution as he understood it. Mr. Sumner's speech was very effective, and most attentively listened to. It had a marked effect upon the audience, arousing their sympathetic feelings to a high pitch of enthusiasm.

At the conclusion of his remarks, some business committees were appointed, and the convention took a recess for dinner.

In the afternoon, the votes for a candidate for *Governor* were collected by a committee, of which Henry Haines, Jr., of Sturbridge, Obed Brooks, Jr., of Harwich, Zenas N. Crane of Dalton and Warren Fay of Northboro were members. The result was: Whole number of votes, 480; necessary to a majority, 241; *Henry Wilson*, of Natick, had 316, E. Rockwood Hoar of Concord had 48, Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, 68, Samuel Hoar of Concord, 38, N. P. Banks, 5, Julius Rockwell, 3, Charles Allen, 2.

A faint enthusiasm exhibited itself on the announcement of this vote; but a motion to make the nomination of *Mr. Wilson* unanimous, failed, some half dozen hands being raised in the negative. After some hesitation, three cheers were given for the nominee.

G. Morgan Smith of South Hadley, was appointed chairman of the committee to collect and count the votes of the convention for a candidate for *Lieutenant Governor*, but he declined serving on the ground that he was about to leave the hall; and his substitute and associates, after attending to their duty, reported as follows: whole number of votes, 352, necessary to a majority, 177; *Increase Sumner* of Great Barrington had 333 votes, and there were 19 scattering. Mr. Sumner was then, without opposition, nominated as the candidate of the Republican party for Lieutenant Governor.

The following were the committee on the subject of resolutions: John I. Baker of Beverly, Charles G. Davis of Plymouth, Joel Shedd of Bridgewater, Seth Webb, Jr., of Dedham, John Rogers of Roxbury, Robert Carter of Cambridge, Alonzo P. Phillips of Danvers, Luther B. Morse of Lowell, Amasa Walker of North Brookfield, James Thompson of Northampton, John Branning of Lee. They reported the following series, save the 7th, and these were adopted singly in their order, with general enthusiasm, evidences of decided approbation. The sixth resolution, in favor of the Maine law, was received with especial cordiality.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the Republican party is pre-eminently the party of the Union and the Constitution ; of law and of order ; and may justly claim to be the true National and Democratic party, because it is opposed, in its principles, sentiments and aims, to Sectionalism, Secession and Disunion, is equally desirous of the welfare of every part of the country ; and, disregarding the aristocratic and hereditary distinctions of birth and color, maintains the right of all men to freedom and equality before the law.

2. *Resolved*, That the Republicans of Massachusetts, in co-operation with the friends of freedom in other States, are pledged to make the question of Freedom paramount to all other political questions, and to labor for the accomplishment of the following purposes :

To bring the administration of the general government back to the National principle of Liberty.

To repeal the Fugitive Slave bill.

To restore prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska.

To prohibit slavery in all the territories.

To resist the acquisition of Cuba or any other territory unless slavery therein shall be prohibited.

To refuse admission into the Union of any more slave states.

To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

To protect the constitutional rights of citizens going to other states, and to sustain all other constitutional measures of opposition to slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the liberty of her citizens by securing to them the right of *habeas corpus* and the trial by jury in all cases involving the question of personal freedom, and which shall effectually restrain and punish the atrocious crime of kidnapping freemen into slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That the recent prostitution of the municipal government of Boston to the service of slavery, and the temporary establishment of a military rule in the streets of that city, in violation of the laws and of private right, under the immediate eye of the governor and commander-in-chief of the militia of the Commonwealth, deserves the sternest rebuke of the people, and calls for prompt action on the part of the legislature.

5. *Resolved*, That the effort to preserve Freedom in Kansas and Nebraska by settling those territories with freemen, claims and receives our warmest sympathy and most hearty co-operation.

6. *Resolved*, That the prohibition by law of the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, is the right and duty of the people.

7. *Resolved*, That the Republican party of Massachusetts will not support any man for office, who will not carry out the principles of these resolutions.

8. *Resolved*, That in *Henry Wilson* and *Increase Sumner*, we offer to the people of the Commonwealth, candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, of high ability, of tried integrity and of eminent public services, who fitly represent the free sentiments of Massachusetts.

The seventh resolution was proposed by a delegate, after the others, as reported by the committee, had been adopted. Rev. Dexter S. King of Boston, opposed its adoption, as a ridiculous superfluity, it was simply declaring that we were men of common sense and common honesty. The question being taken, the resolution was rejected by a decided preponderance of noes, but its friends "doubted," and, Amasa Walker coming forward to say that though the resolution was altogether unnecessary and immaterial, still, having been proposed, it would look bad to reject it, the resolution was again put to vote, and now carried.

In New Hampshire there were many efforts to combine the Free-Soilers, Whigs, and anti-Nebraska Democrats, which, however, were unsuccessful, although a legislature was elected which sent John P. Hale to the Senate in 1855 to fill Mr. Atherton's unexpired term, and James Bell for the full term.

To turn again to the West, as has been noted, a State convention was held at Columbus, Ohio, on the 13th of July, 1854. The call was addressed to those who advocated the "breaking the chains now forging to bind the nation to the car of American Slavery." While the name "Republican" was not adopted until the following year, the movement was such as to result in sending a solid anti-Nebraska delegation to Congress. On the same day Henry Lane, Henry L. Ellsworth, and Schuyler Colfax addressed a convention in Indiana, which was the beginning of the movement in that State, and which resulted in fall elections favorable to the anti-Slavery party, and brought about the Republican organization of the following year.

At Madison, Wisconsin, on the same date, in response to a call made on July 9th which had invited "all men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the extension of the slave power to take part," the convention adopted the following as one of its resolutions:

Resolved, That we accept the issue forced upon us by the slave power, and in defense of Freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans.

CHAPTER VII.

FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY (*Continued*)—ANNIVERSARIES—DEATH OF THE "KNOW-NOTHING" PARTY.

THE movement for a formation of the Republican party in New York State was both early and late. The writer has taken considerable pains to investigate thoroughly the claims of A. N. Cole of Allegany County to the title of the "Father of the Republican Party," which he assumed and which was generally conferred upon him by the press of the Empire State during the latter part of his life and at his death.

In 1852 Mr. Cole, assisted by General James S. Wadsworth, established the *Genesee Valley Free Press*. Mr. Cole had been an ardent Free-Soiler, and enjoyed the confidence of Horace Greeley, and the acquaintance of such men as Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Giddings, Gerrit Smith, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, John P. Hale, John Van Buren, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thurlow Weed, Henry J. Raymond, and others, while he met all the prominent men of the times from President John Quincy Adams to President Garfield. He was a most earnest and zealous man, and a profuse letter-writer. There was hardly a prominent man who lived immediately before and after the Civil War, who did not get one or more of Cole's very interesting letters, and who did not reply more or less at length.

It was natural that Mr. Cole should very early become an opponent of Slavery, and that he should possess, with thousands of others, thoughts and views tending toward a new party. As the most prominent man of his county, and as the

editor of a paper which had expressed most pronounced views concerning the subject of the day, he called a meeting, or, as he termed it, a convention, to meet at Friendship, New York, on May 16, 1854. About a month previously he had written to his friend Greeley, and told him of his forthcoming convention, asking Greeley in his letter, "What name shall we give the new party?" To this question Mr. Greeley replied, "Call it Republican, no prefix, no suffix, but plain Republican." Neither this letter nor an exact copy of it can be found. It was undoubtedly burned with files of papers containing a reprint of it at a fire which occurred in Mr. Cole's offices in 1857. The author has, however, satisfied himself beyond doubt of the existence of such a letter. Various accounts of the Friendship meeting have been handed down, some in a serious, others in a sarcastic and facetious vein. The following facts have been given to the author by Mr. A. P. Cole, the son of A. N. Cole:

On the day named Mr. Cole went to Friendship, reaching there about dusk, and, finding the hall dark, was on the point of going home when he met a few of the men invited, and they held a meeting, organized, adopted the name Republican, and appointed a committee to call a nominating convention later. The committee consisted of the following: A. N. Cole, Charles M. Allen, Robert Snow, E. B. Benjamin, and Joseph D. Shuart. This committee issued a call for a nominating convention to be held at Angelica, October 15, 1854, where it was held in the Court House, and county officers were nominated and afterwards elected. Mr. Cole's paper at once advocated the fusion of all anti-Nebraska elements, and published what he called the Republican platform and nominations of the Republican party. Bearing further upon the organization of the party in the State we reproduce the following letter copied in every detail from the original:

CANANDAIGUA, August 12th, 1884.

HON. A. N. COLE, Wellsville.

MY LONG TIME, DEAR FRIEND:

Your note of the 9th instant, and a copy of the *Genesee Valley Free Press* of the same date, were both received by me yesterday.

You request me to give my recollections about the origin, and organization of the Republican party; and to corroborate your statement in relation thereto, published in the paper you send me, so far as I am able.

It affords me pleasure to comply with your request; and to vindicate "the truth of history," for the benefit of the present generation of our citizens; many of whom can have but little appreciation of the stirring times, politically, you and I passed through in those early days of the party. The organization of the Republican party in this State, was effected in 1854. It was made up of the old Whigs, in large part; Temperance men, or Prohibitionists; Free Soil Democrats; and the "Anti-Nebraska" party. The nominating State Conventions in this State of each of those parties were held as follows: The Whig party, September 20, 1854, at Syracuse; the Free Democratic, September 25th/54; the Anti-Nebraska party, September 26th, and the Temperance, or Prohibition State Convention, September 27th/54. The last three at Auburn. At each of these four State Conventions, I received the nomination for Governor; each of which I formally accepted; as the platforms of principles expressed, and passed by the several Conventions, taken altogether, were in accordance with my political principles. Those nominations, and my acceptance constituted, in effect, the formation, and beginning, of the *Republican* party in this State; although not then designated as such, I believe, by any of them, except the Free Democratic. There has been no Whig State Convention or party, in this State, since that time. The Republican name may have been, and probably was, used in local, town, or county, conventions, previous to that time; but not by any State, or National Conventions.

My recollection coincides with your statement, that the name for the new party, "Republican, no prefix! no suffix; but plain Republican," was suggested by Horace Greeley. The name began to be used in the papers very soon; whether in the New York *Tribune* first, I do not remember. But *The Evening Chronicle*, a temperance, and Anti-Slavery newspaper, published at Poughkeepsie, dated Oct. 3, 1854, six days after my nomination, published "the Republican Platform," upon which (in connection with the Temperance platform), I stood, and was elected. I send you a slip from that paper containing the platform, and editorial comments upon the nomination, etc.

My political platform of principles, like your own, then, and ever since has consisted, mainly, of two planks; viz. : opposition to negro Slavery in the Nation; and Anti-rum, in the State. Hence I have always been opposed to the Democratic party; although occasionally, I have supported a Democratic candidate for local offices, when they have been better men than their Republican opponents.

The Republican party, thus made up, and organized, on the principles and platforms originally adopted, has, with the aid of Providence made good beginning, and much progress, in the National branch of its work; whilst it has almost wholly ignored the temperance question, in its subsequent State Convention; which I have very much regretted; believing it to be of paramount importance to the people, and the party. I have however advised against the Prohibitionist party making a Nation ticket; believing it would be more practical, and useful, to confine its efforts to local, municipal, and State politics. I nevertheless hope, and trust, that the Republican nominees for President, and Vice-President, may be elected. I shall give them my vote, and influence, to bring about that result.

With Sincere regard, and respect,

I am, very truly yours,

MYRON H. CLARK.

Previous to the conventions at Auburn, referred to by Mr. Clark, was a gathering at Saratoga, of which the *Springfield Republican* of August 18, 1854, said:

THE NEW YORK ANTI-NEBRASKA CONVENTION.

This great gathering at Saratoga Springs partook of the usual characteristics of New York political meetings,—the proceedings being exciting and discordant; but in its results, there appears to have been general unanimity. These results were a series of resolutions treating the slavery question very much as those of the Massachusetts Whig convention do, with this in addition:

Resolved, That we heartily approve the course of the freemen of Connecticut, Vermont, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, postponing or disregarding their minor differences of opinion, and acting together cordially and trusting in the sacred cause of freedom, free labor and free soil; and we commend their spirit to the freemen of this and other States, exhorting each to renounce his party whenever and wherever that party proves unfaithful to human freedom.

The troubles of the convention were more fancied than real, and grew out of the jealousy of the several classes of men or politicians there represented of each other, and of a difference of sentiment as to the propriety of nominating candidates for state officers this fall. The latter matter was satisfactorily settled by the adjournment of the convention to Sept. 26 when the delegates are to meet at Auburn and nominate state officers,—probably by selections from the party tickets which will then all be in the field. Messrs. Greeley of the New York *Tribune*, and Raymond of the *Times*, were the leading members of the committee on resolutions, and appear to have in conjunction largely shaped the deliberations and results of the meeting.

A mass gathering followed on Thursday the action of the convention of Wednesday. Over this, R. N. Havens presided, and speeches were made by Horace Greeley, John Z. Goodrich, M. C., of this state, Eli Thayer of Worcester, the leader in the great emigration movement, and others. The proceedings of Wednesday's meeting were enthusiastically ratified by the mass assemblage.

The Whig (*Tribune*) Almanac of 1855, in its summaries of the State elections of the preceding year, shows that State Republican tickets were run in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin in the West, and in Maine alone in the East. In the following year Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York ran straight Republican tickets in addition to the States already noted. It is not hard to explain why the Republican party obtained so early and so easily such a foothold in the West, while it was a year or so later when it was fully organized in the East. In the first place, the Western States were much nearer the immediate scene of action, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise threatened the adjoining territory with Slavery. Moreover, being newer States, party organization was not so thorough and rigid as was the case in the East, and the members of the existing parties more readily gave up their organizations and consented to fuse into the new party; while in New York and Pennsylvania and most of New England it seemed almost impossible at first to bring about a fusion that would entirely eliminate the old parties. A considerable space has been given to the Worcester meetings in

order to show this very condition. The leading statesmen as well as the press of Massachusetts were united in their opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska law, and in their determination to enter upon any possible movement that would check the extension of Slavery, and yet neither men nor newspapers were willing to make a sacrifice that would at once exterminate existing political organizations. The *Springfield Republican*, for instance, was not willing to accept the result of the Worcester convention of 1854, as a movement liable to succeed in the elections. At the same time its views were in entire harmony with the platform of that convention.

It will not be out of place to mention at this point the anniversaries of the party's birth held twenty-five years and thirty years later. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the party was celebrated at Worcester, in 1879, in response to the following call:

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY.

AN ADDRESS BY THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Rooms of the Republican State Central Committee,
BOSTON, Sept. 6, 1879.

To the Republicans of Massachusetts:

You are invited to assemble in mass meeting at Mechanics Hall in Worcester on the evening of Monday, September 15th, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party; the party which in twenty-five years has abolished slavery; has subdued a gigantic rebellion; has added to our national family six young States; has enforced apology and reparation from Great Britain; has compelled foreign governments to abandon the doctrine of perpetual allegiance; has preserved the public faith inviolate; has paid seven hundred millions of public debt; has made the national currency equal in value to gold the world over; has re-established and assured the prosperity of labor, commerce, agriculture and manufacture, and has exhibited for a generation in our

own State a model of wise, honest, humane and economical government.

Let us revive the tender and glorious memories of the past, and take counsel for the duties and triumphs of the future.

Eloquent speakers will be present.

Per order of Republican State Committee.

EBEN F. STONE, Chairman.

EDW. H. HASKELL, Secretary.

The State Central Committee have requested the Republicans of Worcester and vicinity, to make arrangements for the celebration.

We ask you to be present, and to give your aid in making the occasion impressive and successful.

E. B. STODDARD of Worcester,	F. A. GASKILL of Worcester,
GEORGE F. HOAR “	S. R. HEYWOOD “
W. W. RICE “	E. P. GOULDING “
WM. S. B. HOPKINS “	FRED. W. SOUTHWICK “
JOSEPH H. WALKER “	T. C. BATES of N. Brookfield,
JOHN D. WASHBURN “	A. A. PUTNAM of Uxbridge,
THOMAS J. HASTINGS “	H. C. HARTWELL of Fitchburg,
J. MARCUS RICE “	CHAS. E. WHITIN of Northbridge,
F. T. BLACKMER “	EDW. G. STEVENS of Clinton,
M. B. V. JEFFERSON “	WM. DRAFER of Milford,
J. EVARTS GREENE “	JOHN B. FAIRBANKS of Oakham,
T. S. JOHNSON “	ANDREW J. BARTHOLOMEW of Southbridge.

WORCESTER, Sept. 10, 1879.

The New York *Tribune* of July 30, 1884, contained the following editorial:

PAST AND FUTURE.

In a few days the Republican party will be thirty years old. It was born in Maine, and from Maine takes its great leader on its thirtieth anniversary. According to a despatch, it was first formally named the Republican party at a meeting in Strong, Maine, August 7, 1854, and a convention in Minnesota adopted the same name a few days later. The Republicans at Strong have made arrangements for a celebration of the party's birthday, August 7, and hope that Mr. Blaine, who had become a recognized leader of the party only a year later, though only twenty-five years old, will be present at the celebration.

Thirty years of progress and of glory invite every citizen of either party. What this great party has done in its youth is only the bright promise of the grander things it has yet to do in its maturity. It stopped the spread of slavery and then abolished the system. It resisted secession, suppressed a Democratic rebellion and killed the snake that General Jackson scotched. It gave free homesteads to free labor, with a free ballot to citizens of every color, and thus elevated and dignified labor as no other party ever had. It protected labor by a defensive tariff, which it has steadily maintained and many times improved in spite of Democratic resistance. It met with scrupulous honor the enormous debts caused by the rebellion, has paid them so rapidly that the yearly tax for interest has been cut down from \$150,000,000 to \$50,000,000, and has made the paper promise of the Nation as good as gold. It has protested against and caused Great Britain to abandon the claim of perpetual allegiance, and has expanded the exports of the country four-fold, and the imports two-fold.

But it has yet to extend the National commerce far more by wise and firm diplomacy. It has yet to bring other Nations of Europe to a full recognition of the right of every immigrant to transfer his allegiance to this Nation. It has yet to perfect the system of protection until the industries of this country, in peaceful warfare with those of Great Britain, shall have achieved a final and decisive victory.

This brought out the following characteristic letter from Mr. Cole:

THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE CREDIT CLAIMED FOR NEW YORK.

To the Editor of the "Tribune."

SIR: *You did it unintentionally and yet, did it.* Maine was not the birthplace of the Republican party; neither was Minnesota, nor Vermont, now claiming that honor. Neither was Massachusetts its birthplace, which held an anniversary convention at Worcester, in 1879, to commemorate its twenty-fifth birthday, nor was it in Wisconsin or Michigan. Therefore, you do injustice to our grand Empire State, and especially to our grand old Allegany, cradle of Liberty, birthplace of the Republican party.

The Republican Party.

The first convention called to organize the Republican party convening in America was held at Friendship, in this county, in May, 1854. This is Gospel truth, and a thousand people still live who will attest it.

Perhaps I should add that I have prepared a letter to be forwarded to the Maine claimants, setting forth the facts in the case. These are unanswerable and uncontrovertible, and I stake my reputation upon their being such. I addressed a like letter to the convention which met at Worcester, Mass., in 1879, and then they gave the thing up.

Horace Greeley named the party in a letter to myself of 1854, some time in the month of April. The letter was published in *The Genesee Valley Free Press*, the pioneer Republican journal of America.

A. N. COLE.

WELLSVILLE, ALLEGANY CO., N. Y., Aug. 1, 1884.

The Strong celebration was held, however, a brief account of which we take from the New York *Tribune* of August 20, 1884, as follows:

THE REPUBLICAN BIRTHDAY.

THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN MAINE.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC GATHERING AT STRONG—SPEECHES BY BLAINE, HAMLIN, DINGLEY, ROBIE, AND OTHERS.

(By telegraph to the *Tribune*.)

STRONG, ME., Aug 19.—The celebration here to-day of the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Republican party was in all respects a great success. There were about five thousand persons present, which, considering the size of the town, was a wonderful attendance. Strong is a pretty New England village in Franklin County, on the borders of the great forests.

A SPEECH BY EX-GOVERNOR DINGLEY.

When the meeting was organized early in the day ex-Governor Dingley, who represents this district in Congress, was made chairman of the meeting, and W. P. F. Fogg, secretary. Senator Buck, Mr. Porter and other prominent men in the country were present. but the most noteworthy thing was the appearance on the platform

of forty-two of the survivors of the convention held thirty years ago, which the meeting was called to celebrate. Nearly all of these venerable gray-headed men wore long white beards. Many of them were so enfeebled with age as to need assistance, but they showed great interest in the meeting. Mr. Dingley sketched the early formation of the party here in a hall now standing not far from the spot where the platform was erected. He said that forty-two of the survivors were present, and called for the reading of their names. This was done, each man who was able standing up to the calling of the roll of honor amid unbounded enthusiasm. Mr. Dingley said that it was not claimed that the first use of the name of Republican was made here, but it was the first regularly organized delegate convention which assumed the title in a formal manner.

MR. BLAINE MAKES A BRIEF SPEECH.

In response to the quickening enthusiasm Mr. Blaine took the platform. He was dressed in a suit of dark clothes, and looked the picture of health and happiness. In a clear, firm voice he said:

"Fellow Citizens—The place and the time where the Republican party was first organized will, I presume, remain like the birthplace of Homer, a subject of unending dispute. Seven cities claimed the latter, and seven States may claim the former. It could hardly be doubted that a great thought common to the minds of a million of men would find expression at the same time and places widely separated, but I think it is historically true that the patriotic men who met in this town of Strong in 1854 were the pioneers of the great movement which resulted in the organization of the Republican party. The men of that day builded better than they knew, and initiated a movement whose grandeur and whose destiny could not then be measured. Great parties never come by a whereas and a rule. Parties cannot be improvised or extemporized. They grow. They come from an instinct, and the masses of the people, and are not the product of political labors. Thus it was with the Federal party, with the old Republican party, with the Democratic party, with the Whig party and with that great party whose existence we celebrate to-day. I am here to exchange congratulations with old neighbors and old friends. Congratulations on all that has been accomplished to-day; congratulations on the spirit and courage of the party to continue its great works in the future."

In New York State a celebration was held at Angelica in 1884 just preceding the presidential election that year. Mr. Cole very proudly and appropriately presided, and Mr. Blaine, who was present, recognized Mr. Cole, and gave testimony to his claims as the "Father of the Republican party."

It cannot be explained why the New York *Tribune*, whose founder had been so prominent in the formation and naming of the Republican party, should fall into the error of attributing the birthplace of the party to Strong, Maine, nor is it clear why ex-Governor Clark in his letter to Mr. Cole in 1884 should claim that the conventions in New York State, which resulted in the fusion ticket, had not been preceded by any Republican State conventions.

It seems somewhat remarkable that after thirty years the Wisconsin and Michigan movements were not known in New York, particularly the Jackson convention, which nominated a full State ticket and adopted a platform on July 6th, several months before the conventions in New York were held, and which were not Republican conventions, even though they nominated the same man for Governor.

While it cannot be conceded that Mr. Cole was the father of the Republican party, yet there would be no dispute to a claim that he was the father of the Republican party in New York State. Whether Mr. Greeley was the first one to suggest the name Republican for the new party or not will probably never be determined. In a letter to the author, Mr. Whitelaw Reid says: "So far as I now recollect, Mr. Greeley himself never sanctioned the claim that he did more than give an early approval to the selection of the name 'Republican' for the new party and secured its general adoption. In fact my recollection is that he rather encouraged the claim of a rural New York Republican, Mr. A. N. Cole, for the original suggestion of the name."

Mr. Harvey's claim, as given in the preceding pages, that Mr. Bovay of Wisconsin was the first to suggest the name antedates by considerable the claims of Mr. Cole. Then again the claims of friends of Mr. Washburn of Maine are entitled to no little weight, and so we may go from one end of the North

to the other. It is better, perhaps, that the entire credit should not be given to one man. To be even one of several pioneers in the movement creating and baptizing the Republican party carries with it a full measure of honor, and, in the words of Admiral Schley, "There is glory enough to go around."

It is quite natural that the name Republican should occur to many at or about the same time in different parts of the country. It is a name simple in construction, and yet vast in the interpretation of its meaning. Of one thing we may be sure: that neither Greeley nor Seward nor Sumner nor Chase nor Wilson nor any of those who became the leaders and most prominent in the party after it was well established did little, if anything, to help it at its birth. It was the earnest and zealous commoner who founded the party and put it on its feet. The opportunity was ripe for such a man as Seward to take the leadership from the start, and he no doubt would have been well supported had he done so, but those men who afterwards became the great pillars of the party, in what seemed to them wisdom and good judgment, hesitated about disrupting the old Whig party, or were jealous and reluctant to sacrifice all that had gone before the new and untried. It can almost be said that the Republican party founded itself. The movement once formed became irresistible, and never before or since has any political party in its first year of existence polled so many votes and elected so many men to both minor and higher offices as did the Republican party in the fall of 1854. It matters not that much of this initial momentum was lost in the following year; its very impulse of 1854 was sufficient to carry it over the discouragements and reaction which were bound to come, and which were only temporary, and gave a still greater impetus to the party in 1856.

Mr. Greeley, who had been so closely identified with the party during the year 1854, and to whom it seems every one turned for advice and counsel, although he did much to encourage others, at first did little or nothing himself toward the formation of the party in any section. The *Tribune* did protest, however, constantly and powerfully against the Kansas-Nebraska act, and Richard Hildreth, the historian, Charles A.

Dana, James S. Pike, and many other able writers of the North used its columns for a continual warfare against the further extension of Slavery, and the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act. Mr. Greeley could not help but be assured by his associates and literary friends; and his willingness to follow the others in a new movement soon took possession of him to such an extent that the *Tribune* in a few months became the most pronounced anti-Slavery organ in the country.

The *Daily Tribune* of June 16, 1854, contained the following editorial:

PARTY NAMES AND PUBLIC DUTY.

We have not taken much part in the current discussion respecting the name under which the Nebraska Conspirators shall be resisted and punished, because we feel little interest in the matter. In our view, the emancipation most imminently needed in this country is emancipation from party names and party shackles. Most lamentable would it be to see good men divided and defeated because part chose to be denominated Whigs and the residue gloried in the appellation of Free Democrats or any other; and we can no otherwise effectually strive against such a disaster than by laying all stress on the views in which they are agreed, and lightly regarding the names in which they differ. Accepting and upholding those ideas of Public Policy which used to characterize the Whig party prior to 1852, and agreeing substantially with the Free Democratic party in all it affirms with regard to slavery, we could wish to see a union of all those members of the two parties who believe resistance to the extension of Slave Territory and Slave Power the most urgent public duty of our day. We should not much care whether those thus united were designated "Whig," "Free Democratic," or something else; though we think some simple name like "Republican" would more fitly designate those who had united to restore our union to its true mission of champion and promulgator of Liberty rather than propagandist of Slavery. A recent letter from an Illinois correspondent premises that there are now but two parties in the Free States, 1. the Hypocrites, who have usurped the name of Democracy in order to cover by it their subserviency to the schemes of the Slavery Propagandists; and 2. the Freemen who have determined to resist them, and proceeds as follows:

Now, how shall we break into the ranks of this communion of hypocrites, North, South, East, and West—despoil them of their ill-gotten and ill-used power—restore the rule of the Constitution—the true glory of our fathers—the sacredness and perpetuity of the Union—the rights of humanity and of freedom of the Continent? How, but by forming a party of Freemen and meeting these hypocrites at the polls and vanquishing them at once and forever?

The black slaves can do nothing; the white ones will not, except to feed at the public cribb, plot for office, hold caucuses, pull the wires, look after the loaves and fishes, cry peace and compromise—then turn traitors, take away our half of the compromise and shoot us down in our own court-houses and dwellings if we hesitate to “conquer our prejudices” and perform with the most abject and servile agility the disgraceful part imposed on us by those same compromises.

Let, then, those who are free men of whatever other party or name, forget at once and forever all past differences and all present distinctions, and show to the world that they are indeed such. Let them eschew all caucusings, all demagogues, hypocrites and traitors, (except to give them their true and honest names,) unfurl the banner of Freedom and rally as one man from their thousand hills and thousand homes and war on and war ever till our country shall be redeemed from the thralldom and the perfidy of the most infamous political hypocrites that ever trod the face of the earth—and let all of the world know that the battle is not Whig or Democrat, Free-Soil or Slave-Soil, pro-Slavery or anti-Slavery merely, but between *Freemen* and the party of Freemen on the one hand, and on the other that motley communion of hypocrites who are opposing and betraying them.

OLD '76.

JACKSON, ILL., June 10, 1854.

The many local movements called at the time anti-Nebraska fusions were afterwards, as soon as the Republican party was formed, called Republican gatherings and conventions; and they were such in principle and fact, but rarely in name. Every authentic account of a nominal Republican gathering in 1854 has been given in the preceding pages. To these might be added thousands of local and minor gatherings, which were for every purpose Republican, and which were afterwards looked upon by the participants as Republican gatherings. At the same time the use of the name Republican was the exception rather than the rule. It was the unanimous feeling of indignation against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act which asserted itself at the polls during the fall of the year 1854. We can call them Republican victories or anti-Nebraska victories or fusion victories. It matters little now, but we must attribute the result wholly to that feeling of justice and right which was the fundamental doctrine of Republicanism,

and which has ever been a vital principle of its platforms and administrations since.

In Wisconsin the entire Republican ticket was elected, and in Michigan also the Republicans were successful; in Illinois, although the popularity of Douglas and the Democratic candidate for State Treasurer elected the latter, yet the anti-Nebraska people elected five of the nine Congressmen and controlled the Legislature, which afterwards elected an anti-Nebraska Democrat, Lyman Trumbull, to the Senate. In New York State, the ticket headed by Myron H. Clark for Governor, and Henry J. Raymond for Lieutenant-Governor, was successful over the Democratic nominee, Horatio Seymour, and Ullman, a former Whig who was supported by the Know-Nothings. The vote polled by the Know-Nothings was most surprising. They had met in secret convention, had adopted no platform, had held no meetings, and had not the support of the press, and yet they polled 122,282 votes; Clark's vote being 156,804; Seymour's 156,495, and Bronson's, the "Hard Candidate," 33,850. But close as was the vote for Governor, the anti-Nebraskans were very successful in the Congressional Districts, twenty-seven out of the thirty-three Representatives chosen being anti-Nebraska men.

Some time before the election in Massachusetts, it was known that Henry Wilson had practically declined the Worcester nomination, and was going to throw his vote, and that of his friends whom he could influence, to Gardner, the Know-Nothing. The Worcester convention had been so often and continuously taunted with being a Free-Soil convention, that Wilson in his hatred for Slavery put aside for the time all hopes of forming a new party, and although he was thoroughly opposed to the principles and tactics of the American party, yet he felt that Gardner was the best exponent of anti-Slavery feeling in the State, and for that reason he and thousands of others, who would have welcomed a Republican party had it been possible that year, cast their votes for the Know-Nothing candidate.

Gardner's victory was most emphatic. The Know-Nothings swept the State. Gardner received 79,000 votes; Washburn,

the Whig candidate, 26,000; Beach, Democrat, 14,000; and Wilson, 7000. Every Representative elected was a Know-Nothing, and the State legislature was almost solidly of the same party. The *Springfield Republican*, which had made light of the Worcester Convention, and which had also opposed the Know-Nothing movement, said November 15, 1854:

The result of Monday's voting means that the people were out of humor with the old political organizations, and desired to extinguish them, break down the differences, unite and re-divide as the new and more important practical questions of the time shall indicate to be necessary or appropriate. This was the voice of common sense and the feeling of the great mass of the people. They sought satisfaction in a fusion upon the slavery question; but the quietists and the velvet-footed philanthropists on one side, and the selfish schemes of party leaders and committee men on both, brought effort here to nought. The people, disappointed and vexed, seized on Know-Nothingism as an instrument for breaking to pieces the old parties. This involved the misfortune of displacing many good and tried public servants and putting novices in their stead. But the aggregate popular mind is apt to go straight to its object like an army in battle, without much regard for the incidental injustice it does, or the new dangers it creates.

And a few days afterwards it said:

We reproached ourselves that we had stood thus gazing stupidly on the deepening shadows of that overspreading despotism. We felt that the danger was one that trifled all former knowings—and that union of all friends of freedom was the imperative necessity. The Whigs ought to have initiated a catholic union of all the opponents of slavery. But certain sagacious men had discovered a more excellent way. Under the plurality rule we might crush out all opposition. How desirable to be done! We might keep everything. The party would be saved. The offices would all be ours. And this was to be our reward, this our satisfaction, our answer when the multitudes of the unborn shall stand up to curse us! . . . These councils prevailed, and by them the state convention was governed. . . . For ourselves, it was not possible to act with any other association. We resolved to remain where we were. Yet our moral

strength was gone. There was left nothing worth contending for. Thousands of young men, ready to have thrown themselves into the Republican movement with an energy that could have defied opposition, had left us for a new connection. We felt that the ship was sinking. And yet when that odd-looking Know-nothing craft came up under a press of sail and offered us a free passage and good berths, we refused to leave. We stood at our post, and fired the signal guns over the settling wreck.

In Iowa the Free-Soilers had endorsed the nomination of James W. Grimes by the Whigs, and for the first time in its history the Democratic party was defeated. Not only was Grimes elected, but a legislature was chosen which sent to the Senate James Harlan, one of the first Republican Senators elected.

In Maine a Republican Governor was elected by a Republican legislature, and all the Republican Representatives but one. The fusionists or anti-Nebraska voters gained the victory in Vermont, and sent a solid delegation of anti-Nebraska Representatives to the House.

The anti-Nebraska party not only carried Ohio by 75,000 majority, but also elected a solid delegation to the House of Representatives. In Indiana the anti-Nebraska party elected all their Representatives but two. In Pennsylvania the situation was mixed, as the Free-Soil Democrats supported the Whigs and were also joined by the Know-Nothings, who elected their candidate for Governor; but out of the twenty-five Representatives only four were elected who favored the Kansas-Nebraska act.

The result was a complete overturning of the House of Representatives, and a considerable inroad into the United States Senate. Fifteen States showed anti-Nebraska pluralities and eleven United States Senators were elected as Republicans, or afterwards affiliated with that party, while the anti-Nebraska members of the House of Representatives, though not a majority, succeeded in organizing the House.

The classification of the Thirty-third Congress, as given by Hopkins in his *Political Parties of the United States*, was as

follows: Senate, 38 Democrats, 22 Whigs, 2 Free-Soilers; House, 159 Democrats, 71 Whigs, 4 Free-Soilers. In the Thirty-fourth Congress, which met December 3, 1855, the classification was as follows: Senate, 42 Democrats, 15 Republicans, 5 Americans; House, 79 Democrats, pure and simple, 117 anti-Nebraska men, composed of Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers, and others, and 37 pro-Slavery Whigs.

Several of the States which had not organized a State party under the Republican name in 1854 did so in the following year. Ohio completed an organization and nominated Salmon P. Chase for Governor, and Thomas H. Ford for Lieutenant-Governor. This ticket was elected by 15,000 majority over the Democratic ticket, although the latter was supported by many Whigs and pro-Slavery Americans.

The Republicans of Pennsylvania held a convention at Pittsburg on the 5th of September. Judge William Jessup was made president, and Alexander K. McClure chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. Speeches were made by prominent men from several States, and letters were received from David Wilmot, John P. Hale, B. F. Butler, and Henry Wilson.

In the spring of 1855 there occurred an election in Virginia, which had a large, if not disastrous, effect upon the American party. Henry A. Wise made the campaign one against the Know-Nothings, and succeeded in bringing about their utter defeat. A national council of that party was to be held on the 5th of June, 1855, and it was foreshadowed that a struggle would be made for the control of the party by both anti-Slavery and pro-Slavery elements. The situation was becoming decidedly mixed. Many leaders of the anti-Slavery feeling in the North, like Henry Wilson, had become members of the party, while Southern members, noting the possession of the party in the North by the adherents of anti-Slavery, became alarmed, and were at once for controlling or throwing over their allegiance to the party. The secret methods now overshadowed every other consideration, and the party was looked upon as an anti-Slavery organization in disguise. The council met at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, 1855. Most of the

States were represented each by seven delegates. The Southern men and those who sympathized with the pro-Slavery feeling in the North were very much in earnest over their intention to defend their favorite institution from the harm that had come to it from the votes of the North, aided, in great part, by the Know-Nothings.

Henry Wilson had been elected to the United States Senate, and nearly all the Representatives from Massachusetts, who were Free-Soilers, had been elected by the American party. These men were known to be most positive in their anti-Slavery views, and it was known that they would advocate the passage of resolutions condemning the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and work for a bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave act.

Mr. Wilson became at once an object of attack in the convention, and was denounced as an Abolitionist and a disorganizer, and for the first day was kept out of the convention. He certainly occupied a very contradictory position. He had worked for the success of the Know-Nothing party at the election in 1854, had afterwards joined the party, and yet so far above all party feeling or association did he hold the principles of anti-Slavery extension, that he had declared in a public meeting held in the city of New York:

If my voice could be heard by the whole country to-night, by the anti-slavery men of the country to-night, of all parties, I would say to them: Resolve it, write it over your door-posts, engrave it on the lids of your Bibles, proclaim it at the rising of the sun, and at the going down of the same, and in the broad light of noon,—that any party in America, be that party Whig, Democrat, or American, that lifts its finger to arrest the anti-slavery movement, to repress the anti-slavery sentiment, or proscribe the anti-slavery men, it surely shall begin to die; it would deserve to die, it will die, and by the blessing of God I shall do what I can to make it die.

He had also declared a few days before the meeting of the national council in an address to the Americans of Vermont, that if the party did not wish a speedy death and a dishonored grave it must accept the idea that the National Government

must be relieved from all connection with and responsibility for Slavery. In the convention he said :

Twenty years ago I pledged myself to liberty; and I have never spoken or written one word inconsistent with that pledge, and I never will do so to save any party on earth. In public and in private I have freely uttered my anti-slavery sentiments and labored to promote the anti-slavery cause, and I will continue to do so. You shall not proscribe anti-slavery principles, measures, or men, without receiving from me the most determined and unrelenting hostility. The past belongs to slavery,—the future to freedom. The past is yours,—the future is ours. We wish you men of the South distinctly to understand that we have the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories and to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and we mean to do it. We intend to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act, and we mean that Kansas shall never come into the Union as a slave State,—no, never.

For more than a week the conflict in the convention over the Slavery question continued, which culminated in the Committee on Resolutions, consisting of one from each State, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Minnesota. Here the conflict waged for three days, resolutions being finally presented by Mr. Ellis, the editor of the national organ at Washington. They forbade discussion of Slavery in any form by the American party, and demanded the rigid enforcement by the National Government of the laws, especially of the Fugitive Slave act. The resolutions were adopted in the committee by one majority, but were afterwards reconsidered. Resolutions written by Mr. Burrell of Virginia, and presented by Mr. Lyon of New York, were finally agreed upon by a vote of seventeen to fourteen. They denied the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories or to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and they demanded that the nation should maintain and abide by the existing laws upon the subject. Here was a platform definitely pledging the party to Slavery, and it was adopted in the committee by the delegates from fourteen Southern States, the State of New York, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Minnesota.

A minority resolution was reported by the members of the committee from fourteen States. It was written by Samuel Bowles, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, who was present, although not a member of the council, but as a reporter of the *New York Tribune*. It was presented to the committee by John W. Foster of Massachusetts, and proposed the immediate restoration of the prohibition of Slavery in the territory covered by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the protection of actual settlers, and the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free States. The debate upon the platform lasted for three days, and was acrimonious in the extreme. Attempts at conciliation were made, and Mr. Raynor of North Carolina tried hard to bring about a compromise, asserting that "the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an uncalled-for and unnecessary act, an outrage even, a violation of plighted faith; and I would have seen my right arm withered, and my tongue palsied, before I would have voted for it." His speech was received with hisses and threats from his Southern associates. The Northern platform was finally rejected by a vote of 51 to 92, and the Southern platform was adopted by a vote of 80 to 59.

The national council, and, because of it, the American party, was split in two, and, though its influence was felt somewhat as an embarrassing element to the Republican movement in the following year, yet its members gradually found their way, in the North, into the newly formed Republican party, and, in the South, into the already formed Democratic party. As soon as the council had split, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bowles, and Colonel E. Lincoln held a conference at which it was decided that an earnest effort should at once be put forth to strengthen the Republican party, not only in Massachusetts but throughout the Union. Mr. Bowles had been a Whig, as had Colonel Lincoln, and it only remained for the leaders of that party to be convinced that it should be disbanded. It was agreed that Mr. Winthrop, the ex-Speaker of the House, was the man to take the lead in the matter, and Messrs. Bowles and Lincoln were urged to go home and acquaint him at once with the necessity of taking immediate action. "Tell him that we

anti-Slavery men want him and his Whig friends to take the lead in forming a victorious Republican party in Massachusetts, that we are ready to make any sacrifices for the cause of freedom, that we will go into the ranks and work for victory, and that he and others may win and wear the honors of success." But Mr. Winthrop, though strongly appealed to, was not willing to undertake the task. On the 16th of August, however, a meeting was held in Boston at which John Z. Goodrich presided over a body of men from all the anti-Slavery parties. At this meeting the Rev. Lyman Beecher made a short address, and a committee was appointed to prepare a plan of action.

On the 30th of August a conference committee held a meeting at which the American party and the "Know-Somethings," an anti-Slavery organization, were represented, and joined the committee from the earlier meeting. Mr. Bowles was very prominent in the conference, and a committee of twenty-six was finally appointed, at the head of which was placed the venerable Samuel Hoar, to call a State convention. This convention was held at Worcester on the 20th of September. Nathaniel P. Banks presided and Richard H. Dana, Jr., chairman of the Committee on the Platform, reported the resolutions and an address to the people. Julius Rockwell was finally nominated for Governor by a majority of thirteen, but, although the supporters of Gardner, the Know-Nothings, had joined in the call for the convention, and had participated in its proceedings, they nevertheless bolted, nominated Gardner, and re-elected him, defeating for the second time the attempt to establish a Republican party in Massachusetts.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Republican State convention, Worcester, September 20, 1855:

Resolved, That slavery, as a state institution, is not within our power or responsibility; but slavery, in its relations to the nation, is the concern of every man in the nation; in its relation to the free states, is the concern of every man in the free states.

Resolved, That the increase and advance of slavery, the additions to the number of slave states, the successive triumphs of slavery in the political contests of the last half century, the control of slavery

over all departments of the government, the experience of the last few years in the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and more especially the repeal of the Missouri compromise, have made slavery, in its national relations, and in its relations to the free states, the paramount practical question in the politics of the country.

Resolved, That Massachusetts, the earliest battle-ground of freedom, gives her heart and hand to Kansas, the latest battle-ground of freedom.

Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri compromise makes every inch of the national domain a battle-ground between Freedom and Slavery. It makes the addition of every new state a conflict between freedom and slavery. The issue thus forced upon us, we accept; we commit ourselves to God and our country, and may it be by no fault of ours, if another slave state is added to the Union, or any of its territories left open to the possibility of slavery.

Resolved, That we tender no geographical or sectional issue; nor will we be deterred from our duty by the fear of one. The repeal of the Missouri compromise has erased the geographical line. Our principles are national and general. Our spirit is national and liberal. We seek sympathy and co-operation from all parts of the land; we look for members and candidates from South and North, East and West. Our principles do not justly lead to a sectional issue. If the slave power raises one, the fault is theirs, be the victory ours.

Resolved, That we require no conformity of opinion on other subjects of national or state policy. No man surrendering or qualifying his opinions on those subjects, we all recognize the duty of making the question of freedom paramount. To secure unity of action here, we attempt no unity of opinion elsewhere.

Resolved, That we accept the name of the *Republican party*, which has been adopted by our friends and fellow laborers in other states. We unite in that party to assert the great principles for which we contend, and to carry them to a triumphant issue.

The morning following the convention the *Springfield Republican* of September 21, 1855, said:

THE CHILD IS BORN!

The Republican party of Massachusetts organized itself in great strength, and with entire harmony, at Worcester yesterday. The platform is most admirable: it is explicit in all respects, radically

conservative, and written with a condensed and comprehensive power, that distinguish it from all ordinary productions of this nature. An able and large state central committee of true republicans was appointed. The principle, the movement, met on all hands a full and hearty endorsement, so far as any expression was given to feeling in the convention.

In the matter of the candidate for governor, there was a severe difference of opinion; but the nomination was happily conferred upon *Julius Rockwell*, late U. S. senator, of Pittsfield. The rest of the state ticket was made up without difficulty, and to general satisfaction; Lieut. Governor Brown being nominated for re-election, as, also, were the present auditor and treasurer, while Judge Hoar was elected for the second most important post, that of attorney-general, and George F. Williams, of Cambridge, a free soiler of some legislative experience, for secretary of state, in place of Ephraim M. Wright.

Thus is our confidence in the convention vindicated. Thus has the republican movement sprung honorably and powerfully into existence, in spite of the cold inactivity of timid friends, and the treacherous favor of real enemies. Thus have the people triumphed over the jargon of parties and the ambitions of men. The dangers that threatened the convention from the bad faith of Gov. Gardner and his most zealous personal adherents were made to pass away, after a struggle, and the results of the meetings will, we feel assured, be accepted with satisfaction and confidence by all who believe in the great principle that called them into being, and brought them out of their envired dangers.

To some, honest friends of the republican movement among the know-nothings, the nomination for governor will doubtless give a temporary disappointment. But they will yet see its justice and propriety. No true friend of republicanism can fairly refuse it his ultimate sanction. We presume there will be an American nomination against it, but such a nomination will only represent those who are and ever have been enemies of republican union.

We have confidence in the election of the republican ticket. We think we can trust the people of Massachusetts with the issues now plainly set before them.

Our report of the conventions is full and interesting, and we ask for it, and especially for the address and resolutions, the candid and faithful attention of the public.

On the morning after the election the *Springfield Republican* said:

A man has triumphed over a principle. And at his feet lies wounded the cause of freedom. The blow was none the more deplorable that it was given by the professed friends of freedom.

In its issue of November 8th, the *Springfield Republican* had the following item:

The republicans of Fall River, on hearing of Mr. Rockwell's defeat, immediately met together, organized a republican club, and resolved to enter at once on the great campaign of 1856. In Chelsea, the republicans also had a similar meeting Tuesday night, for a similar purpose.

Let these examples be followed. Let us have a republican freedom club in every town in the state.

In New York State a convention was held for the purpose of combining the Whigs with the already partly organized Republican party. Reuben E. Fenton presided, and John A. King and Edward D. Morgan, afterwards Republican Governors, were leaders in the convention, and helped to form a union ticket, with the name of Preston King at the head, but certain Whigs refused their support, and the Republican ticket was defeated by a ticket supported by the pro-Slavery American and Silver Gray Whigs.

The sentiment of the Fall River Republicans was taken up and adopted not only throughout Massachusetts but in every Northern State. The elections of 1855 while disappointing to the supporters of the new party, were not disheartening. They seemed only to act as a spur for the great battle of the next year.

Connecticut was one of the last of the Northern States to form a regular distinct Republican State organization. The situation, while somewhat akin to that in Massachusetts, requires explanation. For the following statement the author is indebted to Hon. Lynde Harrison of New Haven, it having also received the approval and endorsement of Representative

N. D. Sperry of New Haven, and ex-Representative S. W. Kellogg of Waterbury.

Connecticut was a State controlled by the Federalists during the early part of the Nineteenth Century. The Charter of King Charles, which was the Constitution of the State until 1818, and the laws passed under it, gave the established Congregationalist order and its ministry certain privileges, and the Federal Party sustained them and objected to any new Constitution. Members of other denominations of Christians who had been Federalists, began to leave the Federal Party on this account, and the so-called Toleration Party grew up between 1812 and 1818. This made parties more evenly balanced in the State, and so the Tolerationists and anti-Federalists naturally became Democrats, and the Federalists became Whigs. In the eastern part of the State, and in the northwestern part of the State the Baptists and Methodists were inclined to be Democrats. The Protection issue, which came to the front in the 30's and 40's, however, tended to make the State Whig on account of the theories of Protection laid down by Henry Clay and others. Yet, in the campaigns of 1844 and 1848 the parties were very evenly divided. Henry Clay carried the State in 1844, as did Harrison in 1840. The Democratic Party was growing stronger, however, on account of the Mexican War feeling, and might have carried the State in 1848, but the Baptists and the Methodist Democrats, especially in the country towns of the State, became Free-Soilers when the anti-slavery issue was worked up in the 40's, and enough Free-Soil Democrats voted for Van Buren in 1848 to give the electoral vote to Taylor rather than Cass. The Democrats elected their Governor in 1850, '51, '52 and 1853. The Democrats carried the State for Pierce in 1852. In 1853 a few Free-Soilers, so-called, were elected to the Legislature and they were generally men who had been Democrats. The Kansas-Nebraska Act carried the State against the Democrats in 1854, and the State officials called themselves Whigs. In 1855 the American Party came to the front, and while the Whig Party re-nominated their old ticket of 1854, which had then been successful, the American or Know-Nothing Party candidates were victorious. Men called themselves "Democrats," "Americans," "American Whigs," and "American Democrats," and a few "Free-Soilers" were elected. In 1856 the State officers elected, in April, were the nominees of the American Party. The Republican Party had

candidates at this election, however, who polled 6700 votes. The Democratic candidates polled about 32,000 votes, and the American or Know-Nothing candidates polled over 26,000. Under the Constitution of Connecticut at that time the candidates were not elected, who failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast, and the General Assembly elected the State officers, and when the General Assembly met in May, in 1856, they elected the American candidates.

The men elected to the Legislature that year called themselves "Americans" or "Democrats," but there were a few men who called themselves either "Republicans" or "American Republicans." In 1857 the American Republicans carried the State, but a large proportion of the men who were not Democrats called themselves "Union," which meant a union of the opposition to the Democratic party. In the spring election of 1858, when William A. Buckingham was elected, the successful candidates labelled themselves "Republicans."

The successful candidates for State officers in 1854 in Connecticut called themselves "Whigs." In 1855 and 1856, "Americans." In 1857 "American Republicans" and "Union Republicans" and "Union." In 1858 they called themselves, with very few exceptions, "Republicans."

There was no regular Republican Convention called through or by the means of a State Committee until 1858. The Republican Convention held in the Spring of 1856 to nominate candidates for State officers was a mass Convention, rather than a delegate Convention, and was composed of a few men in the State who desired to see a new Free-Soil Party organized in Connecticut, taking the same name as the anti-slavery men of the west had taken in 1854-5. By correspondence among themselves, these men gathered together in Hartford and nominated Gideon Welles of Hartford for Governor. The men of New Haven who were in this movement were, Henry B. Harrison, Charles L. English, a leading business man of New Haven, Charles Ives, a leading lawyer, Marcus Merriman and a few others. Stephen W. Kellogg of Waterbury took a prominent part, by correspondence and otherwise, in bringing about this convention, and he represented Waterbury in the Legislature that year. Orville H. Platt of Meriden, who was Secretary of State in 1857, Joseph R. Hawley and Eliphalet Bulkley of Hartford, Augustus Brandegee of New London, O. H. Perry of Fairfield, Albert Day

of Hartford, Gideon Hollister of Litchfield, Leman W. Cutler of Watertown, Edward R. Landon of Guilford were interested in this somewhat informal organization of the Republican Party. The Convention was held just after the Republicans of those States that had regular organizations of the Party had nominated for the Presidency John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton. After the April election of 1856, the National American Convention was held in Philadelphia, and that body split over the slavery issue. N. D. Sperry of New Haven then Secretary of State, and Orris S. Ferry of Norwalk, then a member of the State Senate, both of whom had been elected at the April election as Americans, were members of this American National Convention. When the split upon the slavery question took place, however, they, with others, seceded and held a separate Convention in New York and endorsed the nomination of John C. Fremont for President, and William F. Johnson for Vice-President. This secession of the anti-slavery Americans, led by Mr. Sperry and Mr. Ferry, carried nearly all of the American and old Whig voters of the State over to the support of Fremont, so that at the November election of 1856 the Fremont electors of Connecticut received the plurality vote, and this union, together with the campaign for Fremont, laid, firmly and strongly, the foundations of the Republican Party in Connecticut, although it required a couple of years to induce them all to work heartily together in one organization under the name of "Republicans."

Connecticut has always been noted for the conservatism of its voters and the steady habits of its people. A large proportion of the business men have been slow to change their opinions. Many of the manufacturing interests of the State looked to the South for a market, and while most of these manufacturers were not Democrats, on account of the protective tariff ideas of the Whig Party, they were very loath to take any active part which showed hostility to slavery. This feeling tended to make many Whigs slow about joining the Republican party, and during the period between 1856 and 1861 many of the Whig manufacturers sympathized with the Democratic Party and voted that ticket. This feeling tended to delay the consolidation of the opposition to the Democratic Party into the Republican ranks.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN — ELECTION OF SPEAKER BANKS — THE BATTLE FOR KANSAS—OSTEND MANIFESTO—ATTACK ON SENATOR SUMNER.

BUT what was transpiring in Illinois, where lived the author of the Kansas-Nebraska law, and a future President of the United States, soon to play so large a part in the momentous problem of the time? Douglas on returning to his State was at first most coldly received and bitterly denounced. The whole North had expressed its indignation, and, as he himself put it, he "could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies." When he attempted to speak at a meeting in Chicago, September 1st, he was hooted and jeered to a standstill, and was finally obliged to leave the platform. But gradually the astute statesman won back his friends and his party, excepting defections in the northern part of the State, which were, however, fully offset by the pro-Slavery Whigs in the centre and southern part. For years Douglas has been the undisputed leader of not only his party, but of all men in his State. Now he must share his honors, divide his popularity, and reckon with a new and powerful rival.

Abraham Lincoln, when only seven years of age, with his parents left the slave State of Kentucky to live in the free State of Indiana, because "the institution was something to flee from, a thing so dreadful, that it was one's duty to go to pain and hardship to escape it." From that day till he was elected to Congress in 1846 he had constantly learned of the horrors of Slavery. In his journey to New Orleans and his many trips on the Mississippi and Ohio he had seen for himself its workings. After moving to Illinois his abhorrence of the evil

became more and more intense. In the House of Representatives he had voted over forty times for the Wilmot Proviso, and had introduced resolutions to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia "with the consent of the voters of the District, and with compensation to owners." From the very windows of the capitol Lincoln had seen the city slave market, but his effort to suppress it came to naught, though he most vigorously defended his bill in an able speech. Having entered into an agreement not to be a candidate for a second term, he resumed his law practice at the end of the Thirtieth Congress. During the summer and fall of 1848 he had made many speeches throughout the country in advocacy of General Taylor. In New England and New York he came in contact with anti-Slavery leaders of all shades, and perhaps for the first time fully realized the intensity of the growing Northern feeling. After listening to a speech by Seward in the Tremont Temple, Boston, he said to him :

Governor Seward, I have been thinking about what you said in your speech. I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with this slavery question, and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing.

But it was not until 1854 that Lincoln again publicly and earnestly took up the Slavery question. The political situation in Illinois was peculiar and perplexing. Early in 1854, in the northern portion, local attempts to disband the old existing parties and form a new party under the name of Republican were quite successful; but in the central and southern portion of the State there was a strong counteracting movement. There were a great many leading men in the southern part of Illinois who had come from the South, or who were largely prejudiced in favor of the great Southern institution. These men were naturally strong supporters of Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska law. In the central part of the State, both the Whig and Democratic parties were divided upon the great question now coming to the front. But as the fall approached and with it the coming Congressional elections, it was

necessary for the voters of the entire State to range themselves in camps either for or against Douglas and Slavery.

After the October meeting, when Douglas had been obliged to leave a public platform in his own city, he began to exercise his astuteness and to regain the adherents of his party and party leaders. It was at the State Fair at Springfield, that the Senator and Lincoln first came together to take opposing sides upon the question of Slavery. On the first day of the fair, Tuesday, October 3d, Douglas made an exhaustive speech in defence of his bill and of his present opinions. This speech Lincoln answered on the following day, occupying between three and four hours. It was perhaps the most finished and eloquent address he had yet made in his career. Of it the *Springfield Journal* said the next day :

The anti-Nebraska speech of Mr. Lincoln was the profoundest, in our opinion that he had made in his whole life. He felt upon his soul the truths burn which he uttered, and all present felt that he was true to his own soul. His feelings once or twice swelled within, and came near stifling utterance. He quivered with emotion. The whole house was as still as death. He attacked the Nebraska bill with unusual warmth and energy; and all felt that a man of strength was its enemy, and that he intended to blast it if he could by strong and manly efforts. He was most successful, and the house approved the glorious triumph of truth by loud and continued huzzas.

Senator Douglas felt obliged to respond on the following day, and twelve days later, at Peoria, Lincoln again responded to Douglas upon much the same lines as in his Springfield speech. From this memorable address we quote the following:

The doctrine of self-government is right, absolutely and eternally right, but it had no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such application depends upon whether a negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may as a matter of self-government do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he

too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that “all men are created equal,” and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man’s making a slave of another.

Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying: “The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!”

Well! I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism.

The election was a great triumph for Lincoln and the anti-Nebraskans of Illinois. The legislature had been carried by an anti-Democratic majority composed of Republicans, Whigs, and anti-Nebraska Democrats. The successor to Douglas’s senatorial colleague, Shields, was to be chosen by this legislature, and the victorious majority now began to look about for a candidate upon whom they could combine. Lincoln was the natural and logical choice, but he had been, without his consent or knowledge, elected to the State legislature, which according to the law made him ineligible as a senatorial candidate. He at once resigned his seat, and the canvass for votes began. An earlier incident of the campaign should be here recorded.

At the close of the Springfield speech by Lincoln, Owen Lovejoy, a brother of the martyr, had announced that a Republican State convention would be immediately held in the Senate chamber, but the movement was not a popular one, and only twenty-six delegates were present at the meeting. A State central committee was, however, formed, and without consulting with Lincoln his name was placed among the others. A meeting of this committee was afterwards called, and Lincoln was notified to attend. In his reply of November 27,

1854, he made the following inquiry, in which will be found his first reference to the new Republican party:

While I have pen in hand allow me to say that I have been perplexed to understand why my name was placed on that committee. I was not consulted on the subject, nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterwards. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican party; but I had also supposed that the extent to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition practically was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself, at Springfield and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand them?

It was not until February 8, 1855, that the legislature went into joint ballot. The first vote taken showed that Lincoln had 45, Shields 41, Trumbull 5, scattering 8. The five votes given to Trumbull by anti-Nebraska men, who would under no circumstances vote for a Whig, defeated Lincoln, not only on the first ballot, but on every succeeding one, and finally when Lincoln induced his supporters to leave him and unite upon Trumbull, the latter was elected. Here was an exhibition of Lincoln's great sagacity and generosity in national affairs, as it had been exhibited many times before in State and personal affairs. Lincoln had won the victory, though he had not reaped the reward. He had defeated, however, the party of Douglas, and had given to the cause of freedom in Illinois its first great triumph. But Lincoln by no means abandoned the question at the culmination of the senatorial contest. The struggle in Kansas was becoming more and more intense daily, and Lincoln was watching every movement and strengthening his determination to use his talents in checking the extension of Slavery. Till this time he had been as firm an advocate as any conservative Northerner, in the opinion that Slavery was legalized by the Constitution, and could not be interfered with in those States where it existed. In the very bill which he introduced into Congress he had proposed not to do anything

without the consent of the citizens of the District of Columbia, or without compensating the slave-owners. He believed that Slavery was wrong, but that it must be tolerated, and could not be legislated out of existence. He was fully as firm in his opinion that it could not legally make any inroads into new territory, and now when he saw that the provisions of the statutes were repealed, and were being violated, his feelings and passions began to be aroused to a degree possessed in no greater measure by any Abolitionist in the North.

The Slavery question was being discussed at almost every gathering, both large and small. As the excitement over the Kansas-Nebraska question became more and more intense, so the arguments became more and more vigorous, and the opinions of men more pronounced.

It was one night early in 1855 that, after a day at court, Lincoln and several friends, including Judge Dickey, were discussing the Slavery question far into the night. "After we went up-stairs to bed," said Judge Dickey afterwards, "where there were two beds in our room, Lincoln sat in his night-shirt on the edge of the bed arguing the point with me. Early in the morning I woke up and there was Lincoln half sitting up in bed. 'Dickey,' he said, 'I tell you this nation cannot exist half slave and half free.'" This is the first recorded instance of Lincoln's expression of this idea, which afterwards he repeated so forcibly time and time again. The influencing effect of Republicanism was apparent and potential from the first formation of the party in the various States. It could, of course, have no national power beyond an exerting influence until both Houses of Congress and the Presidency were gained. Its first influence of a national character was seen in the Thirty-fourth Congress in the election of a Speaker. As has been noted, this Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives, contained many different elements. Besides those members of the Republican party now for the first time represented, were Americans, both pro-Slavery and anti-Slavery; Whigs, both pro-Slavery and a few anti-Slavery who were not yet identified fully with the Republican party; Democrats, and anti-Nebraska men, whom at the opening of the session it

would be hard to place. The contest for Speaker was a prolonged and earnest one, there being over twenty candidates on the first ballot. The supporters of the administration to the number of seventy-four supported Richardson, caucus nominee of the Democrats. From the first ballot, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts was voted for, and it was soon seen that he could command more of the anti-Nebraska votes than any other candidate. Banks had been a Democrat, though he had been elected to the present Congress as a Know-Nothing, but, having presided over the Republican convention at Worcester, he was now put down as a Republican and voted for as such. The balloting finally narrowed down to three candidates, Banks, Richardson, and Fuller, the latter being the candidate of the National Americans. Banks stood squarely upon the prohibition contained in the Missouri Compromise; Richardson was committed to the Popular Sovereignty doctrine; while Fuller simply maintained that Congress had no power either to prohibit or establish Slavery, nor had any legislature of a Territory such power. The fact that he alternately received Northern and Southern votes shows his straddling position, and his desire so to non-commit himself as to gain votes from either side, if such a coalition could be brought about.

Richardson finally withdrew, and Orr of South Carolina became the candidate of the Democrats, but as he showed no more strength than Richardson he soon withdrew. An attempt to elect Aiken of South Carolina was defeated by a vote of 110 to 103, which showed a considerable gain for the pro-Slavery element. From the outset various attempts were made to change the majority rule to one giving a plurality the power to elect. On February 2d, a resolution was offered, providing that the House should take a vote immediately for Speaker, and then if, after three votes had been taken, no candidate received a majority, on the fourth ballot the candidate receiving the largest number should be declared elected. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 113 to 104. Twelve Democrats had joined the entire Republican vote for this resolution. Its provisions were carried out, and, the three votes being taken without result, the fourth vote, which was the one

hundred and thirty-third, was taken under the new plurality rule. The excitement as the vote was taken became intense in the extreme. The result was announced as follows: Banks, 103; Aiken, 100; Fuller, 6; Campbell, 4; Wells, 1, and Nathaniel P. Banks was declared elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. Visitors and officials from all parts of the Capitol hastened to the Chamber upon the receipt of the news to see the first Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives sworn in. The oath was at once administered by the venerable Joshua R. Giddings, the Father of the House.

Mr. Banks spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: Before I proceed to complete the acceptance of the office which you have conferred upon me, I avail myself of your indulgence to express my obligations for the honor conferred upon me. It would afford far greater pleasure were it accompanied even by the self-assurance that I would bring to the discharge of the arduous and delicate duties—always difficult but now environed with unusual difficulties—any capacity commensurate with their responsibility and dignity. I can only say that I shall bear myself so far as is possible, with fidelity to the interests and institutions of the country and the government, and with impartiality so far as regards the rights of the members of this House. I have no personal objects to accomplish. I am animated by a single desire of contributing in some little degree to the maintenance of the well-established principles of our government in their original American signification, in developing that portion of the continent which we occupy, so far as we may do so within the power conferred upon us, enlarging and swelling its capacities for beneficent influences at home and abroad, and maintaining intact in perpetuity the inestimable privileges transmitted to us. I am aware that neither myself nor any other man is equal to the perfect accomplishment of these duties. I am therefore, (as a man must be in such presence,) a suppliant for your indulgence and support. I again return to you my thanks for the honor you have conferred upon me.

Within a few hours after the passage and approval of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the battle for the possession of that Territory began. The gauntlet had been thrown down and accepted in the following words of Seward:

Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave States! Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it on the behalf of Freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers, as it is in right.

But the Slave Power had a most important advantage at the start. Its minions in Missouri were ready to cross over the line and take possession immediately, and this they did. "Blue Lodges," "Social Bands," "Sons of the South," and other societies had been organizing, while the Government had been quietly making treaties with the Indian tribes of that part of Kansas lying within two hundred miles of the Missouri border. Hundreds of Missourians immediately crossed into this adjacent Territory, each selecting a quarter-section or a larger area of land, putting some sort of mark upon it, and then uniting in a sort of colony. At one of the first meetings held by these bands it was resolved:

That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of this Territory.

That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible.

At the same time information came that associations were being formed in the Eastern States for the purpose of sending delegates into Kansas with the avowed purpose of making her a free State. A meeting was held at Westport, Missouri, early in July, 1854, and among other resolutions the following were adopted:

Resolved, That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, hold itself in readiness together to assist and remove any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Societies.

Resolved, That we recommend to the citizens of other Counties, particularly those bordering on Kansas Territory, to adopt regulations similar to those of this association, and to indicate their readiness to co-operate in the objects of this first resolution.

In July, Eli Thayer of Worcester, Massachusetts, aided by Amos A. Lawrence and J. M. S. Williams of the same State, and John Carter Brown of Rhode Island, organized the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and on the 19th started for Kansas with a company of twenty-four. Mr. Thayer accompanied them only as far as Buffalo, his presence being needed at the East for further organization. Charles H. Branscomb, who had been appointed an agent for the company, was already in Kansas, and, as instructed by Mr. Thayer, selected the site of the present city of Lawrence, where this first guard of Eastern Free-Soilers pitched their tent upon their arrival. Seventy more followed in a fortnight, including Dr. Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy. The first afterwards became the first Governor under the free State constitution, and the latter a member of the United States Senate. The Eastern settlers were at once threatened by the Missourians, but firmly held their ground.

In October, Andrew H. Reeder, who had been appointed Governor by President Pierce, reached Kansas and proceeded to establish a Territorial Government. Accompanying him were several Democrats as judicial officers, all firm supporters of the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," and of the administration. One of these very officials had carried a number of slaves with him into the Territory. An election for delegates was ordered for November, but proved a farce, as did several subsequent elections held in different parts of that famous battle-ground. While there were less than two thousand adult white male residents in the Territory, nearly three thousand votes were cast. At one poll 604 were cast, only twenty of which were legal. John W. Whitfield, an Indian agent and Slavery candidate, received 2268 votes to 570 for all others. The ruffians had well carried out the instructions given them, such as, for instance, the following from David R. Atchison, one of Missouri's United States Senators:

When you reside within one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet, and your property depend upon your action, you can, without any exertion, send five hundred of your

young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the first ballot-box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and the other Southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests, and will deserve their fate.

The city of Atchison, named after the Senator, was founded, where there was established *The Squatter Sovereign* as the organ of the Missourians. In an early issue it had the following paragraph:

We can tell the impertinent scoundrels of *The Tribune* that they may exhaust an ocean of ink, their Emigrant Aid Societies spend their millions and billions, their representatives in Congress spout their heretical theories till doomsday, and his Excellency appoint abolitionist after free-soiler as our Governor, yet we will continue to lynch and hang, tar and feather and drown, every white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil.

Governor Reeder early in 1855 took a census of the Territory, which showed a total population of 8501, of which 2905 were voters and 242 slaves. He then ordered an election to be held on the 30th of March for the first Territorial legislature and certain county officers. On election day thousands of border ruffians swarmed into the new Territory and took possession of the ballot-boxes. Although but 831 legal votes were cast, there was 6320 votes counted. There was no attempt at disguising the situation. General Stringfellow, afterwards Speaker of the first legislature, in an address to the people spoke in the following strain:

I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you who is the least tainted with Abolitionism or Free-Soilism, and exterminate him. . . . I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as the cause demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal.

Any refusal of the judges to accept votes was met with threats, and, where necessary, removal. Such was the begin-

ning of the Kansas struggle, which soon developed into a personal and bloody warfare. Governor Reeder disappointed the partisans of Slavery by setting aside certain of the elections and directing that new elections be held, most of which were carried by Free-Soilers; but the free-State men elected at the second election were refused seats by the majority, and the Slavery men who had been elected upon the first day were given their seats instead. The legislature, at first called to meet at Pawnee City on the Kansas River, nearly a hundred miles from the border, adjourned to meet at Shawnee Mission, directly over the line from Missouri. This was accomplished over the Governor's veto, and most of the acts of this legislature, which were vetoed by the Governor, were passed over his head.

The President was now asked to remove Reeder, which in due time he did, appointing in his stead Wilson Shannon of Ohio. Shannon at once in a public speech said that he was for Slavery in Kansas, and that he regarded the legislature as a legal assembly, and that its laws were binding upon the authorities and citizens of the Territory.

On the other hand, the settlers from the East, who were increasing rapidly, were not disposed to submit either to the fraudulent voting or the fraudulent legislature. On the 5th of September, they held a mass convention at Big Springs, which was followed by a delegate convention held at Topeka, Kansas, where Governor Reeder was nominated for delegate. The consequence was, that rival elections for delegate were held, at which Whitfield was chosen by the slave-State voters, and Reeder by the free-State voters. On the 23d of October a constitutional convention was held by the free-State settlers at Topeka, where a free-State Constitution was formed, under which admission to the Union as a State was asked.

Although the Thirty-fourth Congress had assembled on December 3, 1855, as has already been noted, several weeks were spent in balloting for a Speaker, so that the organization of the House was not effected until the 3d of February. On the 19th of March the House by a vote of 101 to 93 resolved to send a special committee to Kansas to inquire into the

conditions there prevalent. That committee was composed of William A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, who immediately proceeded to Kansas, and after several weeks spent in taking testimony they returned to Washington with a very exhaustive report. This report showed that the elections under which the contesting delegates were voted for was not held in pursuance of any valid law and that the condition of the Territory was such that no fair election could be held without the presence of the United States troops at every place of election.

Whitfield, however, held his seat until the end of Congress, and a bill admitting Kansas as a free State was at first defeated in the House by 106 yeas to 107 nays, but afterwards was reconsidered and passed by 99 yeas to 97 nays. It was, however, defeated in the Senate, which was still strongly pro-Slavery.

In the meantime disorders were increasing in Kansas, and riot and murder succeeded illegal voting. Bands of Southerners now joined the Missourians, and the whole Territory was soon in a state of anarchy. From November 1, 1855, to December 1, 1856, fully two hundred persons were killed, and two million dollars' worth of property destroyed. Civil war existed in practically every community, and most brutal assaults, even to murder, were witnessed almost weekly. The towns of Lawrence and Leavenworth were both sacked, while numerous smaller conflicts were held almost daily. One noted incident is known as the battle of Black Jack, when twenty-eight free-State men, led by John Brown of Osawatomie, fought and defeated, on the open prairie, fifty-six border ruffians, who were led by Captain H. Clay Pate, of Virginia.

The legislature chosen under the free-State constitution, which assembled at Topeka on the 4th of July, 1856, was not allowed to organize, being dispersed by a force of regulars under Colonel Sumner, acting upon orders of President Pierce.

The emigrants from both the East and the South were now pouring into the Territory in large multitudes. The East had been thoroughly aroused, and rifles and ammunition were furnished to the settlers by many who had up to this time been

apparently neutral on the great subject of the period. The emigrants from the East began to clear and plough and build, while those from the South and from Missouri had no object but pillage and riot and murder, and, soon tired out, many returned to their homes, so that by the end of 1856 the free-State settlers were in large majority, while all the power and authority was for the time on the other side. But bleeding Kansas was slowly materializing into a free State, and the very battles fought upon her soil only tended to hasten the crisis soon to follow upon even greater and bloodier battlefields.

After Texas had been gained by the Slave Power, wistful and covetous eyes turned toward Cuba. President Polk had made an offer of \$100,000,000 for it in 1848, which had been refused by Spain, and in 1851, soon after General Taylor's death, an expedition was sent out from New Orleans under Lopez, a Cuban adventurer. Upon their invasion they were defeated and made prisoners, while the leader was promptly garroted. There was further talk of expeditions against Cuba, which, however, amounted to nothing. Our Government had refused to join Great Britain and France in a treaty mutually guaranteeing the island to Spain. A considerable mass of diplomatic correspondence followed upon the subject, and the matter passed from one administration to another, when President Pierce, through his Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, appointed James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soulé, our ambassadors at London, Paris, and Madrid, respectively, to convene in some European city and devise means for getting possession of Cuba. They met at Ostend October 9, 1854, and after three days adjourned to Aix-la-Chapelle, where they were in council for several days more, after which time a despatch was transmitted to our Government containing the result of their deliberations, and which became known as the Ostend Manifesto. In view of the action of a Republican administration regarding Cuban affairs in 1897, and the important outcome of the war with Spain on account of that island, it will no doubt prove both interesting and instructive to quote at length from the Ostend Manifesto, as showing the Democratic method of fifty years ago:

We firmly believe that, in the course of human events, the time has arrived when the vital interests of Spain are as seriously involved in the sale, as those of the United States in the purchase, of the island, and that the transaction will prove equally honorable to both nations.

Under these circumstances, we cannot anticipate a failure, unless, possibly, through the malign influences of foreign powers, who possess no right whatever to interfere in the matter.

We proceed to state some of the reasons which have brought us to this conclusion; and, for the sake of clearness, we shall specify them under two distinct heads:

1. The United States ought, if practicable, to purchase Cuba with as little delay as possible.

2. The probability is great that the Government and Cortes of Spain will prove willing to sell it; because this would essentially promote the highest and best interests of the Spanish people. . . .

But if Spain, dead to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States, then the question will arise, What ought to be the course of the American Government under such circumstances?

Self-preservation is the first law of nature, with States as well as with individuals. All nations have, at different periods, acted upon this maxim. Although it has been made the pretext for committing flagrant injustice, as in the partition of Poland and other similar cases which history records, yet the principle itself, though often abused, has always been recognized. . . . After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, then it will be time to consider the question, Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union?

Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power: and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor if there was no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home.

Under such circumstances, we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us. We forbear to enter into the question whether the present condition of the island would justify such a measure. We should, however, be

recreant to our duty, be unworthy to our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and become a second St. Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our own neighboring shores, seriously to endanger, or actually to consume, the fair fabric of our Union.

We fear that the course and current of events are rapidly tending toward such a catastrophe. We, however, hope for the best, though we ought certainly to be prepared for the worst.

Of the Ostend Manifesto and its authors, Rhodes says .

It is perhaps unjust to attach to the administration of Pierce the discredit of the Ostend manifesto, for the policy therein set forth was disavowed by the Secretary of State in the name of the President. Yet as the Democratic party indirectly approved it by the nomination for President of the man who was first to sign it, it settled down in the popular mind as one of the measures of the Pierce administration. Any good in the Democratic conduct of the government from 1853 to 1857 has been almost wholly obliterated by the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Ostend manifesto. The domestic policy was characterized by an utter disregard of plighted faith; the avowed foreign policy was marked by the lack of justice as understood by all civilized nations of the world.

During the spring of 1856 the debate in the Senate over the Kansas-Nebraska situation became most animated, and at times very bitter. The following Senators could now all be classified as Republicans, and as against admitting Kansas except as a free State: Hamlin and Fessenden of Maine, Hale and Bell of New Hampshire, Collamer and Foot of Vermont, Sumner and Wilson of Massachusetts, Foster of Connecticut, Seward and Fish of New York, Wade of Ohio, Durkee and Dodge of Wisconsin, Trumbull of Illinois, and Harlan of Iowa. All of these Republicans were scholars as well as statesmen, and their opinions not only carried great influence in the Upper House of Congress but throughout the nation.

Mr. Sumner had been biding his time to deliver an address before the Senate which should at least equal, if not surpass, any that had been delivered by his compeers. Finally the

opportunity came on the 19th and 20th of May, and the speech delivered on those days was afterwards known as Sumner's "Crime against Kansas" speech. The speech was bitter in the extreme, and much of it might better have been left unsaid. Had all personalities been left out, it is quite probable that the address would have been simply numbered with the many strong speeches made in the Senate during those months. But, among other personal allusions, Mr. Sumner addressed himself personally to Senator Butler of South Carolina.

Not satisfied with his attack of the first day, he took up the subject again on the second day, and to use inelegant but most expressive words, he simply "rubbed it in." The attack had been unprovoked. In his speech Senator Butler had made no reference to Mr. Sumner. The Senator from South Carolina was not present during the delivery of Mr. Sumner's speech; but several Senators who listened to it, at its conclusion at once addressed the Senate in condemnation of its delivery. Senator Cass and Senator Douglas were very severe in their denunciation, and even such men as Wade and other friends of Sumner thought that he had gone beyond the bounds of propriety, if not parliamentary usage, and yet Sumner had not been called to order in a single instance during the delivery of his speech.

Two days after, on May 22d, after a session of the Senate had closed and Sumner was sitting in his seat in the Senate Chamber writing letters, Preston Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, and a relative of Senator Butler, entered the Senate Chamber, and, going up to Mr. Sumner said: "I have read your speech twice over carefully. It is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." Thereupon, he lifted his cane and with a most forceful blow hit Sumner on the head. So powerful was the assault that Sumner, although a man over six feet in height and of unusual build, was unable to make any defence, and Brooks continued beating him repeatedly. He did not cease his assault until he was seized by the arm, when Sumner, fainting and bleeding, reeled to the floor. It was said that the assault was sufficient in its force to have killed a man of medium build and weight.

Sumner was forced to abandon his Senatorial work, and for nearly four years was striving to recover from the blows dealt by Brooks on that eventful day. It was not until December, 1859, that he was able to resume his work in the Senate, and he never again resumed his normal strength and vigor. During his illness, part of which time had been spent abroad, he had been re-elected to the Senate by the Massachusetts Legislature by an almost unanimous vote, receiving every vote of the Senate and 333 out of 345 in the House.

It is enough to say of the result of the assault throughout the country, that Brooks, while universally denounced and condemned for his action in the North, was made a hero of throughout the South. While indignation meetings were held in hundreds of cities and towns north of Mason and Dixon's line, in the States below, Preston Brooks was receiving gifts from the people, particularly canes and whips as emblematic of their endorsement of his use of such a weapon upon the defenceless champion of the Northern cause. For months he became almost an idol.

The day following the affair, many members armed themselves before going into the Senate and House, as exciting scenes were anticipated. In the Senate Mr. Wilson stated the case, and Mr. Seward made a motion for the appointment of a committee to investigate the affair. While this was agreed to, and a committee was appointed, not a single Republican was given a place upon it. It being decided that the Senate could not act in the matter, and that Brooks could only be punished in the House of Representatives, a committee was appointed by the House to consider the affair, a majority of which reported in favor of the expulsion of Brooks. On a resolution to this effect, the vote was 121 to 95, which, not being two thirds, was insufficient to expel. Brooks thereupon made a speech and resigned his seat, but he was immediately re-elected by his district, only six votes being against him. He died in the following January, filled with regret over the occurrence, and regretting still more that he had been made the subject of gifts and admiration by those whom he now called the "representatives of bullies."

Growing out of the affair was the challenging of Senator Wilson to a duel by Mr. Brooks, because Mr. Wilson had pronounced the assault "brutal, murderous, and cowardly." Mr. Wilson declined the challenge, but armed himself for defence in case he should be attacked. Among others who had defended or rather applauded the course taken by Mr. Brooks were Jefferson Davis and Mr. Buchanan, the latter soon to be nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic party.

The incident of the assault upon Senator Sumner must be recorded as a circumstance, and as showing the feeling which was growing more and more intense, particularly at the South, as against what was termed the interference of the North. The assault upon Mr. Sumner in the United States Senate was being repeated day after day in distant Kansas, where ruffians from Missouri and from the slaveholding States of the South were making bloody warfare upon the settlers from the North, who were peaceably settled in the new Territory and giving themselves up wholly to tilling the soil and building up both an agricultural and commercial State.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION—FREMONT AND DAYTON—CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1856.

IN the city of Washington, on the 19th of June, 1855, an association was formed, and issued the following:

DECLARATION, PLATFORM, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Whereas, by the repeal of the eighth section of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska have been opened to the introduction of slavery, and all the compromises, real or imaginary, upon that subject, are thus violated and annulled, and deep dishonor inflicted upon the age in which we live:

Now, therefore, in co-operation with all those throughout the land who oppose this and other similar measures, which we deem to be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and which are designed to extend and perpetuate slavery, we do associate ourselves together, under the name and title of *The Republican Association of Washington, D. C.*

And we adopt the following as our political Platform, to wit:

First. That Congress possesses no power over the institution of slavery in the several States; but that, outside of State jurisdiction, the constitution power of the Federal Government should be exerted to secure *life, liberty, and happiness* to all men, and therefore,

Second. There should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories of the United States.

Third. The people are the rightful source of all political power; and all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by direct vote of the people.

Fourth. Candidates for political offices should be men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, and pledged to support the principles of this Platform by all lawful and constitutional means.

Francis P. Blair, Sr., had been urged to accept the presidency of this organization, but declined. Little more was heard of it until January 17, 1856, when it issued a circular to the friends of the Republican movement throughout the United States.

On the same day the following call for a convention was issued from Washington, D. C. :

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 17, 1856.

To the Republicans of the United States :

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican Party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal Convention at Pittsburg, on the 22d February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization, and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican Party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.

J. Z. GOODRICH, of Mass.

DAVID WILMOT, of Pa.

LAWRENCE BRAINERD, of Vt.

WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wis.¹

The convention was largely attended. Not only were all the free States represented, but there were also delegates from Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri. John A. King was made president *pro tem.*, and Francis P. Blair permanent president. Speeches were made by Greeley, Giddings, Gibson of Ohio, Coddington and Lovejoy of Illinois, and others. Of the first day's meeting Horace Greeley sent the following to the New York *Tribune* :

¹ Other signatures were subsequently appended.

The Republican Convention has completed its first day's session, and has accomplished much to cement former political differences and distinctions and here to mark the inauguration of a National party, based upon the principle of Freedom. The gathering is very large and the enthusiasm unbounded. Men are acting in the most perfect harmony and with a unity of feeling seldom known to political assemblages of this magnitude. The body is eminently Republican in principle and tendency. It combines much of character and talent, with integrity of purpose and devotion to the great principles which underlie our Government. Its moral and political effect upon the country will be felt for the next quarter of a century. In its deliberations everything has been conducted with marked propriety and dignity. The appointment of the Hon. F. P. Blair as President was hailed with unbounded enthusiasm.

The scene which followed was exciting beyond description. Cheers went forth and handkerchiefs were waved for some minutes after he took his seat as presiding officer. The great Hall has been crowded throughout the day and during the evening. Hundreds went away because it was not possible to gain admittance. The day has been principally occupied by the committees in preparing their reports and by the Delegates in Committee of the Whole in listening to speeches from eminent gentlemen who represent the several States. Among the most effective speeches of the occasion was one made by Mr. Remeline, of Cincinnati. It was pointed and eloquent and was received with much applause. The speaker has until recently been a supporter of the Administration. He is now thoroughly Republican. The Committee on Address will not report until to-morrow morning. The business of perfecting a National organization will come up to-morrow forenoon. Adjourned.

H. G.

The following report of the second day's proceedings is taken from the Proceedings of the first three Republican National conventions, as compiled by Charles W. Johnson :

SECOND DAY.

PITTSBURG, Saturday, Feb. 23, 1856.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock. In the absence of the President, who was in attendance at a meeting of the Committee on

Address and Resolutions, Mr. Sherman, of New Jersey, took the chair at the opening of the session. A great part of the morning was spent in speaking. Mr. Arney, of Illinois, stated that as the various committees were not ready to report, the time of the Convention might be occupied by addresses, and he moved that one delegate from each state represented be invited to speak, each one being limited to ten minutes. The motion was adopted, and Mr. Stone, of Massachusetts, presented the condition of parties in that state, affirming that the number of Republicans was increasing. Mr. Bunce, of Connecticut, said there was no Republican party in that state, but he hoped that there soon would be. He pledged Connecticut for them at the coming Presidential election. Mr. Burrough, of New York, noticed the gentlemen had been speaking for several States. He had but a short history to relate. He (Bunce) had said all we had to do was to go home and enjoy victory. He (Burrough) wished it was so in New York. We have many organizations embittered against us to overcome before we can succeed. To be successful we must exercise prudence. It is easy to make a small party on the Slavery question. To do this we can purchase Gerrit Smith's patent right; but to establish a large party, we must make concession. He thought a large portion of the American party could be brought over to their cause. Mr. Clephane, of the District of Columbia, spoke commendingly of the efforts of the Washington Republican Association. Gov. Bingham, of Michigan, read a long letter from Cassius M. Clay to the Washington Association commending the Republicans present.

Dr. Gazzam, of Pittsburgh, spoke briefly of the progress of Anti-Slavery in this quarter. He invited the Members of the Convention to attend the Kansas Aid meeting to-night.

The Committee on Organization, through their Chairman, Mr. Julian, of Indiana, made a report. It recommended the following National Executive Committee:

Morgan, of New York, Chairman; Fogg, of New Hampshire; Banks, of Massachusetts; Brainerd, of Vermont; Niles, of Connecticut; Chase, of Rhode Island; Stone, of Ohio; Leland, of Illinois; Spooner, of Wisconsin; Clephane, of District of Columbia; Paulison, of New Jersey; ———, of Delaware; Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; Blair, of Missouri; Field, of Kentucky; Stephens, of Iowa; Gross, of Indiana; Dickie, of Michigan; ———, of Virginia; Blair, of Maryland.

The report further recommended that the National Executive Committee be authorized to add to their number one Member from each state not represented, and to fill vacancies; also the holding of the National Convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June, to consist of delegates from each state double the number of their representation in Congress, and that the Republicans of each state be recommended to complete their organization at the earliest moment, by the appointment of State and County Committees and the formation of clubs in every town and township throughout the land. The Committee on Address and Resolutions reported, through their Chairman, Abijah Mann, of New York. The Address commences by expressing unalterable attachment to the Union, and a determination to preserve it; at the same time it recommends all true Republicans to oppose further extension of Slavery. It should be kept where it now exists.

A history of the various acts of the General Government regarding Slavery was given, and an account of the recent doings in Kansas. Congress has a constitutional right to exclude Slavery from Territories. It has no right to confer popular sovereignty on Kansas and Nebraska, thus giving away its own authority over territories. The Address calls upon all Republicans to support the Constitution against the assaults of its enemies, and recommends energetic measures for the election of candidates for the Presidential Convention.

The resolutions are in substance as follows:

First. Demands repeal of all laws allowing the introduction of Slavery into Territories once consecrated to Freedom, and the resistance by constitutional means of the existence of Slavery in any Territory.

Second. Supports by all lawful measures the Free-State men in Kansas in their resistance to the usurped authority of lawless invaders, and favors its immediate admission into the Union as a Free State.

Third. Strongly urges the Republican Organization to resist and overthrow the present National Administration, as it is identified with the progress of the Slave power to national supremacy.

On motion of Mr. Spaulding, of Ohio, the address and resolutions were adopted with nine cheers.

Mr. Remelin, of Ohio, said the address should have taken ground against the Know-Nothings, in order to bring in the German population.

Mr. Bond, of South Carolina, moved that a Committee of Safety be appointed to meet any emergency that may arise in case of conflict in Kansas with the Federal troops.

A motion that the proceedings be printed in pamphlet form, and circulated, was adopted. Thanks to the officers of the Convention and the citizens of Pittsburg were voted and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

On the evening of February 23d, a mass-meeting was held in aid of the emigration to Kansas. The president of the meeting was George N. Jackson, and D. D. Eaton was made secretary. Horace Greeley and others addressed the meeting, and the speeches were in favor of rendering every possible aid to Kansas in the pending struggle.

The executive committee appointed by the convention of February 22d met in Washington on March 27th, and after a prolonged discussion issued the following call:

To the People of the United States :

The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each state three delegates from every congressional district, and six delegates at large, to meet in Philadelphia on the seventeenth day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. (Signed) Edwin D. Morgan, New York; Francis P. Blair, Maryland; John M. Niles, Connecticut; David Wilmot, Pennsylvania; A. P. Stone, Ohio; William M. Chase, Rhode Island; John Z. Goodrich, Massachusetts; George Rye, Virginia; Abner R. Hallowell, Maine; E. S. Leland, Illinois; Charles Dickey, Michigan; George G. Fogg, New Hampshire; A. J. Stevens, Iowa; Cornelius Cole, California; Lawrence Brainerd, Vermont; William Grose, Indiana; Wyman Spooner, Wisconsin; C. M. K. Paulison, New Jersey; E. D. Wil-

iams, Delaware; John G. Fee, Kentucky; James Redpath, Missouri; Lewis Clephane, District of Columbia, National Committee.

Pursuant to the above call of the national committee, the delegates to the first Republican National Convention assembled at Philadelphia on June 17th. E. D. Morgan, chairman of the Republican National Committee, in calling the delegates together addressed them as follows:

Delegates of the Convention, Representatives of the Heart and the Hope of the Nation: The day and the hour appointed for this gathering have arrived; and in behalf of my associates of the National Committee, I now call this vast assemblage to order, in doing which I may be indulged for a moment. You are assembled for patriotic purposes. High expectations are cherished by the people. You are here to-day to give direction to a movement which is to decide whether the people of the United States are to be hereafter and forever chained to the present national policy of the extension of human slavery. Not whether the South is to rule, or the North to do the same thing; but whether the broad, national policy our fathers established, cherished and forever maintained, is to be permitted to descend to her sons, to be the watchword, the text and the guiding star of all her people. Such is the magnitude of the question submitted. In its consideration, let us avoid all extremes—plant ourselves firmly on the Platform of the Constitution and the Union, taking no position which does not commend itself to the judgment of our consciences, our country, and of mankind. Of the wisdom of such a policy, there need be no doubt; against which there can be no successful resistance. I now propose to nominate for temporary chairman of this Convention, a distinguished citizen of the State of New York, whose name occupies a high position in the history of his country, known and honored throughout the United States. I nominate the Hon. Robert Emmet.

Mr. Emmet of New York was unanimously elected temporary chairman of the convention, and was conducted to the chair by Moses H. Grinnell of New York, and George Hoadley, Jr., of Ohio. It was found that the total number of delegates present numbered 565, representing every free State, and Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland. No uniform

rule had been adopted in selecting delegates, nor was there any uniformity as to the number of votes to which each State should be entitled. The few contested seats were easily settled, and after a permanent organization had been perfected by the election of Henry S. Lane of Indiana as president, the convention gave itself up to exuberant speech-making. Both the temporary and permanent presidents of the convention made stirring speeches, and were followed by speeches of greater or less length by Caleb Smith of Indiana, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts.

At the beginning of the second day's proceedings, a roll of members of the convention, with their post-office addresses, was read. Among the delegates can be mentioned the following: From Maine, A. P. Morrell, Edward Kent, J. G. Blaine, and Joseph Bartlett; New Hampshire, Geo. G. Fogg; Vermont, Lawrence Brainerd; Massachusetts, C. F. Adams, E. R. Hoar, Z. N. Crane, E. B. Gillett, and John Z. Goodrich; Rhode Island, William N. Chase, R. G. Hazard; Connecticut, Benjamin Silliman, A. Brandagee, John M. Niles; New York, Edwin D. Morgan, Moses H. Grinnell, Robert Emmet, John A. King, Philip Dorsheimer, John Bigelow, A. Oakey Hall, R. E. Fenton; New Jersey, A. S. Pennington; Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, Henry C. Carey, Thaddeus Stevens; Delaware, E. G. Bradford; Maryland, E. P. Blair; District of Columbia, Lewis Clephane; Ohio, William Dennison, A. Taft, J. N. Talmadge, Joshua R. Giddings; Iowa, F. Springer, J. W. Sherman; Wisconsin, J. F. Potter, Theodore Newell; Michigan, Zachariah Chandler, K. S. Bingham, I. P. Christiancy; Illinois, Owen Lovejoy, John M. Palmer, F. A. Carpenter; Indiana, Henry S. Lane; Kentucky, John H. Rawlings; California, Charles H. Washburn, William H. Chamberlain; Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey; Kansas, S. C. Pomeroy. The following gentlemen were announced as constituting the Republican National Committee for the next four years:

Maine, Joseph Bartlett, Bangor; New Hampshire, George G. Foss, Concord; Massachusetts, John Z. Goodrich, Stockbridge; Vermont, Lawrence Brainerd, St. Albans; Rhode Island, William M. Chase, Providence; Connecticut, Gideon

Welles, Hartford; New York, Edwin D. Morgan, city of New York; New Jersey, James N. Sherman, Trenton; Pennsylvania, Thomas Williams, Pittsburg; Delaware, E. D. Williams; Maryland, George Harris, Baltimore; Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay, Frankfort; Ohio, Thomas Spooner, Cincinnati; Illinois, Hon. Norman B. Judd, Chicago; Indiana, Dr. James Ritchie, Franklin; Michigan, Zachariah Chandler, Detroit; Iowa, R. P. Lowe, Keokuk; Wisconsin, John H. Tweedy, Milwaukee; California, Cornelius Call, Sacramento City; Kansas, Martin F. Conway, Lawrence; District of Columbia, Lewis Clephane, Washington.

The following platform reported by David Wilmot, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, was then adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1856

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the appeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:—

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all

attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States, for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; tests oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;—that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world, and that it is our

fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all (proscriptive) legislation (affecting) impairing their security.

A motion to proceed to the nomination of President was debated for some time, and during the discussion it was brought out by Governor Patterson of New York, that the New York delegates were unanimous for the nomination of W. H. Seward, but that he had requested the withdrawal of his name. Judge Spaulding of Ohio then read a letter from Judge McLean, declining the use of his name as a candidate. Mr. Mitchell of Ohio followed with a letter from Salmon P. Chase, asking that his name be withheld from the convention. In the

evening after a communication had been read from the National American Convention, and a discussion indulged in, the whole subject was laid upon the table. The president then declared that the business of the convention was to proceed to the nomination of a Republican candidate for President of the United States. Edwin D. Morgan of New York, and Thomas Scott of Indiana, were appointed tellers. The informal ballot was as follows:

John C. Fremont of California	359 votes
John McLean of Ohio.....	190 votes
Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.....	2 votes
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts.....	1 vote
William H. Seward of New York.....	1 vote

The formal ballot resulted as follows:

John C. Fremont of California.....	520 votes
John McLean of Ohio.....	37 votes
William H. Seward of New York....	1 vote

Colonel Fremont was thereupon unanimously nominated.

On the following day the informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President resulted as follows:

William L. Dayton of New Jersey.....	253 votes
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.....	110 votes
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts.....	46 votes
David Wilmot of Pennsylvania.....	43 votes
John A. King of New York.....	9 votes
Charles Sumner of Massachusetts	35 votes
Lieut. Governor Thomas Ford of Ohio.....	7 votes
Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky.....	3 votes
Jacob Collamer of Vermont.....	15 votes
Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio	2 votes
Whitefield S. Johnson of New Jersey.....	2 votes
Henry C. Carey of Pennsylvania.....	3 votes
Aaron S. Pennington of New Jersey.....	1 vote
Henry Wilson of Massachusetts.....	2 votes
Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas.....	8 votes

On the formal ballot after the vote of Delaware was declared, Judge Palmer of Illinois said:

In behalf of the delegation of the State of Illinois, I return thanks to such members of this Convention as have honored the favorite of our State with their vote. Illinois asks nothing for herself in this contest. She is devoted—and I trust that the result of the next election will prove that she is devoted—to the great cause that has brought us together. She knew that in Abraham Lincoln we had a soldier tried and true. We offered him to the Republican party of the United States for the position that we have indicated, but we are content to prefer harmony and union to the success even of our cherished favorite. Therefore, we say to those of our friends who have honored us, we commend them to withdraw the votes thus cast for Mr. Lincoln, and give them that direction that will make the vote unanimous and harmonious for Wm. L. Dayton.

The formal ballot was then proceeded with, every vote being cast for Dayton.

The rest of the day was taken up mostly with speech-making. Among those who addressed the convention were G. Schneider of Illinois; Senator Wills of California; M. Grimm, editor of the *Belleville Zeitung*; Zachariah Chandler of Michigan; J. Van Dyke of New Jersey; John P. Hale of New Hampshire; Philip S. Dorsheimer and John A. King of New York; Heman Carpenter of Vermont; Judge Hoadley of Ohio; Governor Kent of Maine; Henry Wilson of Massachusetts; David Wilmot of Pennsylvania; Judge Tyler of Connecticut, General Pomeroy of Kansas, and Governor Cleveland of Connecticut, who succeeded to the chair in the absence of Mr. Lane.

The only matter of considerable discussion during the second and third days of the convention was the reception of a communication from the "North Americans," then in session in New York. There were objections made to receiving the communication from a political party, although as individuals they had been invited to join all other parties in this convention. The matter was finally settled by referring the whole question to the Committee on Resolutions, which committee decided that a committee of three should be appointed "to address all the parties of the country, with a view to elucidate

the principles of action and to conciliate them to the great object to which the labors of this Convention have been devoted." This committee was appointed by the Chair as follows: Francis P. Blair of Maryland; G. T. Brown of Illinois; Elbridge G. Spaulding of New York.

The rallying-cry to be used in the coming campaign was announced in nearly every speech made. Said Henry Wilson: "Gentlemen, let our motto in this canvass be 'Free Speech, Free Press, Free Men, Free Labor and Fremont,'" and this sentence, sometimes abridged, became the watchword and was used throughout the campaign.

At the beginning of 1856 the political situation in the country seemed very complicated. In the East there were four principal parties, the Democrats, the Whigs, the Know-Nothings, and the Republicans. The Know-Nothings were rapidly drifting into the Republican party, while the Whigs and Democrats were inclined to combine in order to withstand the growing strength of the Republicans. In the West only two parties were now found, the Republican and Democratic. In the South most of the Whigs had gone over to the American party, which was now at its fullest strength. A national council of this party was called to meet at Philadelphia on the 19th of February, nearly all the States being represented. It was a secret body, which after three days adopted a platform, and on the 22d of February adjourned and organized as a nominating convention. Ephraim Marsh of New Jersey presided. The following resolution was at once presented:

That the National Council has no authority to prescribe a platform of principles for this nominating convention, and that no candidates for President and Vice-President who are not in favor of interdicting slavery in territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, by congressional action, shall be nominated by this Convention.

This resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 141 to 59. This was followed by a motion to nominate a candidate for President by a vote of 151 to 51. Thereupon all the anti-Slavery delegates, which included all from New England and Ohio, and some from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa, with-

drew from the convention. Mr. Millard Fillmore of New York was then nominated for President, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee for Vice-President. The seceding delegates, who became known as North Americans, soon met and nominated for President John C. Fremont of California and William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania for Vice-President, but this last candidate afterwards withdrew in favor of Dayton.

The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati on the 2d of June, every State being fully represented, while New York and Missouri each sent two sets of delegates. Both delegations were finally admitted, each delegate to have half a vote. The contest was between James Buchanan, Franklin Pierce, and Stephen A. Douglas. While Mr. Pierce had 122 votes on the first ballot, on the sixteenth he was entirely eliminated from the contest, Buchanan receiving on that ballot 168, and Douglas 121; on the seventeenth ballot Buchanan received the entire number of votes, 296, and was declared nominated. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was nominated for Vice-President.

The Whigs met at Baltimore on the 17th of September, twenty-six States being represented. There were no delegates from Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Texas, or California. Edward Bates of Missouri presided. Fillmore and Donelson were accepted as candidates by resolution.

The campaign of 1856 was a most earnest, if not to say desperate political battle. At the South, where Mr. Buchanan had the support of the entire slaveholding class, the result was at no time doubted. At the North the new Republican party was making a most strenuous effort to make at least a splendid showing in the contest if not to carry off the prize; but the anti-Slavery element was not yet entirely united, and many friends of the cause who were most influential, and national counsellors, in some instances endorsed Buchanan, while others advocated the election of Fillmore.

Buchanan, who was an adroit politician, was a Northerner and a Pennsylvanian. His letter of acceptance was a shrewd, if not a strong document, intended not only to hold the entire South,

but to gain the friends of Douglas, as well as thousands of other Northern Democrats. The national or sectional issue was early ingrafted into the campaign and made much of by both Buchanan and Fillmore. Washington's farewell address was frequently alluded to, particularly that portion opposing the forming of parties on geographical lines. Said Fillmore in a speech at Albany :

We see a political party presenting candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? Can they have the madness or folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate? . . . I speak warmly on this subject, for I feel that we are in danger. . . . We are treading upon the brink of a volcano that is liable at any moment to burst forth and overwhelm the nation.

As an example of the sentiments of some of the most conservative of the old-time Whigs, who were not yet prepared to enter the Republican party, the following extract is given from a letter written by Rufus Choate to the Maine Whig State Central Committee :

If the Republican party accomplishes its objects and gives the government to the North, I turn my eyes from the consequences. To the fifteen States of the South that government will appear an alien government. It will appear worse. It will appear a hostile government. It will represent to their eye a vast region of States organized upon anti-slavery, flushed by triumph, cheered onward by the voices of the pulpit, tribune, and press; its mission to inaugurate freedom and put down the oligarchy; its constitution the glittering and sounding generalities of natural right which make up the Declaration of Independence. . . . Practically the contest, in my judgment, is between Mr. Buchanan and Colonel Fremont. In these circumstances, I vote for Mr. Buchanan.

The threats from the South at once became long and loud. Ex-President Tyler wrote :

It is quite sensibly felt by all, that the success of the Black Republicans would be the knell of the Union.

Governor Wise wrote :

The Southern States are going strong and unanimous. . . . They will not submit to a sectional election of a Free-Soiler or Black Republican.

Thousands of expressions were heard in both private and public places, that the election of Fremont would be the dissolution of the Union. Of the Republican party Rhodes says :

Never in our history, and probably never in the history of the world, had a more pure, more disinterested, and more intelligent body of men banded together for a noble political object than those who now enrolled themselves under the Republican banner. The clergymen, the professors in the colleges, the men devoted to literature and science, the teachers in the schools, were for the most part Republicans. The zeal of many preachers broke out in the pulpit, and sermons were frequently delivered on the evils of slavery, the wrong of extending it, and the noble struggle freedom was making on the plains of Kansas. The Northern people of 1856 were a church-going people, and it must be reckoned an element of weight in the campaign that so large a proportion of the clergy exerted their influence directly or indirectly in favor of Fremont. On the Sunday before election, most of the ministers of New England preached and prayed from their pulpits against the success of Buchanan. From the partisans of Buchanan and Fillmore came constant deprecation that ministers should so forget their holy calling as to introduce politics into the pulpit. . . .

Impressed by the importance of the issue, literary men forsook their quiet retreats to help the cause they deemed sacred. Emerson addressed a town meeting; Longfellow took part in a political gathering; Bryant entered into the canvass with ardor, and advocated the election of Fremont by speech as well as by pen; and George William Curtis frequently spoke to his fellow-citizens urging them to vote for the Republican candidates. Washington Irving declared his purpose of voting for Fremont. Longfellow wrote to Sumner that one reason why he did not want to go to Europe was on account of losing his vote in the autumn. "I have great respect for that now," he continued, "though I never cared about it before." He notes in his journal that all the guests with whom he dined one day at Prescott's

were Fremont men. N. P. Willis, one of the best known *littérateurs* of his day, relates how he drove five miles one night to hear Curtis deliver a stump-speech. He at first thought the author of the Howadji "too handsome and well-dressed" for a political orator, but, as he listened, his mistake was apparent. He heard a logical and rational address, and now and then the speaker burst "into the full tide of eloquence unrestrained." Willis declared that although fifty years old he should this year cast his "virgin vote," and it would be for Fremont. Harriet Beecher Stowe published another anti-slavery novel, which, though far inferior to her masterpiece, found many readers. Whittier in passionate verse begged votes for Fremont.

George William Curtis, who was to figure so largely in future Republican councils, delivered an oration to the students of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, taking for his subject, "The Duty of the American Scholar to Politics and the Times." The address was a most scholarly one, and pointed most emphatically to the necessity of supporting Fremont.

The scenes in Kansas divided the attention of the people with the issues of the campaign. While personalities were hurled at Fremont; while he was accused of being a Roman Catholic, for the purpose of alienating the Know-Nothing vote; while his career in California was made questionable, yet, on the other side, no personalities were indulged in by the Republicans in the least reflecting upon Buchanan or Fillmore. While it seemed from the outset of the campaign as if Buchanan must surely win, yet at various times during the fall the Republicans were exceedingly hopeful.

Pennsylvania and Indiana, which were then "October States," were necessary for the success of the Republicans, and in the former State particularly the campaign was carried on with the utmost vigor, but Pennsylvania went favorably for Buchanan, as did Indiana in October, and in November he was elected, the popular and electoral vote being given on the next page.

In the light of history the result was no doubt a fortunate one. The time was not quite ripe for the rebellion, and the right man to guide the Northern hosts in defence of freedom,

and to the aggressiveness of emancipating the slave, was not yet to be chosen. It is not likely that any other man, had he been nominated in place of Fremont, could have carried the election in 1856.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE			ELECTORAL VOTE		
	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania	John C. Fremont, California	Millard Fillmore, New York	Buchanan and Breckinridge	Fremont and Dayton	Fillmore and Donelson
Alabama	46,739		28,552	9		
Arkansas	21,910		10,787	4		
California	53,365	20,691	36,165	4		
Connecticut	34,995	42,715	2,615		6	
Delaware	8,004	308	6,175	3		
Florida	6,358		4,833	3		
Georgia	56,578		42,228	10		
Illinois	105,348	96,189	37,444	11		
Indiana	118,670	94,375	22,386	13		
Iowa	36,170	43,954	9,180		4	
Kentucky	74,642	314	67,416	12		
Louisiana	22,164		20,709	6		
Maine	39,080	67,379	3,325		8	
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460			8
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,626		13	
Michigan	52,136	71,762	1,660		6	
Mississippi	35,446		24,195	7		
Missouri	58,164		48,524	9		
New Hampshire	32,789	38,345	422		5	
New Jersey	46,943	28,338	24,115	7		
New York	195,878	276,007	124,604		35	
North Carolina	48,246		36,886	10		
Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126		23	
Pennsylvania	230,710	147,510	82,175	27		
Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675		4	
South Carolina ¹				8		
Tennessee	73,638		66,178	12		
Texas	31,169		15,639	4		
Vermont	10,569	39,561	545		5	
Virginia	89,706	291	60,310	15		
Wisconsin	52,843	66,090	579		5	
Total	1,838,169	1,341,264	874,534	174	114	8

¹ Electors appointed by the legislature.

CHAPTER X.

LINCOLN AND ILLINOIS—THE DRED SCOTT CASE—LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION—LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES.

BEFORE going on to the important events of 1857 it will be interesting to refer to the complete formation of the Republican party in Illinois, the State of Lincoln and Douglas.

In 1855 Lincoln had written the following letter to his Kentucky friend, Joshua Speed, which contains so many pertinent allusions as to warrant giving it in full:

PRIVATE LETTER OF MR. LINCOLN TO HIS KENTUCKY FRIEND, MR.
SPEED.

SPRINGFIELD, August 24, 1855.

DEAR SPEED:—You know what a poor correspondent I am. Ever since I received your very agreeable letter of the twenty-second of May, I have been intending to write you in answer to it. You suggest that in political action now, you and I would differ. You know I dislike Slavery, and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far, there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave, especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you yield that right—very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution, in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lip, and keep quiet. In 1841, you and I had together a tedious, low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do,

that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio, there were on board ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the people of the North do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union.

I do oppose the extension of Slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If, for this, you and I must differ, differ we must. You say if you were President you would send an army, and hang the leaders of the Missouri outrages upon the Kansas elections; still, if Kansas fairly votes herself a slave state, she must be admitted, or the Union must be dissolved. But how if she votes herself a slave state unfairly—that is, by the very means for which you would hang men? Must she still be admitted, or the Union dissolved? That will be the phase of the question when it first becomes a practical one.

In your assumption that there may be a fair decision of the Slavery question in Kansas, I plainly see you and I would differ about the Nebraska law. I look upon that enactment not as a law, but as a violence, from the beginning. It was conceived in violence, passed in violence, is maintained in violence, and is being executed in violence. I say it was conceived in violence, because the destruction of the Missouri Compromise under the Constitution was nothing less than violence. It was passed in violence, because it could not have passed at all but for the votes of many members in violent disregard of the known will of their constituents. It is maintained in violence, because the elections since clearly demand its repeal, and the demand is openly disregarded.

You say men ought to be hung for the way they are executing that law; and I say the way it is being executed is quite as good as any of its antecedents. It is being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first, else, why does no Nebraska man express astonishment or condemnation? Poor Reeder has been the only man who has been silly enough to believe that anything like fairness was ever intended, and he has been bravely undeceived.

That Kansas will form a slave constitution, and with it, will ask to be admitted into the Union, I take to be an already settled

question, and so settled by the very means you so pointedly condemn. By every principle of law ever held by any court, North or South, every negro taken to Kansas is free; and in utter disregard of this—in the spirit of violence merely—that beautiful legislature gravely passes a law to hang men who shall venture to inform a negro of his legal rights. This is the substance and real object of the law. If, like Haman, they should hang upon the gallows of their own building, I shall not be among the mourners for their fate.

In my humble sphere, I shall advocate the restoration of the Missouri Compromise so long as Kansas remains a territory; and when, by all these foul means it seeks to come into the Union, as a slave state, I shall oppose it. I am very loth, in any case, to withhold my assent to the enjoyment of property acquired or located in good faith; but I do not admit that good faith in taking a negro to Kansas, to be held in Slavery, is a possibility with any man. Any man who has sense enough to be the controller of his own property, has too much sense to misunderstand the outrageous character of the whole Nebraska business.

But I digress. In my opposition to the admission of Kansas, I shall have some company; but we may be beaten. If we are, I shall not, on that account, attempt to dissolve the Union. I think it probable, however, that we shall be beaten. Standing as a unit among yourselves, you can, directly, and indirectly, bribe enough of our men to carry the day—as you could on an open proposition to establish monarchy. Get hold of some man in the North whose position and ability are such that he can make the support of your measure—whatever it may be—a democratic party necessity, and the thing is done.

Apropos of this, let me tell you an anecdote. Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill in January. In February, afterwards, there was a called session of the Illinois legislature. Of the one hundred members comprising the two branches of that body, about seventy were democrats. The latter held a caucus in which the Nebraska bill was talked of, if not formally discussed. It was thereby discovered that just three, and no more, were in favor of the measure. In a day or two, Douglas' orders came on to have resolutions passed, approving the bill, and they were passed by large majorities!!! The truth of this is vouched for by a bolting democratic member. The masses, too, democratic as well as whig, were even more unanimous against it, but as soon as the party necessity of

supporting it became apparent, the way the democracy began to see the wisdom and justice of it was perfectly astonishing.

You say if Kansas fairly votes herself a free state, as a Christian you will rather rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders talk that way, and I do not doubt their candor. But they never vote that way. Although, in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected, from any district, of any slave state. You think Stringfellow & Co. ought to be hung; and yet you will vote for the exact type and representation of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small and detested class among you, and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the masters of your own negroes.

You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a whig; but others say there are no whigs, and that I am an abolitionist. When I was in Washington, I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times, and I never heard of any attempt to un-whig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of Slavery. I am not a Know-Nothing,—that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of the negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, "all men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to that, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Your friend forever,

A. LINCOLN.

During the winter of 1855 and 1856 Mr. Lincoln, loath to abandon the Whig party, which he had so dearly loved, became fully convinced that a new party must be formed, or rather that the Republican party, already so strong in different States, must have a complete and perfect organization throughout the entire North.

On February 22d steps to this end were taken in an editorial convention held at Decatur. Mr. Lincoln attended this convention, and although he did not take part in the proceedings he was in close touch with the delegates and helped to form the platform adopted. Mr. Lincoln's name had been repeatedly suggested as a candidate for Governor at the coming election. Regarding this, Mr. Lincoln during a speech said :

I wish to say why I should not be a candidate. If I should be chosen, the Democrats would say that it was nothing more than an attempt to resurrect the dead body of the old Whig party. I would secure the vote of that party and no more, and our defeat will follow as a matter of course. But I can suggest a name that will secure not only the old Whig vote, but enough anti-Nebraska Democrats to give us the victory. That man is Colonel William H. Bissell.

Mr. Lincoln well knew that his nomination at that time for Governor would not unite the anti-Slavery voters as well as the name of Colonel Bissell. Again we find him sacrificing political honors and ambitions to the interest of a united North and the cause of freedom.

It will be noted that the Decatur convention was held upon the same day as the Pittsburg convention; the selection of the anniversary of the birth of the Father of his Country being most significant. The convention adopted a resolution recommending a State convention at Bloomington on May 29th. It was at this convention that the Republican party of Illinois perfected its organization, adopted a platform, nominated a State ticket, and appointed delegates to the National Republican Convention to be held at Philadelphia in the following month.

In vain had some of the friends of Lincoln endeavored to keep him away from the Bloomington convention. But not only did he attend that convention, but when delegate after delegate had been called to the platform in response to a pre-arranged program, the assemblage was still unsatisfied. Soon a call for Lincoln was made, and it was taken up until the entire hall resounded with the words, "Lincoln, Lincoln! give us Lincoln!" His speech had such an effect, and resulted in the

display of such emotion on the part of his hearers, that we are told by the biographers of Lincoln that even the reporters were so absorbed as to abandon their notes and give up all attempts to take down the speech. Says Mr. Joseph Medill:

It was my journalistic duty, though a delegate to the convention to make a "long-hand" report of the speeches delivered for the *Chicago Tribune*. I did make a few paragraphs of what Lincoln said in the first eight or ten minutes, but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes; and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping and clapping to the end of his speech.

I well remember that after Lincoln sat down and calm had succeeded the tempest, I waked out of a sort of hypnotic trance, and then thought of my report for the *Tribune*. There was nothing written but an abbreviated introduction.

It was some sort of satisfaction to find that I had not been "scooped," as all the newspaper men present had been equally carried away by the excitement caused by the wonderful oration and had made no report or sketch of the speech.

The following day the speech was lauded in every Illinois paper, and its maker was praised throughout the State. Only extracts of the great address were given, and it finally became known as Lincoln's "Lost Speech." Miss Tarbell, however, gives in her first volume of the *Life of Abraham Lincoln* nearly three pages of sentences which were made up by Mr. H. C. Whitney from notes taken down of the speech. They probably present the thought and sentiment rather than the exact verbiage. The last paragraph is given as follows:

The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that Kansas must be free! We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word slave ought not to appear in the Constitution"; and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slave-holder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these

results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the “flag of our Union,” and no matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the Compromise—we will say to the Southern disunionists, *We won't go out of the Union, and you shan't!*

Not only did Mr. Lincoln's Bloomington speech strongly weld together all the anti-Slavery element of the State of Illinois into the great Republican party, which has since that time to the present day remained almost unbroken, but Mr. Lincoln himself became at once the leader of the party in Illinois by a tacit understanding, which was never questioned, and which was abandoned only as he stepped from a State leadership to lead the Republican hosts of the entire country.

Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated on March 4, 1857, and soon announced his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, Lewis Cass of Michigan; Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb of Georgia; Secretary of War, John B. Floyd of Virginia; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi; Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee. Four members of this Cabinet were from the slave States; while three were from the free States; but it was evident that the Southern members would dominate the administration. In his inaugural address Mr. Buchanan said:

We have recently passed through a Presidential contest in which the passions of our fellow-citizens were excited to the highest degree by questions of deep and vital importance; but when the people proclaimed their will the tempest at once subsided, and all was calm. The voice of the majority, speaking in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, was heard, and instant submission followed. Our own country could alone have exhibited so grand and striking a spectacle of the capacity of man for self-government.

What a happy conception, then, was it for Congress to apply this simple rule—that the will of the majority shall govern—to the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the territories! Con-

gress is neither, "to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." As a natural consequence, Congress has also prescribed that when the territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a state, it "shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

A difference of opinion has arisen in regard to the point of time when the people of a territory shall decide this question for themselves.

This is, happily, a matter of but little practical importance. Besides, it is a judicial question which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be, though it has ever been my individual opinion that under the Nebraska-Kansas act the appropriate period will be when the number of actual residents in the territory shall justify the formation of a constitution with a view to its admission as a state into the Union. But, be this as it may, it is the imperative and indispensable duty of the government of the United States to secure to every resident inhabitant the free and independent expression of his opinion by his vote. This sacred right of each individual must be preserved. That being accomplished, nothing can be fairer than to leave the people of a territory free from all foreign interference to decide their own destiny for themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

The President's intimation that the Supreme Court would "speedily and finally settle" the Slavery question, referred to the decision which was rendered concerning the Dred Scott case, as announced on March 6th, two days after the delivery of the inaugural message.

Doctor Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army in 1834, owned a negro by the name of Dred Scott. In that year the Doctor, being transferred to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, took his slave with him and held him there as a slave until the month of May, 1836. At that time Doctor Emerson with his slave removed to the

military post at Fort Snelling, on the west bank of the Mississippi River in the territory known as Upper Louisiana, acquired by the United States from France, and situated north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, being north of the State of Missouri. Doctor Emerson held Dred Scott there until the year 1836. In 1835, Major Taliaferro, also serving in the United States Army, had taken Harriet, a female slave, to Fort Snelling and kept her there as a slave until the following year, when he sold her to Doctor Emerson, who held her at Fort Snelling until the year 1838. In the year 1836 Scott and Harriet were married with the consent of Doctor Emerson, who claimed to be their master and owner. The fruit of that marriage was two children, Eliza and Lizzie. In 1838 Doctor Emerson with his slaves returned to Missouri, and after several years sold them to John F. A. Sandford, of New York. After some time Scott discovered that according to previous decisions in the Missouri courts, he was a free man, and in 1848, having been whipped by his master, he brought suit against him for assault and battery, and obtained judgment in his own favor. On appeal, the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1852 reversed the former Missouri decisions, when an appeal was taken to the courts of the United States, and was finally carried to the Supreme Court at Washington, which court was about to render a decision at the end of its term of 1855-56, but concluded, in view of the excitement attendant upon the presidential election and the situation of Kansas, to postpone its judgment until its next session.

The Supreme Court now consisted of Chief Justice Taney of Maryland; Justices McLean of Ohio; Wayne of Georgia; Catron of Tennessee; Daniel of Virginia; Nelson of New York; Grier of Pennsylvania; Curtis of Massachusetts, and Campbell of Alabama. It will be seen that five members of the court were from the slave States, while two of the Northern members, Grier and Nelson, were also Democrats. McLean was the only Republican, as Curtis was still rated as a Whig. It will be remembered that Taney had been the confidential adviser of President Jackson, who, when his Secretary of the Treasury, Duane, had refused to withdraw the government deposits from the United States Bank, appointed Taney in his

stead to carry out his wishes. Upon the Senate's refusing to confirm Taney, Jackson appointed him Justice of the Supreme Court, and, upon the death of Marshall, in 1835, he appointed him Chief Justice. Taney was easily confirmed for that position by the Senate, although Webster and Clay had voted with others against it.

The case had been argued before the court in the spring of 1856, and again at the December term of the same year. The two points to be decided were, first, had the Circuit Court jurisdiction in the case, that is, was Dred Scott a citizen of the United States, and of the State of Missouri; second, if the court had jurisdiction, was its decision against Dred Scott correct?

Without going into technical terms and legal phraseology, the decision was simply to the effect that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri in the sense in which the word is used in the Constitution, and that, therefore, the Circuit Court of the United States had no jurisdiction in the case, and could render no judgment, and that the suit must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

Had the decision of the court been confined to this point, the matter would no doubt have been considered settled, even though unsatisfactorily, and the North would have submitted without a protest; but the court saw fit in its various decisions to cover the whole field included in the arguments of counsel. It was decided to give lengthy opinions upon the various constitutional questions covered by different phases of the case. It was charged that the five Southern justices had been converted to Calhoun's doctrine, as well as, to a considerable degree, had the two Northern Democratic members of the court. It has also been asserted to the credit of the Chief Justice, if not of his associates, that he thought the decision would tend to bring about a settlement of the great question, which was a motive worthy of any action that could be taken under the law and Constitution. Elaborate decisions were rendered by each member of the court, the seven Democrats for the most part agreeing, while McLean and Curtis differed most radically from their associates.

In denying to Dred Scott, or to any person "whose ancestors were imported to this country and sold as slaves," any right to sue in a court of the United States, Chief Justice Taney said:

The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty? We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.

But the Chief Justice did not stop here. Not only did he affirm that no persons who had been, or whose ancestors had been, slaves could be regarded as citizens previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, but that no State has or could have any right to confer citizenship on such persons.

Of course such an opinion was, in effect, a nullification of the Missouri restriction, and denied the right of Congress to exclude Slavery from any Territory. On this point he said:

Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the Court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and it is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory, even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident.

And then, referring to the point that Scott had been taken to the free State of Illinois, where he had lived for two or three years, he disposes of it by declaring that, not being a citizen, his claim was not properly before the court, saying:

Upon the whole, therefore, it is the judgment of this Court, that it appears by the record before us that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution; and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued, directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

Justice Wayne concurred "entirely in the opinion of the Court, as written and read by the Chief Justice, without any qualification of its reasoning or its conclusion."

Justice Nelson also concurred in the conclusion of the court, but in his opinion declared as follows:

If Congress possesses power, under the Constitution, to abolish Slavery in a territory, it must necessarily possess the like power to establish it. It cannot be a one-sided power, as may suit the convenience or particular views of the advocates. It is a power, if it exist at all, over the whole subject.

The opinion of Justice Grier is so short that it can be given in full as follows:

I concur in the opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Nelson on the question discussed by him.

I also concur with the opinion of the Court, as delivered by the Chief Justice, that the act of Congress of 6th of March, 1820, is unconstitutional and void; and that, assuming the facts as stated in the opinion, the plaintiff cannot sue as a citizen of Missouri in the courts of the United States. But, that the record shows a *prima facie* case of jurisdiction, requiring the Court to decide all the questions properly arising in it; and as the decision of the pleas in bar shows that the plaintiff is a slave, and therefore not entitled to sue in a court of the United States, the form of the judgment is of little importance; for, whether the judgment be affirmed or dismissed for want of jurisdiction, it is justified by the decision of the Court, and is the same in effect between the parties to the suit.

Justice Daniel in his opinion, after giving Dred Scott no standing in court, undertakes to put the whole question finally

to rest, and nullifies all legislation on the subject of Slavery, from the Ordinance of 1787 down to the date of the decision.

Justice Campbell assented generally to the views of Chief Justice Taney, while Justice Catron, concurring with Justice Nelson, that Dred Scott had no right to freedom on the ground of his two years' residence in Illinois, yet dissented from the opinion of the Chief Justice, that the power over the Territory given to Congress by the Constitution had no force or application beyond the territory possessed by us at the time of the framing of the Constitution. "In fact," says Greeley in the *American Conflict*, "as he [Catron] had been hanging men for the last twenty years under this very power, he could not well do otherwise." On this point Justice Catron says:

It is due to myself to say, that it is asking much of a judge, who has for nearly twenty years been exercising jurisdiction from the Western Missouri line to the Rocky Mountains, and, on this understanding of the Constitution, inflicting the extreme penalty of death for crimes committed where the direct legislation of Congress was the only rule, to agree that he had all the while been acting in mistake, and as an usurper.

More than sixty years have passed away since Congress has exercised power to govern the territories, by its legislation directly, or by territorial charters, subject to repeal at all times; and it is now too late to call that power in question, if this Court could disregard its own decisions, which it cannot do, as I think.

Justice McLean, while dissenting from the opinions of the majority of the court, and refuting in an able manner most of the opinions given by his Democratic associates, nevertheless does not go so far as Justice Curtis, who, though judicial and respectful, delivered an opinion wide in its freedom, and emphatic in its boldness, declaring in effect that the judgment of the court was not only contrary to law and to fact, but that the authors well knew that such was the case. Referring to Chief Justice Taney's allusion to the views of Revolutionary statesmen, Mr. Curtis says:

To determine whether any free persons, descended from Africans held in Slavery, were citizens of the United States under the Con-

federation, and consequently at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it is only necessary to know whether such persons were citizens of either of the States under the Confederation, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

Of this, there can be no doubt. At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free, native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens.

On the right of Dred Scott to bring the action, Mr. Curtis sums up his conclusions as follows :

First. That the free, native-born citizens of each State are citizens of the United States.

Second. That, as free colored persons, born within some of the States, are citizens of those States, such persons are also citizens of the United States.

Third. That every such citizen, residing in any State, has a right to sue, and is liable to be sued, in the Federal Courts, as a citizen of that State in which he resides.

Fourth. That, as the plea to the jurisdiction in this case shows no facts except that the plaintiff was of African descent, and that his ancestors were sold, as slaves, and as these facts are not inconsistent with his citizenship of the United States and his residence in the State of Missouri, the plea to the jurisdiction was bad, and the judgment of the Circuit Court overruling it was correct.

I dissent, therefore, from that part of the opinion of the majority of the court in which it is held that a person of African descent cannot be a citizen of the United States; and I regret I must go further, and dissent both from what I deem their assumption of authority to examine the constitutionality of the act of Congress commonly called the Missouri Compromise act, and the grounds and conclusions announced in their opinion.

Having first decided that they were bound to consider the sufficiency of the plea to the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court, and having decided that this plea showed that the Circuit Court had not jurisdiction, and consequently that this is a case to which the judicial

power of the United States does not extend, they have gone on to examine the merits of the case as they appeared on the trial before the court and jury, on the issues joined on the pleas in bar, and so have reached the question of the power of Congress to pass the act of 1820. On so grave a subject as this, I feel obliged to say that, in my opinion, such an exertion of judicial power transcends the limits of the authority of the Court, and, as I understand, acknowledged in this opinion of the majority of the Court.

He concludes his able argument with the following:

For these reasons, I am of the opinion that so much of the several acts of Congress as prohibited Slavery and involuntary servitude within that part of the Territory of Missouri lying north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and west of the river Mississippi, were constitutional and valid laws.

The decision of the court, instead of "speedily and finally" putting an end to the question, gave to it renewed life and force. The conflicting opinions of the court were narrowed down to the views of Taney and Curtis, and naturally sides were taken according as the views met with the approval of the South and the North.

It is enough to say of Taney, that he probably afterwards regretted the course he had taken, and while he never reversed his convictions as given in his opinion, he no doubt acknowledged to himself, if not to others, that he had gone beyond, and far beyond, the requirements of the case as presented to the court.

Fortunate it was that there was one member of the court who was not only able, but willing, to handle the opinions of his associates in keeping with the importance and requirements of the occasion. Not alone did Mr. Curtis's opinion meet with the approval of the leaders of the newly formed Republican party, but almost, if not quite, without exception it met with the approval of the American bar.

Mr. Fillmore voiced the sentiment of almost the entire legal profession, when he wrote to Curtis, that his "opinions were

unanswerable." Stephen A. Douglas, although the opinion of the court played havoc with the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, nevertheless endorsed it, saying: "Whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal aims a deadly blow to our whole republican system of government." The South was naturally in high glee, and thousands of copies of the decision were immediately struck off and scattered broadcast, but this action was met by the Republicans, who also circulated widely the opinions of both Taney and Curtis.

Wilson Shannon, who had been appointed Governor of Kansas by Buchanan, was removed by him on July 31, 1855. The next Governor was John W. Geary of Pennsylvania, who arrived on September 9, 1856, and quickly succeeded in bringing about a more peaceful condition of affairs; but on March 4, 1857, he resigned, and Robert J. Walker of Mississippi was appointed in his place. Walker reached Kansas, May 25, 1857, and at once proved to be much nearer a successful governor of the Territory than any of his predecessors. Governor Walker gained the confidence of the free-State people, and finally induced them to take part in an election for a territorial legislature in October, 1857, which resulted in the choice of a free-State legislature and a delegate to Congress.

Previous to this, the pro-Slavery party had used its own illegally elected legislature to call a constitutional convention, which met at Lecompton, September 5, 1857, and adopted the "Lecompton Constitution," November 7th. This constitution sanctioned Slavery in the Territory, prohibited the passage of emancipation laws by the legislature, forbade amendments until after 1864, and provided that the constitution should not be submitted to popular vote, but should be finally established by the approval of Congress and the admission of Kansas as a State of the Union. Governor Walker had promised the free-State voters, in return for participating in the October election, that the constitution should be submitted to a popular vote, but the convention, instead of fulfilling this pledge, submitted to a popular vote, on December 21st, only the provision sanctioning Slavery.

It must be clearly understood that the people were not

allowed to vote upon the adoption of the constitution, but for the constitution *with* Slavery, or *without* Slavery. The whole thing was a fraud and a sham, and the free-State voters generally declined to vote, the result being 6266 votes "for the constitution *with* Slavery," and 567 "for the constitution *without* Slavery." But the new territorial legislature, which was now in the hands of the free-State voters, passed an act submitting the whole constitution to popular vote January 4, 1858, when the vote stood 10,226 against the constitution, 138 for it with Slavery, and 24 for it without Slavery. The whole matter was now transferred to Congress, where it was debated very fully in the session of 1857 and 1858. Although both branches were Democratic, it was found impossible to secure the approval of the Lecompton Constitution. The President was not only in favor of it, but urged it with all the power at his command. The Senate passed the bill March 23, 1858, but Mr. Douglas had taken a firm stand against the Lecompton Constitution, and the bill failed to pass the House, as twenty-two Douglas Democrats and six Americans united with the ninety-two Republicans.

The position taken by Douglas at once seemed to place him firmly in opposition to the Slave Power. He was applauded by the Republican press, and bitterly assailed by his former friends at the South. Mr. Douglas's term was nearing an end, and as a new election would be held the following year, which could not be carried in the State of Illinois by a man advocating the Lecompton Constitution, Mr. Douglas, with his usual adroitness, placed himself in a better position for re-election. He still clung, however, to his doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, and found it quite difficult at times to reconcile his various views and pronounced opinions. The break, however, between the Administration and its forces, and Douglas, was complete. The independent press for the most part supported Douglas.

In November, Governor Walker returned to Washington, and during his absence the elections had taken place. Buchanan was now serving the Slave Power to the utmost. His former supporters counselled in vain, and endeavored to make

him see the ruin that his course would bring to his party; but he was blind to everything except his adherence to the oligarchy at the South.

On February 2, 1858, the President sent to Congress a copy of the Lecompton Constitution, and recommended the admission of Kansas under that act. The excitement became intense as discussion and debate continued, but elsewhere throughout the country there was comparative silence and rest. March 23d, the vote was taken in the Senate on the bill for the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution, and passed by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-five. The vote in the House has already been given. A compromise was finally brought about by Mr. English, a Representative from Indiana. A measure was proposed offering the people of Kansas the opportunity to vote upon a large grant of government lands. If it was accepted, the State was to be considered as admitted; if it was rejected, the Lecompton Constitution was to be held until a census should have shown that the population of the Territory equalled or exceeded that required for a Representative.

The English bill passed the House by a vote of 120 to 112, and was also passed by the Senate, although Douglas voted against it. On August 3d, the people of Kansas voted down the land ordinance, 11,088 to 1788, and thus finally disposed of the Lecompton Constitution, and practically decided that Slavery should not exist in Kansas. The territorial legislature called a State convention, which met at Leavenworth, April 3, 1858, and adopted a constitution prohibiting Slavery. It was refused consideration by the Senate, on the ground that Kansas had not requisite population. A new constitution called the "Wyandotte Constitution" was adopted June 27, 1859, and sent to Congress, but the Senate still refused the admission of Kansas, and it was not until January, 29, 1861, after the Southern Senators had withdrawn, that Kansas was finally admitted as a State.

At a meeting of the Republican members of Congress at Washington on the 7th of December, 1857, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the Republican members of the House, deem this a proper occasion to re-affirm our adherence to the principles announced by the Republican National Convention held at Philadelphia in June, 1856, and we will continue our opposition to any Administration that does not practically enforce those doctrines; that we will resist by all constitutional means the recent attempts of the judicial and executive departments of the Government to nationalize the sectional institution of Slavery; that we regard the acts in Kansas of the present and the last National Administrations as a continued series of frauds and outrages, now attempted to be culminated by forcing upon the people of that Territory a State Constitution framed by persons not elected by them, one which was not submitted to them, and is known to be offensive to a great majority of them, and made in direct violation even of their own repeated and solemn pledges that the people should be permitted to form and regulate their own institutions in their own way. We will resist such outrages upon popular rights, and in doing so invoke the support of the people of the United States, without distinction of party.

The prospects of the Republican party after the national defeat of 1856 were alternately discouraging and hopeful. While its ranks were not being visibly augmented, yet at the same time it was gaining strength by the acquisition of the leading statesmen of the North, who had first stood aloof from the new party, apparently waiting to see if it was to prove a worthy organization, or else loath to leave the old organizations with which they had become so closely identified.

Seward now became, for a time at least, the acknowledged leader of the new party, although his independence was made manifest on more than one occasion, notably his support of the Army bill and seeming adherence to the Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Douglas.

Douglas was now in great favor with many of the leading Republicans of the East. Greeley and Seward were no longer friends, yet both seemed to be willing to take up Douglas, and, for a time at least, it looked as if a coalition between the Douglas Democrats and the Republican party, as constituted, might be a possibility. But Douglas well knew what he was

about. It was time to return home and enter into the senatorial contest in the State of Illinois. The Western Republicans did not share the confidence of the Eastern wing of the party in either the sincerity of Douglas or his honesty regarding the issue of the day.

The Republican State Convention met at Springfield June 16, 1858, and Lincoln was the unanimous choice as the senatorial candidate of his party. The resolution was passed by acclamation, declaring "that Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas."

The afternoon session was adjourned until eight o'clock the same evening, when Lincoln appeared and delivered the famous so-called "Springfield Speech." Says Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*: "Every word of it was written, every sentence had been tested; but the speaker delivered it without manuscript or notes. It was not an ordinary oration, but, in the main, an argument, as sententious and axiomatic as if made to a bench of jurists."

Mr. Lincoln began as follows:

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South.

As is well known, Lincoln had read this speech to many friends before its delivery and asked their advice. All except

his friend and partner, Herndon, had thought the speech altogether too radical, and advised him to modify many of its expressions, particularly the "house divided against itself" sentence. But Herndon approved of the speech in all its parts, and told Lincoln, that if he would deliver it as he had read it, it would make him President; and Lincoln himself, referring to the most important expression in the whole address, said that he "would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, than victorious without it."

Douglas reached home on the 9th of July, and entered at once upon his canvass, having been accorded a magnificent welcome. He made speeches in Chicago, Bloomington, and Springfield, devoting a large share of them to Mr. Lincoln's now famous Springfield speech. Mr. Lincoln followed him everywhere and sat near him on the platform at Chicago. It was announced at once that he would answer this speech on the following evening, which he did at great length. Touching again upon the "house divided against itself" doctrine, which Mr. Douglas had severely criticised, Mr. Lincoln said:

I am not, in the first place, unaware that this Government has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I know that. I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of the country, and I know that it has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I *believe*—and that is what I meant to allude to there—I *believe* it has endured, because during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska bill, the public mind did rest all the time in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction. That was what gave us the rest that we had through that period of eighty-two years; at least, so I believe. I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist—I have been an old-line whig—I have always hated it, but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it, and that it was in course of ultimate extinction.

The adoption of the Constitution, and its attendant history led the people to believe so; and such was the belief of the framers of the Constitution itself, else why did those old men, about the time of the adoption of the Constitution, decree that slavery should not

go into the new territory, where it had not already gone? Why declare that within twenty years the African slave trade, by which slaves are supplied, might be cut off by Congress? Why were all these acts? I might enumerate more of these acts—but enough. What were they but a clear indication that the framers of the Constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of that institution? And now, when I say, as I said in my speech that Judge Douglas has quoted from—when I say that I think the opponents of slavery will resist the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest with the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, I only mean to say that they will place it where the founders of this Government originally placed it.

I have said a hundred times, and I have now no inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right, and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free states to enter into the slave states, and interfere with the question of slavery at all. I have said that always; Judge Douglas has heard me say it—if not quite a hundred times, at least as good as a hundred times; and when it is said that I am in favor of interfering with slavery where it exists, I know it is unwarranted by anything I have ever *intended*, and, as I believe, by anything I have ever *said*. If, by any means, I have ever used language which could fairly be so construed (as, however, I believe I never have), I now correct it.

Mr. Lincoln again reviewed the Dred Scott decision, repeating in the main his views as expressed in the Springfield speech, and also the criticism made by Mr. Douglas, “that he was for consolidating all the local institutions of the various States.” Mr. Lincoln very emphatically stated that the Republicans, instead of following Mr. Douglas in the Lecompton matter, were followed by Mr. Douglas. The following point was made with the assistance of the audience:

A little more, now, as to this matter of popular sovereignty and the Lecompton Constitution. The Lecompton Constitution, as the Judge tells us, was defeated. The defeat of it was a good thing, or it was not. He thinks the defeat of it was a good thing, and so do I, and we agree in that. Who defeated it?

A voice—“Judge Douglas.”

Mr. Lincoln—Yes, he furnished himself, and if you suppose he

furnished the other Democrats that went with him, he furnished three votes, while the Republicans furnished twenty. That is what he did to defeat it. In the House of Representatives he and his friends furnished some twenty votes and the Republicans ninety-odd. Now who was it that did the work?

A voice—"Douglas."

Mr. Lincoln—Why, yes, Douglas did it. To be sure he did. Let us, however, put that proposition another way. The republicans could not have done it without Judge Douglas. Could he have done it without them? Which could have come the nearest to doing it without the other?

But perhaps the few sentences that were remembered the longest in this lengthy speech was the following, which not only made a great hit with the audience, which was in thorough sympathy with every expression uttered, but were repeated for days and weeks afterwards. They were homely yet forceful thrusts which vividly illustrated the doctrine now being promulgated throughout the North by Lincoln and other leaders of the Republican party. Said Lincoln:

We were often—more than once at least—in the course of Judge Douglas' speech last night, reminded that this government was made for white men—that he believed it was made for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it; but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either, but, as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone, and do one another much good thereby. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black women, and in God's name let them be so married. The Judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the territory they won't mix there.

Mr. Douglas did not hear this speech, although Mr. Lincoln was present at Mr. Douglas's "Bloomington speech," and

spoke at Springfield the same day that Mr. Douglas made his address in that place, though not at the same meeting. Mr. Douglas was now openly a candidate for the presidential nomination of 1860. Alluding to this Mr. Lincoln said in his second Springfield speech:

They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargéships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out, in wonderful luxuriance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries and receptions, beyond what, even in the days of his highest prosperity, they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be the president. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out.

But Mr. Lincoln was now in thorough earnest, and on the 24th of July sent the following note:

HON. S. A. DOUGLAS—MY DEAR SIR: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such arrangement.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

Mr. Douglas replied that such an arrangement could not be made, charging that it was the intention of the Republicans to bring out a third candidate for Senator to divide the Democratic vote to Mr. Lincoln's advantage, and that this third candidate would also claim a chance in the joint debates, which would give Mr. Lincoln the opening and the closing speeches at every meeting. At the same time, while declining the general challenge he stated that he was ready to enter into an arrangement for seven joint debates in the districts where they

had not already spoken. This Mr. Lincoln readily accepted, and the places and dates were soon designated.

During the intervening time both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas were busy making speeches in various parts of the State. As showing the severity with which Mr. Lincoln followed up every important statement made by Mr. Douglas, the following is quoted, which was a response to the charge by Mr. Douglas, that the statement made by Mr. Lincoln that he had "left a niche in the Nebraska bill to receive the Dred Scott decision," was an infamous lie.

I say to you, gentlemen, that it would be more to the purpose for Judge Douglas to say that he did not repeal the Missouri Compromise; that he did not make Slavery possible where it was impossible before; that he did not leave a niche in the Nebraska bill for the Dred Scott decision to rest in; that he did not vote down a clause giving the people the right to exclude Slavery if they wanted to; that he did not refuse to give his individual opinion whether a territorial legislature could exclude Slavery; that he did not make a report to the Senate in which he said that the rights of the people in this regard were held in abeyance, and could not be immediately exercised; that he did not make a hasty indorsement of the Dred Scott decision over at Springfield; that he does not now indorse that decision; that that decision does not take away from the territorial legislature the power to exclude slavery; and that he did not in the original Nebraska bill so couple the words "state" and "territory" together that what the Supreme Court has done in forcing open all the territories for slavery, it may yet do in forcing open all the states;—I say it would be vastly more to the point, for Judge Douglas to say he did not do some of these things, did not forge some of these links of overwhelming testimony, than to go to vociferating about the country that possibly he may be obliged to hint that somebody is a liar.

The joint debates were held as arranged, and were without doubt the greatest forensic discussions ever held in American history. It would be well for every scholar of American politics to study these debates carefully and weigh every sentence uttered by both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas. While the one theme of the day rang through almost every sentence

of every speech, still there were many minor side issues which were taken up and most interestingly and instructively disposed of to the great delight and benefit of the thousands of auditors that flocked to the famous meetings.

Douglas had the advantage of bearing, of education, of experience, of personal magnetism. Lincoln had the better side of the question,—unfailing courage, and, as it would seem, an almost divine inspiration. Many of his arguments were positively unanswerable, even by the shrewd and adroit debater, who had time and time again defeated Sumner and Chase, and even Seward himself.

In the Freeport debate were introduced the replies to the questioning of either speaker by the other. First, Mr. Lincoln took up the questions which had been addressed to him by Mr. Douglas at the Ottawa meeting. The answer to the seven questions was the same, namely, that Mr. Lincoln was not pledged to this or that or the other. Mr. Lincoln then took the questions up at length, his responses containing matter which has already been quoted in his Springfield speech, or the extracts from other speeches. At the conclusion of his answers he said :

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude Slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude Slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the Slavery question?

Mr. Douglas replied to the first question, that a Territory should be required to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before being admitted as a State into the Union. But as Congress had decided that Kansas had population enough for a slave State, he considered that she had enough for a free State. His answer to the second question was in these words:

It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide, as to the abstract question whether Slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it as they please, for the reason that Slavery cannot exist a day, or an hour, anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to Slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst.

The third question was practically left unanswered, Mr. Douglas saying that a decision of the Supreme Court that States could not exclude Slavery from their limits would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench would ever descend to.

Mr. Lincoln had not asked him whether the court could or would make any such decision, but what he would do in case the court should. In answer to the fourth question he replied:

Whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of Slavery; and when we have acquired it I will leave the people free to do as they please—either to make it slave or free territory as they prefer.

Mr. Lincoln now charged that Douglas was changing his ground, and the debate became more or less acrimonious, and

at times heated. It was carried to the end, however. Whether the election was influenced or not by the action of Eastern Republicans, it is a fact that Mr. Douglas had their sympathy and their support. It is easy to see why this was the case. Mr. Lincoln was an almost unknown man outside of his own State. Mr. Douglas was not only a leader of men, but would be without doubt the next President of the United States, if he could command the undivided Northern vote.

The motives of Mr. Douglas in what was considered his complete change, as shown in the Lecompton matter, were not realized by these Eastern Republicans, and were never fully appreciated till the year 1860. To others the idea of Mr. Douglas's becoming President was intolerable in the extreme. It was Washburn of Maine, one of the very founders of the Republican party, who was "willing that Douglas should be anything but President." Perhaps the three most powerful journals then moulding public opinion were the *New York Tribune*, the *Springfield Republican*, and the *New York Times*, edited by Greeley, Bowles, and Raymond, respectively. Greeley had already dissolved the firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley in a letter which was not made public until years after, and which Seward had not then read.

While the different organs of these men were by no means harmonious, they were all favorable to the re-election of Douglas and the defeat of Lincoln, but for different reasons. It was the *New York Times* which advocated the adoption of the Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Douglas in order that the whole North might be united, and again "forever" put to rest the Slavery agitation. But Seward himself must be reckoned with, and no paper and no friends could eliminate him from the situation and put Douglas to the front.

Lincoln's speeches, and extracts from them, began to be read more and more in the East. Great prominence was given to this new intellectual giant, who was not only holding his own against the great debater of the times, but was in reality defeating him at every encounter, and his sentences at once began to mould public opinion. Nor were the utterances of Douglas himself meeting with the approval of his friends in

the East. It was seen that Republicanism and Douglasism could not be reconciled; that a new party could not be made of Douglas Democrats and Eastern Republicans. Lincoln had on more than one occasion pinned Douglas to ideas so repugnant to the leaders of the new Republican party, that they could not be accepted by them. More particularly did he bring out the fact that Mr. Douglas, if not a friend of Slavery, was at least no enemy to it in any of its forms. Time and time again he repeated the declaration of Douglas, that he did not care whether Slavery was "voted up or down." Upon the shoulders of Douglas Lincoln firmly placed the responsibility for the new and recent agitation; for the Kansas-Nebraska law; for all the blood that had been shed in the new Territory; for all the property that had been destroyed; for all the misery and crime that had grown out of the situation, saying:

When that Nebraska bill was brought forward, four years ago last January, was it not for the avowed object of putting an end to the Slavery agitation? . . . We were for a little while quiet on the troublesome thing, and that very allaying plaster of Judge Douglas's stirred it up again. . . . When was there ever a greater agitation in Congress than last winter? When was it as great in the country as to-day? There was a collateral object in the introduction of that Nebraska policy, which was to clothe the people of the territories with a superior degree of self-government beyond what they had ever had before. . . . But have you ever heard or known of a people anywhere on earth who had as little to do as, in the first instance of its use, the people of Kansas has with this same right of self-government? In its main policy and in its collateral object, *it has been nothing but a living, creeping lie from the time of its introduction till to-day.*

This accusation was hard for Douglas to answer, or to reconcile the statements pinned to him by Mr. Lincoln, that Slavery was not wrong. And yet Mr. Douglas well stood his ground throughout the debates, and it is quite possible that Mr. Lincoln made more converts in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts than he did in Illinois. The debate and cam-

paign was not confined wholly to Lincoln and Douglas. It was a most memorable one throughout the State. Ohio sent Chase and Corwin, and Indiana sent Colfax to assist Lincoln, while Douglas had the great advantage of financial help. It was said that Douglas spent \$80,000 in the campaign, a large part of which he had borrowed, and which debt followed him to the grave; while Lincoln spent less than \$1000 in all. It is not asserted that any of the money spent by either side was used otherwise than for legitimate campaign purposes; but Douglas travelled about from place to place practically in private conveyance, and in pomp and state, while Lincoln travelled as would the most humble citizen. Lincoln received a good majority of the popular vote, but Douglas had a majority in the legislature and was elected.

To say that Mr. Lincoln was dissatisfied over the outcome is true, and yet he knew, as perhaps no others knew, that his victory was more complete than was shown in the result. He surely knew that the utterances which he had forced Mr. Douglas to make, and which he had emphasized in his own forceful way, would kill him as a presidential candidate in 1860. He "was killing larger game" than the senatorship, and in his own words before the Freeport debate, "the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

It was soon found that Mr. Lincoln's sentences embraced every issue of the day, and formed the groundwork for the platform of the Republican party, not only in the nation but in every State, and for the sentiment of every individual member. They completely covered the whole ground. Every possible doubt was cleared up, light was thrown upon every doubtful point. Mr. Lincoln did a double service. Not only did he present the views of the anti-Slavery party in such a way that they could not be refuted, but he succeeded in so confusing and dividing the pro-Slavery party as to bring about their utter defeat, and in consequence the annihilation of the institution of Slavery itself.

CHAPTER XI.

AGITATION IN THE NORTH—JOHN BROWN AND THE RAID AT HARPER'S FERRY—HELPER'S *IMPENDING CRISIS*—THE TARIFFS OF '46 AND '57, AND THE MORRILL TARIFF.

SECOND only in interest and importance to the campaign and election in Illinois was that in the State of New York, where E. D. Morgan was running for Governor, and Senator Seward was seeking approval for his course by Republican victory throughout the State. Mr. Seward was now a full-fledged Republican and looked upon as the leader of the party, not only in his own State but in the Union. He had said in a speech at Albany, October 12, 1855:

The Republican organization has laid a new, sound, and liberal platform. Its principles are equal and exact justice; its speech open, decided, and frank. That is the party for us.

Then in some doubt as to whether the time was ripe for a complete organization he added:

I do not know, and personally I do not greatly care, that it shall work out its great ends this year, or the next, or in my life-time; because I know that these ends are ultimately sure.

But in 1858 Mr. Seward was no longer a lukewarm Republican, and he realized fully that the work of the great party was about to begin. He had spoken during the fall at Auburn, Rome, and other places, but the most important speech of the whole campaign was made at Rochester, October 25th. Like many another speech of great importance, it was soon known

and remembered almost solely because of one expression, that the difference between the North and South was an "irrepressible conflict."

In order that the reader may examine fully the thoughts which surround this declaration, a portion of the speech is quoted as follows:

. . . antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results.

Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. *It is an irrepressible conflict* between opposing and enduring forces; and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice-fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye-fields and wheat-fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the Slave and Free States; and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral. Startling as this saying may appear to you, fellow-citizens, it is by no means an original or even a modern one. Our forefathers knew it to be true, and unanimously acted upon it when they framed the Constitution of the United States. They regarded the existence of the servile system in so many of the States with sorrow and shame, which they openly confessed, and they looked upon the collision between them, which was then just revealing itself, and which we are now accustomed to deplore, with favor and hope. They knew that either the one or the other system must exclusively prevail.

The "Irrepressible Conflict" utterance was by no means a new idea from Seward or from others.¹ He himself had uttered

¹ See page 96.

it in his own speeches for at least ten years. From Frederick Seward's *Life of William H. Seward* we take the following:

Even the words with which he clothed it were hardly different, or stronger, than those of his previous utterances. At Cleveland in 1848; in the Senate Chamber in March, 1850; again in the same place in July of the same year; again in 1854, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; twice again in the same debate; then again at Buffalo in 1855, and at Auburn in 1856, in phrases almost identical; and finally, in the debate over the Lecompton Constitution, in March, 1858. That the reiteration of his oft-expressed thought at Rochester, in October, should provoke such a storm of censure is, however, explainable. Hitherto, while it was accepted and believed by those who followed his political teachings, it had fallen among his opponents, upon unheeding ears and incredulous minds. But now, at last, the country was beginning to wake up to the gravity of the crisis; and when he pointed to the "irrepressible conflict," he was formulating, in clear words, a vague and unwilling belief that was creeping over every intelligent Northern mind.

The conclusion of this famous address is well worth reproducing:

Such is the Democratic party. It has no policy, State or Federal, for finance or trade, or manufacture, or commerce, or education, or internal improvements, or for the protection or even the security of civil or religious liberty. It is positive and uncompromising in the interest of Slavery—negative, compromising and vacillating, in regard to everything else. It boasts its love of equality and wastes its strength, and even its life, in fortifying the only aristocracy known in the land. It professes fraternity, and, so often as Slavery requires allies, itself with proscription. It magnifies itself for conquests in foreign lands, but it sends the national eagle forth always with chains, and not the olive branch, in his fangs.

This dark record shows you, fellow citizens, what I was willing to announce at an earlier stage of this argument, that of the whole nefarious schedule of slaveholding designs which I have submitted to you, the Democratic party has left only one yet to be consummated—the abrogation of the law which forbids the African slave trade. . . .

At last, the Republican party has appeared. It avows now, as the Republican party of 1800 did, in one word, its faith and its works, "Equal and exact justice to all men." Even when it first entered the field, only half organized, it struck a blow which only just failed to secure complete and triumphant victory. In this, its second campaign, it has already won advantages which render that triumph now both easy and certain.

The secret of its assured success lies in that very characteristic which, in the mouth of scoffers, constitutes its great and lasting imbecility and reproach. It lies in the fact that it is a party of one idea; but that idea is a noble one—an idea that fills and expands all generous souls; the idea of equality—the equality of all men before human tribunals and human laws, as they all are equal before the Divine tribunal and Divine laws.

I know, and you know, that a revolution has begun. I know, and all the world knows, that revolutions never go backward. Twenty Senators and a hundred Representatives proclaim boldly in Congress to-day sentiments and opinions and principles of Freedom which hardly so many men, even in this Free State, dared to utter in their own homes twenty years ago. While the Government of the United States under the conduct of the Democratic party, has been all that time surrendering one plan and castle after another to Slavery, the people of the United States have been no less steadily and perseveringly gathering together the forces with which to recover back again all the fields and all the castles which have been lost, and to confound and overthrow, by one decisive blow, the betrayers of the Constitution and Freedom forever.

The elections of 1858 were most favorable to the Republicans. Morgan was elected in New York by a large majority. A Republican legislature was chosen, and all the members of Congress elected, except four, were Republicans or anti-Lecompton men. Among them were Reuben E. Fenton, Roscoe Conkling, and Francis E. Spinner. In this election Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Minnesota for the first time gave Republican majorities. Morrill was elected Governor of Maine, Banks, of Massachusetts, Hale, of New Hampshire, Dyer, of Rhode Island, and Buckingham, of Connecticut, while both congressional districts in Vermont were carried by Republicans; Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin increased

their Republican vote, and Indiana elected a majority of her congressional delegation.

If we except Illinois where, as we have seen, a Douglas legislature was elected, although the State gave a Republican majority on the popular vote, only California of the free States voted in favor of the administration, although Oregon, which had not as yet been admitted, voted as did California. On May 11th of this year Minnesota had been admitted to the Union as a State with a constitution that forbade Slavery, and at once joined the Republican column.

It may be said that the results of the elections of this year, with the one possible exception of Pennsylvania, were decided solely on the single issue of the Lecompton affair and the principles attendant upon it.

Slowly but surely, silently but solidly, was the North combining against any further extension of Slavery, and while it was not openly avowed that there was to be any immediate issue against the institution of Slavery itself, there was growing, almost unconsciously perhaps, a feeling in every anti-Slavery mind north of Mason and Dixon's line, that the great evil must not only be prevented from further extension, but must itself at no distant day be completely eradicated.

After the Lincoln-Douglas debate and the elections of 1858, there was no longer any thought of a coalition between the Douglas Democrats and the Republicans. Douglas had now to face the bitter opposition of the administration, although he most courageously went through the South preaching his doctrine and seeking converts to the principle of Popular Sovereignty.

Sharp debates and discussions were the order of the day in the Senate in the spring of 1859. The Democratic party was seen to be steadily dividing into two parts, and the convention of 1860 was looked forward to with no little foreboding. The Republican party, on the contrary, seemed to be more firmly cemented than ever, and to be daily gaining strength, particularly in the Middle West. The Oberlin affair, where a professor of the College and several students, besides other respectable citizens, were sent to jail and fined because of the part taken in the rescue of a runaway slave, only served to intensify the

feeling of indignation, not only because of the Fugitive Slave act, but the system and laws which made it possible.

But while the North was demanding the repeal of this obnoxious act, the South was considering the reopening of the African slave trade. Although the members of Congress from Southern States, both in the Senate and the House, were divided on the question, expressions were very frequent and very emphatic regarding the matter; and while all were not willing to commit themselves in favor of immediate legislation, yet none hesitated to declare that it was a matter solely belonging "to the sovereign States, whose industrial policy is to be affected by it."

Not that the foreign slave trade had by any means ceased: it had continued since the days of its prohibition, and hundreds and thousands of slaves were smuggled into Southern ports, while Southern officials and even Judges directly or indirectly aided the unlawful importations. In 1859 Douglas estimated that as many as 15,000 slaves were brought into the country from Africa during the preceding year, which was a greater number than had ever been imported in any year when the trade was lawful. Douglas considered it of so much importance that he made the statement that "if the revival of the African slave trade is to become a principle of the Democratic party I could not accept the nomination." And in another letter he wrote, "I am irreconcilably opposed to the revival of the African slave-trade in any form and under any circumstances." Opposed to this sentiment expressed by Douglas was the resolution introduced at a Southern convention, which met in May at Vicksburg, to the effect that "all laws, State or Federal, prohibiting the African slave-trade ought to be repealed." The vote upon this was forty-one to nineteen, representing the electoral votes of the States—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas voting for it; Tennessee and Florida voting against the resolution; South Carolina, being divided.

Jefferson Davis was now the undisputed leader of the Democratic party in the South, and had succeeded Calhoun as the idol of the Slave Power.

An incident of the California campaign of 1859 created no little interest throughout the country, and showed to what intensity the great issue of the day had reached, not only in the East, where the evil was seen or known of to a greater or less degree, but in the extreme West, where discussion led to conflict and conflict to death.

Senator Broderick, a man of humble birth, had risen to the leadership of a faction of the Democratic party. Although not personally interested in the election, he refused to shirk what he considered his duty, and entered heartily into the contest. He had to meet the tactics of his opponents, led by Senator Gwin, a representative of the administration and the Slave Power.

Judge Terry, of the California Supreme Court, stooped to take a hand in a certain discussion, and insulted Broderick, which the latter fully resented. After the election which brought the defeat of Broderick's party, Terry, having resigned his position as judge, challenged Broderick to a duel, which was accepted. Broderick's weapon exploded prematurely, and Terry with sure aim shot him through the heart. At the East the affair caused renewed feeling, because a United States Senator had been sacrificed, and another worthy man murdered because of Slavery agitation.

A lively canvass took place in the State of Ohio, where the Republican candidate was William Dennison and the Democratic candidate was Judge Ranney. Following the example of Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois the previous year, a joint debate was entered into which served to enliven the campaign, and to add to the already great mass of facts and principles elucidated regarding the great question which now, throughout the length and breadth of the land, was in the mind of almost every citizen.

Dennison was aided by Lincoln, and Ranney by Douglas, though neither spoke at the same time from the same platform as in their own canvass of the year previous. The points brought out by the campaign differed little from those in the preceding year in Illinois, but Dennison had the advantage of the feeling which had been stirred up over the Oberlin affair,

and was elected Governor by 13,000 majority. Every New England State elected a Republican Governor this year, and the Republicans were generally successful throughout the North.

Just before the end of the campaign, on October 17, 1859, the whole North was startled, and the South thrown into a ferment by John Brown's attempted raid at Harper's Ferry. To understand this event it is necessary to review briefly the career of this remarkable man.

John Brown was born at Torrington, Connecticut, on the 9th of May, 1800. His life for half a century was uneventful. In 1851 he moved from New York State, where he had lived on land given him by Gerrit Smith, to Akron, Ohio; and in 1855, leaving his younger children at home, but taking his four older sons, he settled in Kansas, and soon became known as John Brown, of Osawatomie.

Brown was more than an Abolitionist. He not only believed that the slaves should be free, but he set about to help accomplish it. Before going to Kansas he had many experiences in helping slaves to escape, and his house had been a refuge for runaways. There is no doubt but that his mind was early influenced to a large extent by the insurrection of Nat Turner, and perhaps this very event helped to mould his views and determination which resulted in his various acts, and culminated in the insane transaction which led to his execution.

Brown had early sworn himself and his children to the emancipation of slaves, but till he went to Kansas his energies were chiefly devoted to running stations on the "Underground Railroad." In Kansas Brown had a chance to show the stuff that he was made of, and he proved that he was certainly not lacking in valor, if he was not overburdened with discretion. At Osawatomie he held out against a force fully fifteen times his own, till he was obliged to retreat because of the failure of his ammunition. His rescuing of slaves made of him a national character, as the President of the United States had offered \$250 for his arrest in addition to \$3000 offered by the Governor of Missouri.

He returned East in 1858, fully determined to carry out his

ideas, and to start an insurrection among the slaves, that he thought would prove to be general. But needing money he was forced to appeal to those who had before befriended him, and went at once to the home of Gerrit Smith. Here he made known his plans and stated that he wanted from eight hundred to a thousand dollars. Besides Smith, there were present F. B. Sanborn, and, according to some authorities, Thomas Wentworth Higginson. He met every objection that was made; and finally Smith said to Sanborn:

You see how it is, our dear old friend has made up his mind to this course, and cannot be turned from it. We cannot give him up to die alone; we must support him. I will raise so many hundred dollars for him: you must lay the case before your friends in Massachusetts, and perhaps they will do the same. I see no other way.

Besides Smith, Sanborn, and Higginson, Brown numbered among his friends George L. Stearns, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who treated him very liberally, and at different times gave him, all together, several thousand dollars. Sanborn was perhaps his most sympathetic friend, and enjoyed his closest confidence. He has since edited the *Life and Letters of John Brown* in a manner most entertaining.

Brown returned to Kansas in June of 1858, and succeeded in setting free several slaves, to the delight of his friends in the East, joined now by Theodore Parker, Dr. Samuel Howe, and others. Brown now visited different parts of New England in search of financial aid. He visited Concord, where he talked at the Town Hall. Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott went to hear him, and each one spoke of him afterwards in the highest praise. In fact, it seemed as if the enthusiast had entirely charmed them by his manners and his speech. Four thousand dollars were contributed for the Virginia campaign, though no one of the secret committee, unless Sanborn, knew that Harper's Ferry was to be the scene of action.

Finally, in June, 1859, he went to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, with his two sons, Owen and Oliver, where he set up a fictitious hardware business under the name of Isaac Smith & Sons. This enabled him to receive and ship "goods."

Brown was now fully determined upon his insane act, and was not to be dissuaded by such men as Frederick Douglass and others to whom he disclosed his plans.

All did not go on smoothly, however. One of his own sons disapproved of the blow to be made at Harper's Ferry. There seemed to be lack of harmony, and Brown finally resigned and bade his followers choose another leader, whom he promised faithfully to obey. Brown was unanimously re-elected within five minutes, and from that time forward no other plan was thought of but his own.

His design now was to seize the national armory at Harper's Ferry, where there were over one hundred thousand stand of arms, and, after setting the negroes free and arming them, take to the mountains where he would operate as a base for further movements. At the last he was obliged to act suddenly, and on Sunday evening, October 17th, with only eighteen men, after telegraph wires were cut and trains stopped, he seized the arsenal and took over sixty prisoners. Brown was, at midnight, practically master of the situation, and not a shot had been fired up to that time. Then, however, a watchman, on resisting arrest, was fired at, and the shot alarmed the people in the town, who awoke to find the place in possession of a band of men, of whose purpose they were entirely ignorant. Two of Brown's followers had in the meantime gone to the house of Colonel Lewis Washington, a great-grandson of a brother of George Washington, and the Colonel and his negroes, as well as some neighboring slaveholders, were made prisoners and taken to Brown, who now established headquarters at the armory. A sword was found at the Washington house, which was supposed to be the one presented to General Washington by Frederick the Great of Prussia. Brown immediately appropriated this with no little satisfaction. A short time after, a train from the West was halted, but before sunrise it was allowed to go forward toward Washington and Baltimore, where the news was spread far and wide. Brown could easily have prevented this train going forward, or any news going out of the little town for many hours, but as the morning broke and the citizens of Harper's Ferry awoke to the true

situation, the alarm was spread, and fighting soon began. Even then Brown might discreetly and easily have retreated to the mountains with his followers, and was urged to do so, but refused. By the middle of the day the entire band had been captured or killed or had fled, with the exception of Brown and six men, who were now barricaded within the engine house of the armory. One of Brown's sons had been killed, and the other mortally wounded in the fight of the afternoon. Brown's humanity now showed itself when, beholding a dead son by his side, feeling with one hand the pulse of another one dying, and with the other hand grasping a rifle, he returned wherever possible the fire of his assailants, yet he thought of the prisoners who were with him, and cautioned them to seek sheltered places in their retreat, commanding at the same time that his men should fire on no person outside who was unarmed.

Early in the evening Colonel Robert E. Lee, and Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart arrived from Washington with a company of United States Marines. Stuart entered the engine house with a light under a flag of truce, and on seeing Brown exclaimed: "Why, are you not old Osawatomic Brown of Kansas, whom I once had there as my prisoner?" "Yes," said Brown, "but you did not keep me." This was the first intimation that the people of Harper's Ferry had of the identity of the leader of the marauders.

Stuart advised Brown to surrender, but he refused, saying: "I prefer to die just here," and it was only after several wounds had been inflicted by one of the marines after the engine house door had been opened by a ladder used as a battering-ram, that Brown was finally captured. He was taken before Henry S. Wise, the Governor of Virginia, and Colonel Lee, and subjected to a cross-examination by them and others as to intention and purpose. He said: "We are Abolitionists from the North, come to take and release your slaves." An attempt was made to rend from Brown a confession that the whole thing was a Republican conspiracy, but the attempt was not successful, as Brown had nothing whatever to do with the leaders of the Republican party, and Stearns and Sanborn and

the other conspirators were then unknown. Brown would make no disclosure whatever outside of his own personal connection with the raid. He defended his course and was ready to give his life for those whose lives he had taken. His dream was now at an end, and insignificant as was the immediate result of his plans and visions, yet they were destined to have an influence as wide as the boundaries of his whole country.

It is probable that Brown had no very definite ideas as to what he expected to accomplish. He saw no further ahead than the desire to go from place to place, setting a few slaves free at a time, without apparently any expectation that he would meet with any formidable resistance, or that his plans would not mature just as he had dreamed them.

One may admire the physical and mental courage exhibited by Brown at all times, and yet it would seem that he has been made altogether too much of, and that he has occupied altogether too large a niche in American history. He obtained a fair trial, was convicted, and paid the penalty of his rash act by being executed at Charleston, Virginia, December 2, 1859.

The companions of Brown, who had been captured, were hanged afterwards. Among the sentimentalists at the North the sympathy for Brown was general. At the South the indignation was not only unbounded, but emphatic in the extreme.

Jefferson Davis called the incident "the invasion of a State by a murderous gang of Abolitionists," whose errand was "to incite slaves to murder helpless women and children."

Douglas claimed that Brown was a horse thief, and that it was his "firm and deliberate belief that the Harper's Ferry crime was the natural, logical, and inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican party." Of this accusation Redpath, Brown's biographer, says:

It has been asserted that he was a member of the Republican party. It is false. He despised the Republican party. It is true, like every Abolitionist, he was opposed to the extension of Slavery: and, like the majority of anti-Slavery men, in favor, also, of organized political action against it. But he was too earnest a man, and too devout a Christian, to rest satisfied with the only action against

Slavery consistent with one's duty as a citizen, according to the usual Republican interpretation of the Federal Constitution. It teaches that we must be content ourselves with resisting the extension of Slavery. Where the Republicans said, "Halt!" John Brown shouted, "Forward! to the rescue!" He was an Abolitionist of the Bunker Hill school. He followed neither Garrison nor Seward, Gerrit Smith nor Wendell Phillips; but the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, in the spirit of the Hebrew warriors, and in the God-applauded mode that they adopted. "The Bible story of Gideon," records a man who betrayed him, "had manifestly a great influence on his actions." He believed in human brotherhood and in the God of Battles; he admired Nat Turner, the negro patriot, equally with George Washington, the white American deliverer. He could not see that it was heroic to fight against a petty tax on tea, and war seven long years for a political principle, yet wrong to restore, by force of arms, to an outraged race, the rights with which their Maker had endowed them, but of which the South, for two centuries, had robbed them. The old man distrusted the Republican leaders. He thought that their success in 1860 would be a serious check to the cause he loved. His reason was that the people had confidence in these leaders, and would believe that, by their actions in Congress, they would peacefully and speedily abolish Slavery. That the people would be deceived—that the Republicans would become as conservative of Slavery as the Democrats themselves—he sincerely and prophetically believed. Apathy to the welfare of the slave would follow; and hence, to avert this moral and national calamity, he hurried on to Harper's Ferry.

The affair was deprecated by Republicans in and out of Congress. It was noted as "among the gravest of crimes" in the Republican national platform of 1860, and neither the man nor the attempted act had any relation to the Republican party save as an event of the times which influenced the minds of all for or against the great evil of the day.

Although Helper's *Impending Crisis* was published in 1857, it was hardly noticed for two years, but in the latter part of 1859 it attracted wide attention both at the North and the South. Helper himself was a North Carolinian, who had grown up surrounded by slaveholders, although he himself would be classed among the poor whites. He was a man of no

little intelligence, and his book was a painstaking compilation of statistics and figures in proof of his contention that Slavery was economically hostile to Southern interests and entirely aside from the moral aspects of the question. In his preface of the book he says: "Yankee wives have written the most popular anti-slavery literature of the day. Against this I have nothing to say: it is all well enough for women to give the fictions of slavery; men should give the facts." And Helper certainly did give facts which were irrefutable. He made his points by comparisons between a Northern and a Southern State, or a Northern and Southern city, or between the entire North and the South. The following is an example of his method:

We can prove, and we shall now proceed to prove, that the annual hay crop of the free States is worth considerably more in dollars and cents than all the cotton, tobacco, rice, hay, hemp, and cane sugar annually produced in the fifteen slave States.

He also showed that the difference in the value of all the agricultural interests between the slave States and the free States gave a balance in favor of the free States of \$1,188,299,803. He showed further that on the authority of Southerners themselves, it was demonstrable beyond the possibility of refutation that the intrinsic value of all the property in the free States was more than three times greater than the intrinsic value of all the property in the slave States. Regarding the valuation of negroes he gave Southern testimony, that one free laborer is equal to five slaves, and as there were two million five hundred thousand Europeans in the free States, all free laborers, their value could be estimated at \$6,200,000,000, compared with the estimated value of slaves at \$1,600,000,000. A particularly strong point was made in regard to the comparison in the value of land. He showed that in 1856 the average value per acre in New York State was \$36.97, while in North Carolina the average value per acre was \$3.06. Estimating from this, the loss of North Carolina acres alone would be \$1,100,398,489. As a sample of his reasoning we quote the following:

Would the slaveholders of North Carolina lose anything by the abolition of slavery? Let us see. According to their own estimate, their slaves are worth, in round numbers, say, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. There are in the State twenty-eight thousand slaveholders, owning, it may be safely assumed, an average of at least five hundred acres of land each—fourteen millions of acres in all. This number of acres, multiplied by thirty-three dollars and ninety-one cents, the difference in value between free soil and slave soil, makes the enormous sum of four hundred and seventy-four millions of dollars—showing that, by the abolition of slavery, the slaveholders themselves would realize a net profit of not less than three hundred and fifty-four millions of dollars!

The value per acre of all slaveholders' lands was shown to be \$5.34 against a value per acre of Northern land of \$28.07, showing a difference in favor of the North of \$3,933,535.52⁰, or over twice the estimated value of all the slaves. As the latter were appraised at \$1,600,000,000, Helper contended that the emancipation of all slaves would ultimately net the South in increased value of land \$2,333,535.52⁰.

But perhaps the portion of the book which cut farthest into the sensitiveness of the South was the unanswerable statements so strongly made by Helper, as to the product of Northern and Southern minds. He sums up several pages as follows:

Comparisons are odious, and we will not, unnecessarily, render them more so, in the present instance, by contrasting, name by name, the literary men of the South with the literary men of the North. We do not depreciate the former, nor overestimate the latter. But let us ask, whence comes our geographers, our astronomers, our chemists, our meteorologists, our ethnologists, and others, who have made their names illustrious in the domain of the Natural Sciences? Not from the Slave states, certainly. In the Literature of Law, the South can furnish no name that can claim peership with those of Story and of Kent; in History, none that tower up to the altitude of Bancroft, Prescott, Hildreth, Motley and Washington Irving; in Theology, none that can challenge favorable comparison with those of Edwards, Dwight, Channing, Taylor, Bushnell, Tyler, and Wayland; in Fiction, none that take rank with Cooper, and Mrs. Stowe;

and but few that may do so with even the second class novelists of the North; in Poetry, none that can command position with Bryant, Halleck, and Percival, with Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell, with Willis, Stoddard and Taylor, with Holmes, Saxe, and Burleigh; and—we might add twenty other Northern names before we found their Southern peer, with the exception of poor Poe, who, within a narrow range of subjects, showed himself a poet of consummate art, and occupies a sort of debatable ground between our first and second-class writers.

We might extend this comparison to our writers in every department of letters, from the compiler of school-books to the author of the most profound ethical treatise, and with precisely the same result. But we forbear. The task is distasteful to our State pride, and would have been entirely avoided had not a higher principle urged us to its performance. It remains for us now to inquire, What has produced this literary pauperism of the South? One single word, most pregnant in its terrible meanings, answers the question. That word is—*Slavery!*

The few extracts given will show the tenor of the book, and the calm and careful reasoning of the man, and yet, though it was written by a North Carolinian, and not by an Abolitionist from the North, it was bitterly condemned by the slaveholders, not only at home but in the United States Congress, and its sale at the South was stopped as far as possible. It, however, enjoyed a vast circulation in the North, and was the culminating literary contribution to the pending question.

The Thirty-sixth Congress met at Washington, December 5, 1859. The Republican minority in the Senate now numbered twenty-four or twenty-five, while in the House of Representatives the Republicans numbered 113, Administration Democrats 93, anti-Lecompton Democrats 8, South Americans¹ 23. It will be seen that the anti-Slavery majority was 5, though the Republican party as such had only a plurality. The first vote cast for Speaker resulted as follows: number of votes cast, 230, necessary for a choice, 116. Thomas S. Bocoek of Virginia received 86 votes; John Sherman, Republican, of Ohio, 66; Galusha A. Grow, Republican, of Pennsylvania, 43,

¹ Southern members of American or Know-Nothing Party.

the rest being scattering. Before another vote was taken the following preamble and resolution was introduced :

Whereas, certain members of this House, now in nomination for Speaker, did indorse and recommend the book hereinafter mentioned,

Resolved, That the doctrines and sentiments of a certain book called *The Impending Crisis of the South—How to Meet It*, purporting to have been written by one Hinton R. Helper, are insurrectionary and hostile to the domestic peace and tranquillity of the country; and that no member of this House who has indorsed and recommended it, or the compend from it, is fit to be Speaker of this House.

It was true that both Mr. Sherman and Mr. Grow had signed a circular commending *The Impending Crisis* to general attention, and Mr. Clark of Missouri, who proposed the above resolution, now made a most violent speech in defence of his measure; while, on the other hand, several Republican members maintained, that if they had signed a recommendation for the book, it was in ignorance of its contents, which they now condemned and repudiated. An adjournment was taken before the second ballot.

In the Senate the Democrats immediately commenced the Slavery agitation by a resolve, introduced by Mr. Mason of Virginia, who had been present at the interrogation of John Brown, calling for the most thorough inquiry into the recent tragedy at Harper's Ferry, and requiring the Select Committee thereon to report "what legislation may, in their opinion, be necessary for the future preservation of the peace of the country." This precipitated a discussion which lasted several days.

The John Brown affair also divided the attention of the House, on reassembling, with *The Impending Crisis*, and a second ballot for Speaker was not obtained until the close of the third day's proceedings, when Mr. Boccock received 88 votes, Mr. Sherman 107 votes, and the rest scattering. The debate continued in both the Senate and House for eight weeks, when both Mr. Sherman and Mr. Boccock were with-

drawn, and Mr. William Pennington, ex-Governor of New Jersey, was taken up by the Republicans, and Mr. William N. H. Smith, of North Carolina, by the Democrats. The fortieth ballot resulted as follows: Pennington, 115; Smith, 113, with 6 votes scattering. Finally, on the forty-fourth ballot, taken February 4, 1860, the vote was declared, Pennington, 117; John A. McClernand, 85; John A. Gilmer, 16, with 15 votes scattering. Mr. Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, who had hitherto voted with the Americans, now voted for Pennington, who was elected, having the exact number necessary to a choice.

In the Senate a series of resolutions introduced by Jefferson Davis were passed by the Slavery majority, designed not only to censure the Republican party, but to read Mr. Douglas out of the Democratic party. So important are the principles involved in these resolutions, that they are given in full as follows, although each one was voted on separately at the time:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same acted severally as free and independent sovereignties, delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal Government for the increased security of each against dangers, domestic as well as foreign; and that any intermeddling by any one or more States, or by a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions of the others, or any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious, with a view to their disturbance or subversion, is in violation of the Constitution, insulting to the States so interfered with, endangers their domestic peace and tranquillity—objects for which the Constitution was formed—and, by necessary consequence, tends to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

2. *Resolved*, That negro Slavery, as it exists in fifteen States of this Union, composes an important portion of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of powers among the States, and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the non-slaveholding States of the Union, in relation to this institution, can justify them or their citizens in open or covert attacks thereon, with

a view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States respectively on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, and are a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

3. *Resolved*, That the Union of these States rests on the equality of rights and privileges among its members; and that it is especially the duty of the Senate, which represents the States in their sovereign capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate either in relation to persons or property in the Territories, which are the common possessions of the United States, so as to give advantages to the citizens of one State which are not equally assured to those of every other State.

4. *Resolved*, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possesses power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common Territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains.

5. *Resolved*, That, if experience should at any time prove that the Judicial and Executive authority do not possess means to insure adequate protection to constitutional rights in a Territory, and if the territorial government should fail or refuse to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose, it will be the duty of Congress to supply such deficiency.

6. *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of a Territory of the United States, when they rightfully form a Constitution to be admitted as a State into the Union, may then, for the first time, like the people of a State when forming a new Constitution, decide for themselves whether Slavery, as a domestic institution, shall be maintained or prohibited within their jurisdiction; and "they shall be admitted into the Union, with or without Slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.

7. *Resolved*, That the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor, without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed, and the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to secure its execution, and the main features of which, being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest judicial authority, should be honestly and faithfully observed and maintained by all who enjoy the benefits

of our compact union, and that all acts of individuals or of State Legislatures to defeat the purpose or nullify the requirements of that provision, and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

As will be seen, these resolutions of Mr. Davis emphasize the worst features of the Dred Scott decisions, and stand as the interpretation by the United States Senate of the fundamental law of the land.

President Buchanan in his inaugural message said :

Our present financial condition is without a parallel in history. No nation has ever before been embarrassed from too large a surplus in its treasury. . . . It is beyond all question the true principle that no more revenue ought to be collected from the people than the amount necessary to defray the expenses of a wise, economical, and efficient administration of the government. To reach this point it was necessary to resort to a modification of the Tariff; and this has, I trust, been accomplished in such a manner as to do as little injury as may have been practicable to our domestic manufactures, especially those necessary for the defence of the country. Any discrimination against a particular branch, for the purpose of benefiting favored corporations, individuals, or interests, would have been unjust to the rest of the community, and inconsistent with that spirit of fairness and equality which ought to govern in the adjustment of a revenue tariff.

In only a few months his views on the question were very much changed, as can be seen from the following, taken from his annual message of the same year :

With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth our manufacturers have suspended; our public works are retarded; our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned; and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interest, is in a deplorable condition.

With a President of the United States expressing within a few months such confidence and hope in the workings of a Tariff, and then its utter failure, it is hardly to be wondered at that certain college professors, and even newspaper editors, differ most materially in their statements concerning the Tariffs of 1846 and 1857, from the facts as to the results of those Tariffs exhibited in the actual and real condition of the country and its industries during those years.

Under the Tariff of 1842 the prosperity of the country, considering the great depression which it was necessary to overcome following the panic of 1837 and the industrial crises of the years following, was unbounded. New industries sprang up on every hand; labor became at once fully employed; the market for all the products of agriculture and manufacture was not only a wide one, but prices were such as to render profitable both capital and labor. Even President Polk, whose administration had struck such a deadly blow against our industrial supremacy, said in his message of December, 1846:

Labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward; while education, science and the arts are rapidly enlarging the means of social happiness. The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of her territorial limits and in the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth and in the happy condition of our people is without an example in the history of nations.

There is no need to accumulate testimony as to the beneficent workings of the Tariff of 1842. The statement is unquestioned by any reputable writer. Why, then, was the Tariff of 1846 enacted so soon after the new administration came into power, and by and with the aid of the deciding vote of the Vice-President, who had been nominated and elected solely because he was a Protectionist?

It is enough to say that the Slave Power in 1845 and 1846 was in such complete control of every branch of the Government that its desires could be but feebly resisted, and in no way checked. Mr. Calhoun and his followers wanted Free Trade, and whatever Mr. Calhoun and his followers wanted in

those days they obtained: that is simply the whole situation in a nutshell. The new Tariff was iniquitous, not alone because of the low rates in every schedule, but doubly so because of its ad valorem features. But there was a still more infamous feature, which has been brought out in Curtiss's *Protection and Prosperity*, and an examination of which is so necessary to a complete understanding of the law, which was bound to have such an effect upon the industrial standing of the country for the next decade and a half, that we give it in full:

It would take too many pages to show in detail all the faults of the tariff of 1846, but there is one iniquitous feature that is too prominent to be overlooked. The act of 1842 framed, as all protectionist measures are, to promote the growth of domestic manufactures, increased the duties on finished goods and placed on the free list those raw materials which were required to be purchased in foreign countries and which were used in manufacturing, such as dye woods, dye stuffs, certain chemical products, etc. The most infamous feature of the act of 1846, and the one which exposes the enmity which existed in the minds of its framers against the industries of the country, is the manner in which it treated raw material. Not satisfied with exposing this branch of production to ruinous competition under low duties, the struggle for existence was made more difficult by placing duties on those raw materials which could not be produced at home. This feature of the bill is contrary to the principles advocated by both protectionists and free traders. That it was an effort to strike down the manufacturing interests of the North is absolutely certain. No more definite means could have been adopted to accomplish this end.

The Tariff of 1846 remained in force without change for eleven years, when it was still further reduced in spite of the fact that the industries of the whole North and West were in need of Protection. The situation during this decade from 1846 to 1856 was the most anomalous in our entire industrial history, and has not been better explained than in the words of James G. Blaine in a speech delivered before a Republican mass-meeting at Farmington, Maine, July 4, 1860. Mr. Blaine afterwards used many of these sentences in his famous

reply to Gladstone, and his exposition has been accepted as the best explanation extant. The following is the more valuable because the words were delivered immediately after that Free-Trade period :

There is another great step forward which the Republican party has taken in its National platform of this year,—re-affirmed with special emphasis in the State platform of Maine. In 1856 the issue was entirely confined to resistance to the aggressions of slavery, but since that date the financial revulsions which have led to such distress in the country have turned men's minds to the fallacy and the failure of the free-trade policy which for the last fourteen years has been adopted and enforced by the Democratic party. The prosperity which was said to have been caused by the tariff of 1846 has received a rude shock, and three years ago a disastrous panic swept over the country leaving all business embarrassed, if not prostrate. For several years prior to that date, every man who believed in the policy of protection had been ridiculed and taunted and pointed to the indisputable proof of the advantage of free trade to be found in the generally prosperous condition of the country. The cry in favor of the tariff of 1846 was so boisterous that no opponent of it could even have a hearing. Those who still held firmly to the policy of protection and in belief that the repeal of the tariff of 1842 was a great National blunder, were silenced, if not scorned, in the arena of popular discussion.

It was in vain that Protectionists attempted to prove that the period of prosperity under that tariff (from 1846 to 1856) was due to a series of what might be termed fortuitous circumstances—all involving good fortune to the United States and ill fortune to other nations.

First. At the very moment of the enactment of the tariff of 1846, the war with Mexico broke out. The result was that more than one hundred thousand men were called from the pursuits of industry and enlisted in the ranks of our army, while other thousands, leaving their usual callings, were set to work on the production of war material. The first result was a deficiency in the supply of laborers and a large advance in wages. In the course of two years the Government paid out on account of the war, nearly one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, thus stimulating trade in almost every department.

Second. Midway in the Mexican War (in 1847) a distressing famine occurred in Ireland, which, with short crops in other parts of Europe,

created an unprecedented demand for American bread-stuffs. This, of course, raised the price of grain to high figures, and carried large profit and ready money to the door of every farmer in the land.

Third. The Mexican War had scarcely closed, the Irish famine had only been partially relieved, when (in 1848-49) tumults and revolutions occurred in nearly every European kingdom. The direct result was the disorganization of industry and the depression of trade all over the continent. Demand for our bread-stuffs continued, and competition of European fabrics was so reduced that every form of industry in the United States was stimulated to fill the demands of the home market.

Fourth. The convulsions of Europe were still in progress when another stimulus was added to our prosperity. Vast deposits of gold were found in California, and from 1849 onward, for several years, the trade of the country in all departments was quickened to a degree never before known. The demand for shipping to carry passengers to the land of gold, and supplies to sustain them, gave new life to our navigation interests and filled the ocean with clipper ships that had no rivals for speed or beauty. The rapid additions to our gold currency, immediately followed by an expansion of our paper currency, gave such an abundance of money as had never before been dreamed of. The inevitable result was a rapid rise of prices for labor and for all commodities, and speculation and money-making were the order of the day. Importations from Europe were enormously large, and in settling the balances we followed the theory of the Free-trade School, in regarding our gold as simply a commodity, to be shipped out of the country as freely as iron or lead or wheat or corn.

Fifth. In 1854, before the craze of speculation had time to cool, another great event came to pass which still further increased our prosperity. It really seemed as if the whole world had conspired to have every accident and every calamity happen for benefit. When our prosperity was already great and growing, the three leading nations of Europe—as nations were then ranked—Great Britain, Russia and France—rushed into a tremendous war which lasted until 1856. In its progress the Crimean struggle absorbed the energies of the nations engaged, removed to a large extent the mercantile marine of England and France from peaceful pursuits and gave still greater expansion to our own navigation, stopped the flow of grain from Russia, and gave every opportunity for trade and commerce and great profit to the citizens of the United States.

But this singular combination of good fortune to us and ill fortune to others could not continue indefinitely. Prosperity built upon the calamities of other nations has a most insecure and undesirable foundation. The three great European powers made peace, the Baltic and the Black Sea were thrown open for the exportation of Russian bread-stuffs, English and French ships which had been engaged in war service were at once and everywhere competing at low prices for the freight of the world, shipments of gold from California began to decrease. The wheel of fortune had turned, and the consequence was that the portentous superstructure of credit, of speculation, which had been based upon what the gamblers would have termed our extraordinary run of luck, suddenly came to an end when the luck ceased. The panic of 1857 was the closing chapter in that extraordinary ten years in which the political economists of the Democratic party were constantly mistaking effect for cause, were constantly blinded to the actual condition of trade and to the real sources of our prosperity, were constantly teaching to the people of the United States spurious theories, were constantly deceiving themselves by fallacies, and were constantly drawing conclusions from false premises.

Notwithstanding all the gold received from California, it was found that we had not enough in the hour of panic to keep the banks, even of the National Metropolis, from immediate suspension. Enterprises all over the country were checked; labor was thrown into confusion and distress, and for the last three years men have been working for less remuneration than has been paid to honest toil at any period within the preceding quarter of a century. The policy of free trade, as embodied in the tariff of 1846, had, in ten years, caused such a large importation of foreign goods, that, besides all our shipments of produce and all the earnings of our commercial marine, it drained us of four hundred millions of gold to make good the balance of trade against us. I mean four hundred millions of gold, *net*, over and above the amount which in the currents of trade was occasionally shipped to us from Europe. The bankers of New York, the great majority of whom had sustained the free-trade policy, were among the first to ask extension on their obligations. They could pay in their own bills, but the specie which should have been in their vaults had been sold by them for shipment abroad, to make good the balance which their favorite tariff of 1846 had constantly accumulated against us in Europe.

These lessons, fellow-citizens, are serious, and the Republican National Convention has appreciated their meaning. That convention recalls us, in its platform, to the policy of adjusting our revenues so as to protect labor, encourage home manufactures, create a balance of trade in our favor, and keep our gold at home. While fighting against the admission of servile toil of the black man in the new Territories of the continent, Republicans will fight also for liberal wages to the toiling white men of the old States of the Union. This position is the logical sequence, the logical necessity of the Republican party. An anti-slavery party is by the irresistible force of its principles a protection party, for it is based upon the rights of labor for the white man and the black man alike.

The case shall not rest, however, upon a partisan statement. We must have facts as well as opinion. Was the Tariff of 1846 a failure, or was it a success? Did it benefit the United States, and the people of the United States, or did it not? While we shall not reach a conclusion upon the statement of Mr. Greeley alone, yet we must not omit the following from the *New York Tribune* of January 15, 1855:

The cry of hard times reaches us from every part of the country. The making of roads is stopped, factories are closed, and houses and ships are no longer being built. Factory hands, road makers, carpenters, bricklayers, and laborers are idle, and paralysis is rapidly embracing every pursuit in the country. The cause of all this stoppage of circulation is to be found in the steady outflow of gold to pay foreign laborers for the cloth, the shoes, the iron and the other things that could be produced by American labor, but which cannot be so produced under our present revenue system. The convulsion would have come upon us sooner but for the extraordinary demand in Europe for bread-stuffs, growing out of huge famines and big wars, and but for the dazzling and magnificent discoveries of gold mines in California, by which hard money, sufficient to buy an empire, has been called into existence and exported to Europe. If we could stop the import of the foreign articles, the gold would cease to flow out to pay for them, and money would then again become more abundant, labor would then again be in demand, shoes, clothing, and other commodities would then again be in demand, and men would then cease to starve in the streets of our towns and cities. If it be not stopped the gold must continue to go abroad, and

employment must become from day to day more scarce, until where there are now many thousands we shall see tens of thousands of men everywhere crying: "Give me work! Only give me work! Make your own terms—my wife and children have nothing to eat!"

The above has been so often quoted in Protectionist documents that the widely informed reader will ask? Were Horace Greeley and the *New York Tribune* the only man and paper to note the stagnation of business, and the poverty of the people in 1855? Let us see. On the same day, January 15, 1855, the *Springfield Republican* contained the following, which it certainly could not have made up from the *New York Tribune* of the same day.

THE CRY FOR BREAD AND WORK.

The committee of the unemployed workmen of New York have addressed a second memorial to the city government, calling urgently for relief measures and threatening that unless something is done, "they will be directly compelled to throw off all responsibility as to the results now looming, like the dense precursor of a hurricane of death, over this unhappy city." They state—exaggerating the fact, we trust—that there are in New York 60,000 able-bodied men, 50,000 women and 10,000 children out of employment, upon whose labor are dependent 75,000 others, making a melancholy aggregate of 195,000 suffering more or less severely from destitution, having disposed of their small savings, and in many cases of their furniture, to supply their pressing daily need. To feed this host of the perishing, at least ten cents worth of food per day each is required, which will demand a daily expenditure of \$19,500. The bestowments of public and private charity, liberal as they are, "are totally inadequate to supply the vital wants of the suffering working classes, and now deep murmurings are heard all around the cheerless hearthstones of proud, stern-hearted men, who would prefer death to the crouching supplications of repulsed beggary." The workmen ask the city government to furnish labor to the poor, and the government has already responded by employing some 150 men in taking down and removing the ruins of the burnt city hall. The men agreed that a new set of 150 should be employed every day until all applicants had enjoyed the privilege of a day's labor.

A person writing of the numberless applications for work, says:

To try one of them, I asked her—a stout, heavy girl of twelve, to whom I was contemplating the donation of a copper—how long she would work washing my floor and stairs for a three-cent piece, to which she responded, with a burst of nature, “All day, sir, and all winter at the same price.”

But this was not by any means the first discovery by the *Springfield Republican* of hard times. On January 12th of the same year we find the following:

THE HARD TIMES.

Two of the mills of the York company, at Saco, Me., have discontinued operations. Similar announcements come from all directions. The unemployed laborers of New York have held several meetings in the Park, at which foolish and inflammatory speeches have been uttered, but have signed a reasonable petition to the city government asking that they may be employed in the prosecution of various contemplated city improvements. At the Boston soup house, just opened in the public garden, eighty pounds of meat are boiled in fifty gallons of water, and the liquor thickened with rice and crushed barley makes a very hearty soup. It is supplied between 10 and 4 to all who apply, in quantities from a pint to a gallon. Neither the Boston nor New York soup houses are opened on Sunday, when we suppose the poor are expected to live on spiritual food, and the fortunate to exercise only faith and hope, reserving charity for week days.

With the anonymous liberal contribution of \$500 to the poor at Hartford, the donor sent the appropriate and just sentiment:

“Charity has been aptly compared to the person who from his lamp has given light to his neighbor. *His own shines none the less.*”

The above was a news item which the *Republican* at that time printed on its editorial page, and adjoining this very item on this same day, January 12, 1855, we find the following leading editorial, which it is hoped that every student of the Tariff question will read and read again.

THE TARIFF.

We have no faith that the efforts at Washington to change the tariff will be successful. They are not well-grounded efforts. Principle does not animate them. Only a passing policy or a personal purse gives them vitality. An influential lobby may connect enough of these schemes of policy and plunder to aggregate a force sufficient

to beg or buy through Congress some changes in the present law. But the probability is stronger that the whole thing will go over to the next Congress. There, we shall hope to see it met and treated in a different spirit from that now animating the ruling powers at the capitol.

The argument of the administration and that only which has a general force, is that the present tariff produces too much revenue; that it must be cut down in order to keep the treasury from overflowing; and that the government plan for accomplishing this is wise and proper, upon its principle that revenue is the only object of a tariff. But the great reduction in the imports of the country, consequent upon the reaction of over-importations, and the general prostration of business, is remedying the evil of superfluous revenue. The customs receipts for December, alone, were two millions less than those of the same month a year ago; and the available surplus in the treasury is being rapidly reduced by its necessary payments and the redemption of the public debt. So long as many millions of that debt remain, and especially while the reduction in importations bids fair to bring the revenue down to a healthy point, it will be neither useful nor wise to further reduce the existing tariff rates.

The country is passing through a change of opinion on the subject of tariffs, and the uses to which they should be put. The emancipation of the popular mind from old and ironbound partizanship, will, we have great hope, produce beneficent results here, as in other respects. The whig party, as the champion of the protective policy, was a great obstacle to the success of that policy. The two were identified. And though the protective policy was popular, the whig party was not. The latter carried down the former.—But now times are changed. Protection to American industry can now be favored and secured without at the same time giving aid and comfort to the whig party. The doctrines of the new American party, which is swallowing up all the old parties, lead directly to protection. Preference for American labor, for American goods, for American men, over the labor, the goods and the men of other countries: this is the whole spirit of the American party; and it is equally the whole doctrine and principle of protection. The two are too thoroughly identified to be separated; and if the American party is to triumph, American policy must triumph with it. It is this view of the inevitable results of the new and grand political movement, that, more than any other, gives us such hope in the

future, and enables us to regard with a calm philosophy the sometimes unjust, the often awkward steps by which the movement goes forward.

Here springs up our almost deadened hope of the return of the nation to the policy and practice of protecting American industry and developing American resources through the operation of the tariff. We had well-nigh given up. We were prepared to go to the farthest extreme of the free-trader. And now, we say, if we cannot have a protective tariff, let us have none at all. Free trade is correct in theory, and correct in practice, if we are legislating for the benefit of the whole world. But if we are to legislate for America, let us legislate for Americans by protecting their interests and their labor, against the interests of the uneducated and impoverished labor of Europe. Away, with merely revenue tariffs! They are destroying American independence. They are transplanting our workshops to Europe. They are carrying off our gold as fast as it can be dug in California. They are obliging us to wear German and French broadcloths by forbidding the manufacture of American. They are shutting up factories, reducing the rates of labor, impoverishing the country. Away with them! If free-trade is the policy, let us have it. Abolish custom houses, and their hordes of tide-waiters, corrupting our elections, dictating the people's choice. If we are to legislate for the world's benefit,—for England, France, Germany, Ireland, and all the rest,—do it manfully and generously. Throw open the ports of the land, and let us have the credit of sacrificing ourselves for the benefit of the world. But if it is America that we are called upon to protect, cherish and advance, let us do that earnestly, honestly and fully. It is a work not to be ashamed of, nor to be done by indirection, or deceit.

If the new American party shall bring back the government to its true policy on this subject, it will nobly have vindicated the uprising of the people, which has brought it into existence. It will deserve all that its most ardent friends ask for it. More than all, or all itself, it will vindicate and merit its name. It will be American indeed.

What strange sentiment it is to read to-day as coming from the *Springfield Republican* that "Free Trade is correct in theory, and correct in practice, if we are legislating for the benefit of the whole world. But if we are to legislate for America, let us legislate for Americans by protecting their

interests and their labor, against the interests of the uneducated and impoverished labor of Europe. Away, with merely revenue tariffs! They are destroying American independence. They are transplanting our work shops to Europe. They are carrying off our gold as fast as it can be dug in California. They are obliging us to wear German and French broadcloths by forbidding the manufacture of American. They are shutting up factories, reducing the rates of labor, impoverishing the country." And yet this is not a surprising sentiment to read in the *Springfield Republican* of that time, when we consider that in 1850 Mr. Samuel Bowles and other citizens of Massachusetts sent to Congress a petition entreating it to revise the Tariff in the interest of Protection. Here are the exact words of a part of that petition :

Previous to the passage of that law [1846] the manufacturing and mechanical interests in this community were in a flourishing condition. Since that time the condition of things has entirely changed, and it is fully believed that much of the stagnation of business may be traced to the operation of that law. Manufacturing languishes, mechanics are thrown out of employment, business of all kinds is dull, and unless protection can be afforded to our laboring classes poverty will overtake them. The subscribers therefore pray that Congress will so alter the tariff of 1846 that it will protect the labor and capital of the country from foreign competition.

In order to present a little Free Trade testimony, we take the following from an issue of Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, in 1854.

Confidence is shaken everywhere and all classes are made to realize the insecurity of worldly possessions. The causes which led to this have been a long time at work. Goods which had accumulated abroad when the demand had almost ceased were crowded upon our shores at whatever advance could be obtained, thus aggravating the evil.

While the New York *Herald* of January 6, 1855, said editorially :

Elsewhere will be found some mention of large failures at Boston and New Orleans. The epidemic is travelling over the whole country. No city of any note can hope to escape.

As showing that the Tariff of 1846 was a failure from the beginning, the following is quoted from the annual message of President Fillmore in December, 1851:

The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from \$68,000,000 in 1847 to \$21,000,000 in 1851, with almost a certainty of a still further reduction in 1852. The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand and raising the price of our agricultural products in foreign markets. The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontestably that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy.

Pages without number of similar testimony could be given in corroboration of the fact that the Tariff of 1846, standing alone was an absolute failure from every standpoint. It was a failure, as a revenue-raiser; it was a failure as any sort of protection to American labor and industries. And yet in 1848 in the Democratic National platform it was resolved:

That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union . . . in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the Tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive Tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these reforms have been achieved.

While the Democratic National Convention of 1856 adopted a platform containing the following:

The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas, and progressive Free Trade throughout the world.

The Republican platform of 1856 contained no reference to the Tariff question, confining itself wholly to the one question which was paramount to all others, and for which the party was formed, namely, to check the further extension of Slavery.

But again the Slave Power won, and again Congress obeyed its wish. The financial and industrial ruin was not yet complete, and the duties were still further reduced by the Tariff of 1857. We must now meet the statement that this Tariff was voted for by the Republican Congressmen of the North, and particularly from New England. The method of framing and passing a Tariff law was then much the same as now. It was not *the* question before the Thirty-fourth Congress. To begin with, months had been spent in the election of a Speaker, and the bill as it finally passed was from a conference committee, where it had been sent on a disagreement between the two Houses, and it in no wise represented either the views of the Senate or the House. The revenues were known to be too large, and a reduction was desirable. Had there been an internal revenue law, as now exists, the Tariff would not have been resorted to as a means for reducing the revenue, but the internal revenue would have been reduced to meet the requirements of the situation. As it was, the Tariff law was taken as the means to this end, and the question of Slavery and of Kansas, and the iniquitous workings of the Fugitive Slave law, all completely overshadowed the changing of the Tariff law, presumably to correct the surplus revenue.

Another reason why manufacturers, particularly those of New England, wanted a further reduction of duties on raw materials, was because there was absolutely no hope of getting an increase of duties on competing goods. The President and Senate were against them, and the House was Democratic on all questions save that of Slavery. Their only advantage, then, lay in lower duties on raw materials, which they advocated and got.

The report was accepted, in the House of Representatives, by a vote of 123 to 72, and in the Senate by a vote of 33 to 9. While so-called "Americans" in the House, with one or two exceptions, voted against the bill, yet they are found in the Senate voting for it. Collamer and Foot of Vermont both voted against the measure, as did Brodhead of Pennsylvania, and Allen and James of Rhode Island, Wade of Ohio, Wright of New Jersey, and Geyer of Missouri. Professor

Taussig, in his *History of the Tariff*, correctly states the whole case as follows: "The revenue was redundant in 1857, and this was the chief cause of the reduction of duties." But the legislators of 1857 were either very ignorant of the true situation, or else they were so entranced by what seemed to be far greater questions as to ignore entirely the true causes of the "redundancy" of revenue in the years 1857 and just preceding.

Had it not been for the very unusual and unprecedented sales of public lands, from which nearly thirty millions of dollars were received during the three years preceding 1857, instead of a surplus in the National Treasury, there would have been a deficit. The customs receipts each year were less than the expenditures, and the surplus was not due to the workings of the Tariff of 1846. Under all the circumstances noted, then, it is not surprising that the new Tariff plunged the country into further financial and industrial difficulties on every hand. They were immediate, far-reaching, and lasting, but the result was exactly what had been desired and intended by those who had brought it about.

Franklin Pierce was in the presidential chair; his Secretary of the Treasury was James Guthrie, and Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War. The act was hastily signed on March 3d, within twenty-four hours of the expiration of this administration, although the law did not go into effect until July 1st of the same year. It is enough to say of the law of 1857, that it brought financial ruin so quickly and so widely that it still further checked the industrial growth of the country, and was such a menace to agricultural progress, that the Democratic administration itself was forced to accept another Tariff law with more or less protective features, which was signed by President Buchanan on March 2, 1861, two days before the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, and the beginning of an administration Republican in all its branches.

This was called the Morrill Tariff, receiving its name from Justin S. Morrill, who took a very prominent part in framing the bill, and reported it from a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee, after which it was passed by the House by a vote of 105 to 64, May 11, 1860.

This may be called the first great Republican measure which became a law. It was held up by the Democratic Senate for nearly a year, and probably would not have passed that body had not several of the Southern Senators vacated their seats in the early part of 1861. The Morrill bill so-called was, however passed by the Senate on February 20 1861, by a vote of twenty-five to fourteen. The *Annual Cyclopedia* for 1861, after devoting nearly sixty pages to the proceedings of the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, adds the following sentences :

A revenue law affording uncommon protection to manufactures was enacted. This was proposed not for the purpose of husbanding the resources of the country in anticipation of approaching strife, but chiefly as a great party measure, and to secure an increase of prosperity to this great national interest. It has proved to be the wisest measure adopted during the session. It immediately checked the importation of foreign manufactures, secured the reduction of the debt of the country to other nations, caused a large importation of specie in payment of exports, and thereby enabled the citizens to advance loans to the Government in its most pressing hour.

The general impression in recent years has always been, that the Morrill Tariff was a war measure. This point should be distinctly understood. The Morrill bill was introduced early in 1860, some time prior not only to the presidential election of that year, but even to the nominating conventions. It was framed and passed the House of Representatives by Republican votes, because the country needed such a measure to check importations of commodities, and the exportation of gold; to restore confidence to the financial interests of the country; to build up our manufactures, and restore prosperity to the agricultural interests of the country.

Even though the Slavery question with the attendant Kansas crime, the John Brown raid, and the heated controversy over *The Impending Crisis*, augmented by the provocation caused daily by the workings of the Fugitive Slave law overshadowed all else, in spite of all these the Republican plurality framed this law and passed it through the House of Representatives. A great part of the credit of this work from sub-committee to the final passage of the law is due to Justin S.

Morrill, a Representative from Vermont, and afterwards a most honored United States Senator.

The *ad valorem* features of the law of 1857 were to a large extent substituted by specific duties, and not only was the question of revenue fully considered, but it was intended to give a considerable, if not ample Protection to American labor and industry. There was no thought, whatever, of providing for war in the Morrill Tariff. There was no thought of doing anything except to correct the existing Tariff, and credit must be given to the Republican party, then having only a plurality in one branch of the national legislature for framing and presenting a law that was a purely protective measure.

It had not been done before, simply for the reason that there had been no opportunity. The National platform of 1856 contained no allusion, whatever, to the Tariff question, and while its leaders knew that the party would stand for a Protective Tariff at the first opportunity, still it was thought wise to devote its whole attention to the great paramount question of the day, the non-extension of Slavery.

Perhaps the first adoption of a Protective Tariff plank in any Republican platform was that found in the resolutions of the Vermont State Convention, which met on July 13, 1854, in which the demand was made for "a Tariff for revenue with proper discrimination in favor of American industry." This it will be seen was adopted just one week after the date which we give as the formal birth of the party at Jackson, Michigan. It is well to identify the Republican party with the great principles of a Protective Tariff from the start, as second only to the one great purpose for which the party was formed. From the first its devotion and adherence, for the most part unqualified and uncompromising, has been given to the protection of American labor and industry. It was fitting that Mr. Morrill's name should be attached to the first Republican Tariff law, even though it was signed by a Democratic President, when we find that the first allusion made to Protection in any Republican platform was that given by the little Republican band in Vermont, the home of Mr. Morrill, only seven days after the party was born in the far West.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOMESTEAD LAW—LINCOLN'S COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH—SEWARD—THE CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

THE enactment of the Morrill Tariff law was not the only attempted legislation by the Republican party before it came into complete control of the three branches of the Government. Among the Republicans elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress, and who helped elect Nathaniel P. Banks Speaker, was Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, who may well be called to-day the patriarch of the Republican party.

Mr. Grow was born in 1823; he was first elected to Congress in 1850, succeeding David Wilmot, the author of the famous Proviso; he was elected from the same district six consecutive terms, once by a unanimous vote; he was at first elected as a Free-Soil Democrat, and for the last three terms mentioned above, as a Republican. When he entered Congress in December, 1851, he was the youngest man on the floor of the House of Representatives, and his maiden speech was on "Man's Right to the Soil." After this for ten years, at the beginning of each session of Congress he introduced a Free Homestead bill into the House, and though it was year after year defeated, he was finally triumphant, and it became a law in 1862. While we shall have more to do with the career of Mr. Grow, it is at this point that we wish to call attention to his efforts, backed by his Republican colleagues, before that party was in a position to pass the laws for which it stood.

In 1859 it was estimated that within the States and Territories of this Government there were about one thousand mil-

lions of acres of public lands still unentered. A question at once arose over the disposition of these lands. Should they be open to speculators, or should they be reserved in small quantities for settlers who would become actual occupants?

Previous to the organization of the Republican party the question had not gained the attention which it demanded. Till the Slavery question was settled, there could be no proper settlement of the Homestead question. The only methods of disposition of these lands had been sales by the general Government for the purpose of realizing money to meet the expenses of the Government. As these sales had been at public auction, only insignificant remnants could be secured at private sale, so there was little or no chance for a poor settler to procure the land desirable for a home. Several acts were passed, however, during the first half of the last century called "pre-emption" acts, giving the settler the first right or preference to purchase.*

These laws not only required immediate settlement and improvement of the land, but a cash payment of not less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. In other words, the Government realized as much revenue as was possible. Very few, then, of the poor settlers could get hold of the desired land for a small farm and home.

It was in the Thirty-fifth Congress that Mr. Grow first introduced a bill in the House providing that no public lands should be sold at public auction until, at least, ten years after the same were surveyed and due return thereof made to the General Land Office. This would give the owner ten years of preference over the speculator; but it was defeated by a vote of 73 for to 78 against. Not a Republican voted against it.

Again, on January 20, 1859, Mr. Grow moved to amend a pending bill as follows:

Be it further enacted, That from and after the passage of this act, no public land shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed, and the return of such survey duly filed in the Land office, for ten years or more before such sale.

This again would give the pre-emptors ten years the start of the speculators and land monopolists, and would give the settler time to "clear up and partly or wholly pay for his farm from the proceeds of the soil. But this was just what the South and the Democratic party did not want. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 97 to 81, every Republican voting for it; but the amended bill was defeated by a vote of 91 for to 95 against, every Republican voting for the bill.

Time and time again Mr. Grow attempted to bring up a bill with the provision favorable to the small settler, but either failed to secure consideration, or else upon consideration the bill would fail to pass. Even when a bill was finally passed, making some concessions to the Republican principles advocated by Mr. Grow and his associates, President Buchanan returned it to the Senate with his veto. The issue for free homes was now clearly made between the Republicans and the Democrats, with what result must not be anticipated before its proper chronological place in this work.

Oregon was admitted as a State February 14, 1859. A State constitution under authority of a territorial legislature had been adopted in 1857, and the long interval between the adoption of this Constitution and its admission as a State was due to the so-called anti-negro clause of the Constitution, which made Republicans in Congress reluctant to vote for a ratification. There were three parties in Oregon, a Slavery party, an anti-Slavery party, and a third party opposed to negro immigration. Although the anti-Slavery party and those opposed to negro immigration combined at last to prohibit both Slavery and negro immigration, yet the pro-Slavery party was strong enough to compel the submission to the people of the question "Slavery or no Slavery." By a large majority Slavery was prohibited in the State, but after the ratification was completed the pro-Slavery party and the third faction united against the anti-Slavery party, making Oregon at first a Democratic State, although in 1860 Lincoln obtained a very small plurality of the popular vote.

Although Mr. Lincoln courted more or less seclusion and rest after his debates with Douglas and the political excitement

of the following year, yet he was now found to be the most popular man in the West. He was already looked upon as a possible candidate for the Presidency, and particularly in the West his strength grew daily. In May, 1859, Mr. Lincoln had been addressed in a letter by a Dr. Theodor Canisius, a German citizen of Illinois, inquiring as to his views of a constitutional provision, which had recently been adopted in Massachusetts relating to naturalized citizens, and whether he favored or opposed a fusion of Republicans with opposition elements in the approaching campaign of 1860. Mr. Lincoln replied as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, May 17, 1859.

DR. THEODOR CANISIUS:

DEAR SIR: Your letter, in which you inquire on your own account, and in behalf of certain other German citizens, whether I approve or oppose the constitutional provision in relation to naturalized citizens which was lately enacted in Massachusetts, and whether I favor or oppose a fusion of the Republicans with the other Opposition elements in the campaign of 1860, has been received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State, and I have no right to advise her in her policy. Yet, if any one is desirous to draw a conclusion as to what I would do, from what she has done, I may speak without impropriety. I say, then, that so far as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption, not only in Illinois, but in every other place in which I have the right to oppose it. As I understand the spirit of our institutions, it is designed to promote the elevation of men. I am, therefore, hostile to anything that tends to their debasement.

It is well known that I deplore the oppressed condition of the blacks; and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measures that infringe upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land, or speak a different language from my own.

In respect to a fusion, I am in favor of it wherever it can be effected on Republican principles, but upon no other condition. A fusion upon any other platform would be as insane as unprincipled. It would thereby lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still have the support of the entire South. The question in

relation to men is different. There are good and patriotic men and able statesmen in the South, whom I would willingly support if they would place themselves on Republican ground; but I shall oppose the lowering of the Republican standard even by a hair's breadth.

I have written in haste, but I believe that I have answered your questions substantially.

Respectfully yours,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

At the Illinois State Republican Convention held at Decatur on the 10th of May, 1859, Mr. Lincoln entered the hall as a spectator. His appearance was greeted with unbounded enthusiasm, and he had hardly taken his seat when Governor Oglesby announced that he had a contribution offered to the convention from an old Democrat of Macon County. Thereupon two old fence-rails gaudily decorated were brought into the convention hall bearing the following inscription:

Abraham Lincoln, the rail candidate for the presidency in 1860. Two rails from a lot of three thousand, made in 1830, by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln—whose father was the first pioneer of Macon County.

For several minutes the applause and cheering continued, and only ceased when the vocal strength of the assemblage was exhausted. Mr. Lincoln then addressed those present, candidly and proudly reciting the incident of his early life when he was a rail-splitter. It was Lincoln's honesty and humility always and forever shown in his character, that endeared him not only to his home people but to the entire North, who soon came to worship at his shrine. He now travelled somewhat throughout the West, and was met everywhere by large crowds whom he addressed in his straightforward, homely way. His speeches in Ohio in support of Mr. Dennison have already been alluded to, but an extract from one of his speeches made at Cincinnati, looking across to the Kentucky border as if speaking to the inhabitants of that State, should be quoted as showing exactly the opinions held by Mr. Lincoln on the eve of the eventful year of 1860. He said:

I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institution; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution, and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you, so far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, according to the example of those noble fathers—Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly. We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance—the white ones I mean—and I have the honor to inform you that I once did have a chance in that way.

I have told you what we mean to do. I want to know, now, when that thing takes place, what you mean to do. I often hear it intimated that you mean to divide the Union whenever a Republican or anything like it is elected President of the United States. (A voice—"That is so.") "That is so," one of them says; I wonder if he is a Kentuckian? (A voice—"He is a Douglas man.") Well, then, I want to know what you are going to do with your half of it? Are you going to split the Ohio down through, and push your half off a piece? Or are you going to keep it right alongside of us outrageous fellows? Or are you going to build up a wall some way between your country and ours, by which that movable property of yours can't come over here any more, to the danger of your losing it? Do you think you can better yourselves on that subject, by leaving us here under no obligation whatever to return those specimens of your movable property that come hither? You have divided the Union because we would not do right with you, as you think, upon that subject; when we cease to be under obligations to do anything for you, how much better off do you think you will be? Will you make war upon us and kill us all? Why, gentlemen, I think you are as gallant and as brave men as live; that you can fight as bravely in a good cause, man for man, as any other people living; that you have shown yourselves capable of this upon various occasions; but man for man, you are not better than we are, and there are not so many of you as there are of us. You will never make

much of a hand at whipping us. If we were fewer in numbers than you, I think you could whip us; if we were equal, it would likely be a drawn battle; but being inferior in numbers, you will make nothing by attempting to master us.

In the early part of 1860 Mr. Lincoln was invited to speak in Brooklyn in the church of Henry Ward Beecher. The place was finally changed, however, and it was announced that Mr. Lincoln would speak on the 27th of February at Cooper Institute, New York. As this was his first address in person to Eastern Republicans, and as most important principles were enunciated in this speech, a considerable portion is given as follows:

If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live," used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from federal authority or some part of the Constitution, forbids the federal government to control as to Slavery in the federal territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

But enough. Let all who believe that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask—all Republicans desire—in relation to Slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it, be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content. . . .

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member

of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man, and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply a malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrine, and make no declarations, which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live. You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, declare our belief that Slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us, in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or

even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains. . . .

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: We must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them, from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

The speech was printed in full the following day in many papers, not only in New York City, but throughout the State and New England. It was read and admired on every hand, and Lincoln was no longer a representative of the Republican party in the West, but he was an honored Republican now in every section. True, he had in no way displaced Seward, nor

could the two men be in any way compared. Mr. Lincoln was now overwhelmed with invitations to speak in the East, and accepted, making addresses in several parts of New England, in Connecticut, and Rhode Island. At Hartford he was escorted to the hall by the first company of "Wide Awakes," organized in the country. Although intended only for campaign purposes, the organization became universal throughout the Free States. So important did this organization become during the campaign in the fall, that the following from Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln* will be found interesting:

We condense the following account of the origin of the "Wide Awakes" from memoranda kindly furnished us by William P. Fuller, one of the editors of the Hartford *Courant* in 1860, Major J. C. Kinney, at present connected with the paper, and General Joseph R. Hawley, the principal editor, now United States Senator from Connecticut, and who in 1860 marched in the ranks in the first "Wide Awake" parades.

The "Wide Awakes" organization grew out of the first campaign meeting in Hartford on February 25, 1860—State election campaign. Hon. Cassius M. Clay was the speaker, and after the meeting was escorted to the Allyn House by a torch-light parade. Two of the young men who were to carry torches, D. G. Francis and H. P. Blair, being dry-goods clerks, in order to protect their clothing from dust and oil liable to fall from the torches, had prepared capes of black cambric, which they wore in connection with the glazed caps commonly worn at the time. Colonel George P. Bissell, who was marshal, noticing the uniform, put the wearers in front, where the novelty of the rig and its double advantage of utility and show attracted much attention. It was at once proposed to form a campaign club of fifty torch-bearers with glazed caps and oil-cloth capes instead of cambric; the torch-bearing club to be "auxiliary to the Young Men's Republican Union." A meeting to organize formally was appointed for March 6; but before the new uniforms were ready, Abraham Lincoln addressed a meeting in Hartford on the evening of March 5. After his speech, the cap-wearers of the previous meeting with a number of others who had secured their uniforms escorted Mr. Lincoln to the hotel.

The club was definitely organized on the following night. William

P. Fuller, city editor, had, in noticing this meeting for organization, written in the *Courant* of March 3: "THE WIDE-AWAKES.—The Republican club-room last evening was filled as usual with those who are going to partake in the great Republican triumph in this State in April next," etc., etc. The name "Wide-Awakes" was here applied to the Republican Young Men's Union, torch-bearers included; but at the meeting of March 6, the torch-bearers appropriated it by making it the distinctive title to their own special organization, which almost immediately, there as elsewhere, swallowed up the names and the memberships of other Republican clubs. Just one year after they escorted Mr. Lincoln in their first parade, he was inaugurated President of the United States.

Mr. Lincoln now visited Harvard, where his son was studying, and after spending a Sabbath with Mr. Beecher, returned to his home. He had conquered the intelligence and erudition of New England, as he had conquered the more rugged audiences of the West. He was judged neither by his clothes, nor unseemly appearance, but by the sentiments that flowed so freely and so forcibly, and which represented his sincere and honest and fervent heart.

Two days after Lincoln delivered his Cooper Institute address, Seward delivered a very statesmanlike speech in the Senate. The Senator had returned from abroad during the last of December, meeting with a very warm welcome in New York on his arrival, where a public reception was given him at the City Hall. His journey home up the Hudson and through Albany, and finally at Auburn, was accompanied by salutes and welcomes at every stopping-place. As showing the temperament of the "Fire-Eaters" at the South, the following advertisement is reproduced, which was published very widely at the time, both North and South. It will also give a very fair list of the Northern leaders both in and out of Congress:

\$100,000 REWARD.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

I will be one of one hundred gentlemen who will give twenty-five dollars each, *for the heads of the following traitors*:

Henry Wilson, Massachusetts; Charles Sumner, Massachusetts; Horace Greeley, New York; John P. Hale, New Hampshire; Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Brooklyn; Rev. Dr. Cheever, New York; Rev. Mr. Wheeler, New Hampshire; Schuyler Colfax, Anson Burlingame, Owen Lovejoy, Amos P. Granger, Edwin B. Morgan, Galusha A. Grow, Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Calvin C. Chaffee, William H. Kelsey, William A. Howard, Henry Waldron, John Sherman, George W. Palmer, Daniel W. Gooch, Henry L. Dawes, Justin S. Morrill, I. Washburn, Jr., J. H. Bingham, William Kellogg, E. B. Washburne, Benjamin Stanton, Edward Dodd, C. B. Tompkins, John Covode, Cad. C. Washburne, Samuel G. Andrews, A. B. Olin, Sidney Dean, Nathaniel B. Durfee, Emory B. Pottle, DeWitt C. Leach, J. F. Potter, T. Davis, Massachusetts; T. Davis, Iowa; J. F. Farnsworth, C. L. Knapp, R. E. Fenton, Philemon Bliss, Mason W. Tappen, Charles Case, James Pike, Homer E. Boyce, Isaac D. Clawson, A. S. Murray, Robert B. Hall, Valentine B. Horton, Freeman H. Morse, David Kilgore, William Stewart, Samuel B. Curtis, John M. Wood, John M. Parker, Stephen C. Foster, Charles G. Gilman, Charles B. Hoard, John Thompson, J. W. Sherman, William D. Braxton, James Buffington, O. B. Matteson, Richard Mott, George K. Robbins, Ezekiel P. Walton, James Wilson, S. A. Purviance, Francis E. Spinner, Silas M. Burroughs.

And I will also be one of one hundred to pay five hundred dollars each (\$50,000) for the head of *William H. Seward* and would add a similar reward for Fred Douglass, but regarding him head and shoulders above these Traitors, will permit him to remain where he now is.

RICHMOND.

It will be noted that while the head of Seward is rated at more than all the others combined, the head of Mr. Lincoln does not seem to be wanted at all, which shows that at the beginning of 1860 Mr. Seward was looked upon by the South as the leader of the Abolition and "Black Republican" movement, while Mr. Lincoln was not reckoned with.

John Brown's raid and the Speakership were about the only topics of conversation at the capital. It was believed that Seward would be nominated for President at the Republican

convention, and threats were openly made that if he should be elected the South would secede.

The House finally organized with Pennington as Speaker. The John Brown investigation was vigorously pushed by the Senate committee, and the Slavery question was uppermost in both halls of the national legislature. On the 14th of February the free constitution of Kansas, which the Wyandotte Convention had framed, was laid before the Senate. On the 21st, Seward introduced a bill for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union. His speech upon the bill was announced for the 29th, and the Senate Chamber was crowded. The following description of the scene by Henry B. Stanton is from the New York *Tribune* :

The audience assembled to hear Governor Seward's speech filled every available spot in the Senate galleries, and overflowed into all the adjacent lobbies and passages, crowding them with throngs eager to follow the argument of the Senator, or even to catch an occasional sentence or word. It was on the floor itself that the most interesting spectacle was presented. Every Senator seemed to be in his seat. Hunter, Davis, Toombs, Mason, Hammond, Slidell, Clingman, Benjamin, and Brown paid closest attention to the speaker. Crittenden listened to every word. Douglas affected to be self-possessed; but his nervousness of mien gave token that the truths now uttered, awakened memories of the Lecompton contest, when he, Seward, and Crittenden, the famous triumvirate, led the allies in their attacks upon the Administration. The members of the House streamed over to the north wing of the Capitol, almost in a body, leaving Mr. Reagan of Texas to discourse to empty benches, while Seward held his levee in the Senate.

His speech was upon the problem awaiting solution by the whole body of our people. It was the utterance of a man whose sharply-defined opinions, pronounced twenty years ago, then found feeble echoes, but which have been reiterated, until they have become the creed and rallying cry of a party, on the eve of assuming the control of the National Government. His exposition of the relation of the Constitution to slavery contained, in a few lucid sentences, all that is valuable upon that subject in Marshall, Story, and Kent. The historic sketch of parties and politics, and the influence of slavery

upon both, from the rise of the Missouri Compromise onward to its fall, exhibited all of Hallam's fidelity to fact, lighted up with the warm coloring of Bancroft. The episodal outline of the Kansas controversy, and of the Dred Scott pronunciamento, have never been compressed into words so few and weighty. Nothing could be more felicitous than his invitation to the South to come to New York, and proclaim its doctrines from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, assuring its champions of safe conduct in their raid upon his constituents; while the suggestion, that if the South would allow Republicans the like access to its people, the whole party would soon cast as many votes below the Potomac as it now does north of that river, was one of those happy retorts, whose visible effect upon Senators must have been seen to be appreciated. Finally this speech was closed by an exposition, alike original, sincere, and hearty, of the manifold advantages of the Federal Union, the firm hold it has upon the people, and the certainty that it will survive the rudest shocks of faction.

A large portion of the Democratic senators leaped to the floor in their struggle to obtain recognition to reply to Seward's great speech. Perhaps Mr. Seward was fortunate in having been abroad during the first excitement of the John Brown raid: at the same time he did not escape any of the odium of that event, and he was given almost as much blame for it as if he had been in this country and an active participator. In his great speech Senator Seward made no mention of a "Higher Law" or of an "Irrepressible Conflict." There were no threats, either bold or mild; nothing but a calm and dispassionate review of the situation between the North and the South on that day of February, 1860. Much of his speech was devoted to the principles of the Republican party, of which he was now the acknowledged leader. He said:

I know of only one policy which it has adopted or avowed, namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being homes for Slavery and polygamy. . . .

I may, perhaps, infer from the necessity of the case that it will, in all courts and places, stand by the freedom of speech and of the press, and will maintain the constitutional rights of freemen everywhere; that it will favor the speedy improvement of the public

domain by homestead laws, and will encourage mining, manufacture, and internal commerce, with needful connections between the Atlantic and Pacific states—for all these are important interests of freedom. For all the rest, the national emergencies, not individual influences, must determine, as society goes on, the policy and character of the Republican party. Already bearing its part in legislation and in treaties, it feels the necessity of being practical in its care of the national health and life, while it leaves metaphysical speculation to those whose duty it is to cultivate the ennobling science of political philosophy.

Speaking of the menaces of disunion and secession, he said:

What are the excuses for these menaces? They resolve themselves into this, that the Republican party of the North is hostile to the South. But it already is proved to be a majority in the North; . . . will it not still be the same North that has forborne with you so long and conceded to you so much? Can you justly assume that affection which has been so complying, can all at once change to hatred intense and inexorable?

Coming to sectionalism and the charge that the Republican party was a sectional party, he said:

But is the Republican party sectional? Not unless the Democratic party is. The Republican party prevails in the House of Representatives sometimes; the Democratic party in the Senate always. Which of the two is the most proscriptive? Come, come, come, if you will, into the free states—into the state of New York, anywhere from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, among my neighbors in the Owasco valley; hold your conventions, nominate your candidates, address the people, submit to them fully, earnestly, eloquently, all your complaints and grievances of Northern disloyalty, oppression, perfidy; keep nothing back; speak just as freely and loudly as you do here. You will have hospitable welcomes and appreciating audiences, with ballot-boxes open for all the votes you can win. Are you less sectional than this? Extend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats in the North.

He continued :

But we do not seek to force, or even to intrude, our system on you. . . . The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns within the Union is divided between us by unmistakable boundaries. You have your fifteen distinct parts; we eighteen parts equally distinct. Each must be maintained in order that the whole may be preserved. . . . We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them since we have to decide as a nation which of the two we ought to engraft on the new and future states growing up in the great public domain.

On the subject of the growing estrangement between the two great sections of the country he said :

Differences of opinion, even on the subject of Slavery, with us are political, not social or personal, differences. There is not one disunionist or disloyalist among us all. We are altogether unconscious of any process of dissolution going on among us or around us. We have never been more patient, and never loved the representatives of other sections more than now. We bear the same testimony for the people around us here, who, though in the very centre where the bolt of disunion must fall first and with most fearful effect, seem less disturbed now than ever before. We bear the same testimony for all the districts and states we represent.

Then in further defence of the Republican party he concluded that portion of his speech as follows :

The Republican party knows, as the whole country will ultimately come to understand, that the noblest objects of national life must perish, if that life itself shall be lost, and, therefore, it will accept the issue tendered. It will take up the word Union, which others are so willing to renounce, and, combining it with that other glorious thought, Liberty, which has been its inspiration so long, it will move firmly onward, with the motto inscribed on its banner, *Union and Liberty*, come what may, in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever.

The Republican press at the North, including the *Tribune* and *Times*, were agreed that the speech was a masterpiece, and

that its conservatism was just the thing needed at that time to overcome the aversion against Seward because of his early "Higher Law" and "Irrepressible Conflict" expressions. There was no considerable question in any portion of the East that Seward would be the nominee of his party at the coming national convention. The great verbal, and to some extent personal conflict between the North and the South, between Freedom and Slavery, was now changed, for a period, into interparty conflicts preceding and during the national conventions. The history of these nominating conventions and of the campaign is the political history of the year 1860.

Charleston, South Carolina, as the place of meeting for the Democratic National Convention of 1860 had been decided upon four years previous. The locality was undoubtedly unfortunate when the time came for the convention to meet. It was more than anywhere else the stronghold of the Slave Power, and the extremists who had now come to be known as "Fire-Eaters." The convention opened on the 23d of April, with full delegations from every State in the Union, and contesting delegations from New York and Illinois. The delegations from Illinois were respectively for and against Mr. Douglas, while the delegations from New York were known as the "Hards," led by Fernando Wood, and elected by districts; while the "Softs," who were favorable to the candidacy of Mr. Douglas, were chosen by a State convention. Francis B. Flournoy was the chairman of the convention, and an altercation at once began over the contested seats, the tickets of admission in both cases having been given to the Douglas delegates.

Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts was the permanent chairman, and a committee on resolutions was appointed. It was voted that until a platform had been adopted the voting for candidates would not take place. The contest for seats was decided in favor of the Douglas men from Illinois, and the "Softs" from New York, who were also favorable to the Senator.

Several days were now occupied over the platform, and finally a majority and minority report was presented to the

convention. General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts also presented a second minority report, it being the unchanged Cincinnati platform of 1856. It was not until Monday, the 30th, that a vote was reached, when General Butler's platform was rejected by a vote of 105 to 195, and the minority resolutions, presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa, were substituted for the majority by a vote of 165 to 138.

Upon the adoption of this minority report a large number of the Southern delegates withdrew from the convention. The Alabama delegation first presented a written protest, announcing their intention to withdraw, and was soon followed by the entire delegations from Mississippi, Florida, and Texas; then all but two of those from Louisiana, and all but three from South Carolina withdrew, together with one from North Carolina, three from Arkansas, and two from Delaware, and on the next day about two thirds of the delegates from Georgia followed. A resolution was then adopted, declaring that two thirds of the full convention, being 202 votes, should be necessary to effect a nomination. The vote for a candidate for President was then taken and resulted as follows:

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois	145½
R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia	42
James Guthrie of Kentucky	35
Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	12
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York	7
Joseph Lane of Oregon	6
Isaac Toucey of Connecticut	2½
Jefferson Davis of Mississippi	1½
Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire	1

Fifty-seven ballots were taken, Mr. Douglas's vote rising to 152½, and remaining at 151½ for the last twenty ballots. It was evident that he could not obtain a two-thirds vote, although he had a large plurality. It was then voted to adjourn the convention to reassemble at Baltimore on the 18th of June.

In the meantime the seceders had met at St. Andrew's Hall, and elected Senator Bayard of Delaware president, adopted

the majority platform of the regular convention, and finally adjourned to reconvene at Richmond on the second Monday in June. On reassembling at that place and day they re-adjourned until the 21st.

The regular convention reassembled at Baltimore on the 18th of June. After a long address by the president, Caleb Cushing, the matter of admission of delegates from the seceding States was taken up, and as in nearly every instance, the Douglas delegates were seated, a second secession took place. Mr. Cushing withdrew from the chair, and was succeeded by Governor Tod of Ohio. A candidate for President was now voted for, and although Mr. Douglas received 181½, Mr. Breckinridge 7½, and Mr. Guthrie 5½ votes, Mr. Douglas still fell short of the necessary two-thirds vote; but in spite of the resolution passed at the Charleston Convention, he was declared the nominee of the party. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, was almost unanimously nominated for Vice-President, but afterwards declined the nomination, and the national committee nominated Herschel V. Johnson in his place.

The second body of seceders now met, with Mr. Cushing as their presiding officer, and after adopting the majority platform of the Charleston Convention, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President, by a unanimous vote.

On the 9th of May, the Constitutional Union party held at Baltimore its first and only convention. It was composed of some of the American element from the South who wanted General Sam Houston of Texas for President, while the old Whigs of the North, who constituted a considerable portion of this party, were opposed. Washington Hunt of New York was made president of the convention.

On the second ballot for a candidate for President, John Bell of Tennessee was nominated, with Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The Democratic conventions had aroused considerable interest and excitement, and the division in the old party was so serious as almost to warrant the success of the Republican party. Consequently the eyes of the whole country were fixed upon the Republican

National Convention, which met at Chicago on the 16th of May. There seemed to be but little question, before the assembling of the convention, that Mr. Seward would be the successful candidate for nomination: at the same time the confidence in the success of the party, enhanced by the division in the Democratic party, brought out other candidates, including Mr. Lincoln, Edward Bates of Missouri, Chase and McLean of Ohio, and Cameron of Pennsylvania. There were delegates present from all the free States, as well as from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and from the District of Columbia. The convention was called to order by Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee, who after a short address nominated for temporary president David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. He was introduced by Governor Cleveland of Connecticut, as follows:

Permit me to introduce to this Convention a gentleman whose name is known to every lover of liberty throughout this land—the Hon. David Wilmot, the man who dares to do the right, regardless of consequences. With such men for our leaders, there is no such word as fail.

In taking the chair he spoke most feelingly of the duty of the day, and was followed by a short prayer uttered by the Reverend Mr. Humphrey, of the First Presbyterian Church.

Matters concerning a permanent organization then consumed the remainder of the day. At the afternoon or evening session the Honorable George Ashmun of Massachusetts was chosen as permanent president of the convention. He was escorted to the chair by the Honorable Preston King of New York, and Carl Schurz, then of Wisconsin. On taking the chair he spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention, Republicans, Americans: My first duty is to express to you the deep sense which I feel of this distinguished mark of your confidence. In the spirit in which it has been offered I accept it, sensible of the difficulties which surround the position, but cheered and sustained by the faith that the same generosity that has brought me here will carry me through the discharge of the

duties. I will not shrink from this position, at the same time the post of danger as well as the post of honor. Gentlemen, we have come here to-day at the call of our country from widely separated homes, to fulfil a great and important duty. No ordinary call has brought us together. Nothing but a momentous question would have called this vast multitude here to-day. Nothing but a deep sense of the danger into which our government is fast running could have rallied the people thus in this city to-day, for the purpose of rescuing the government from the deep degradation into which it has fallen. We have come here at the call of our country for the purpose of preparing for the most solemn duty that freemen have to perform. We are here in the ordinary capacity as delegates of the people, to prepare for the formation and carrying on of a new administration, and with the help of the people we will do it. No mere controversy about miserable abstractions has brought us here to-day, we have not come here on any idle question. The sacrifice which most of us have made in the extended journey, and in the time devoted to it, could only have been made upon some solemn call; and the stern look which I see, the solemn look which I see on every face, and the earnest behavior which has been manifested in all the preliminary discussions, shows full well that we all have a true, deep sense of the solemn obligation which is resting upon us. Gentlemen, it does not belong to me to make an extended address; it is for me rather to assist in the details of the business that belong to this Convention. But allow me to say that I think we have a right here to-day, in the name of the American people, to say that we impeach the administration of our general Government of the highest crimes which can be committed against Constitutional government, against a free people, and against humanity. The catalogue of its crimes it is not for me to recite. It is written upon every page of the history of the present administration, and I care not how many paper protests the President may send into the House of Representatives, we here, the grand inquest of the nation, will find out for him and his confederates not merely punishment terrible and sure, but a remedy which shall be satisfactory. Gentlemen, before proceeding to the duties of the Convention, allow me to congratulate you and the people upon the striking feature which, I think, must have been noticed by everybody who has mixed in the preliminary discussions of the people who have gathered in this beautiful city. It is that brotherly kindness and generous emulation

which has marked every conversation and every discussion, showing a desire for nothing else but their country's good. Earnest, warm and generous preferences are expressed, ardent hopes and fond purposes are declared, but not within the three days I have spent among you all have I heard one unkind word uttered by one man towards another. I hail it as an augury of success, and if during the proceedings of this Convention you will unite to perpetuate that feeling and allow it to pervade all your proceedings, I declare to you that I think it is the surest and brightest promise of your success, whoever may be the standard bearer in the contest that is pending. In that spirit, gentlemen, let us now proceed to the business—to the great work which the American people have given into our hands to do.

On the second day the reports of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and afterwards the report of the Committee on Credentials, were received, the latter creating prolonged and spirited discussion. The matter was carried over to the second session of the day, when a report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted. The question of the delegates from Texas, which had been a subject of contention for many hours, was finally decided by allowing six votes to that State. An attempt to adopt a rule to the effect that a two-thirds vote be required to nominate was unsuccessful, and the majority rule was adopted which has remained the rule of all subsequent Republican National Conventions.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform was announced as ready for presentation, and Mr. Jessup of Pennsylvania announced that the resolutions had been adopted with great unanimity, with the exception of some dissenting voices regarding one or two. The platform as amended and finally adopted was as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1860.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which

called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution,—“that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed”—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in person; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of

the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individual, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general

government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization law, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support.

The second resolution did not contain the extract from the Declaration of Independence as at first reported from the committee. It was made a separate resolution, moved by Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, but was defeated; although, on a motion of Mr. George William Curtis of New York, it was, in a different form, adopted.

Early on the third day the convention proceeded to ballot for President. The name of William H. Seward was first presented by Mr. Evarts of New York; then the name of Abraham Lincoln was presented by Mr. Judd of Illinois, followed by the presentation of William L. Dayton, by Mr. Dudley of Ohio; General Simon Cameron, by Mr. Reeder of Pennsylvania; Salmon P. Chase, by Mr. Cartter of Ohio; Edward Bates, by Mr. Blair of Missouri; John McLean, by Mr. Corwin, of Ohio. The nomination of Mr. Seward was seconded by Mr. Blair of Michigan, Mr. Schurz of Wisconsin, Mr. North of Minnesota, Mr. Phillips of Kansas, while the nomination of Mr. Lincoln was seconded by Mr. Smith of Indiana, Mr. Delano of Ohio, and Mr. Stone of Iowa. As soon as the nominations were completed Mr. Logan of Illinois, addressed the president, saying:

In order or out of order, I desire to move that this Convention, for itself and this vast audience, give three cheers for all the candidates presented by the Republican party.

Three ballots were taken, resulting as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.
Whole number of votes.....	465	465	465
Necessary for a choice	233	233	233
William H. Seward of New York.....	173½	184½	180
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.....	102	181	231½
Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania.....	50½	2	—
Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.....	49	42½	24½
Edward Bates of Missouri.....	48	35	22
William L. Dayton of New Jersey.....	14	10	1
John McLean of Ohio.....	12	8	5
Jacob Collamer of Vermont.....	10	—	—
Scattering.....	6	2	1

Before the vote of the third ballot was announced various States changed their vote to Mr. Lincoln, who obtained upwards of 350 votes out of the 465 votes cast. Mr. Evarts, the chairman of the New York delegation; Mr. Andrew, chairman of the Massachusetts delegation; Mr. Schurz, for the

delegation of Wisconsin; and Mr. Blair, for Michigan, moved and seconded the motion that the nomination be made unanimous, which was done amid tumultuous cheering, although the record of no formal vote appears in the official proceedings.

At the evening session, on the second ballot Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice-President, his chief competitors on the first ballot being Cassius Clay of Kentucky; Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts; Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania, and John Hickman of Pennsylvania. The nomination of Mr. Hamlin was, after some speech-making, made unanimous. After more speech-making, and a few minutes of almost riotous jubilation, the convention listened to a short valedictory by the president and adjourned.

The result of the convention was most heartily acquiesced in by every element of the party in every State. The immediate disappointment of Mr. Seward's friends was keen in the extreme, and yet every Seward man within an hour after the nomination became a Lincoln man. It was very evident that Mr. Seward, while looked upon as the great leader of the Republican party, could not carry certain States which were positively necessary to Republican success. It was hardly probable that he could carry Pennsylvania or Indiana. Mr. Greeley and the all-powerful New York *Tribune* had been against the nomination of Mr. Seward, and had, no doubt, been largely instrumental in bringing about his defeat. Mr. Greeley himself had been selected as a delegate to the convention by the Republicans of Oregon, and represented that State in the Committee on Resolutions. Another element tending toward the defeat of Mr. Seward was the fact that because of a previous act when Governor of New York, he had alienated the entire American element by his devotion to his Catholic friends, and because of a message to a legislature urging a division of the school funds between the Catholics and Protestants. Mr. Seward's very liberality of mind and generosity of heart defeated his ambition and the desire of hosts of friends. He had been in public life too long, while Mr. Lincoln was practically a new man with no enemies in his own party, and with availability as an unquestioned endorsement and as the greatest

factor which led to his success. In vain had Thurlow Weed, Governor Morgan, and Henry B. Raymond of the *Times* pleaded with Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Lane of Indiana, both nominees for Governor of their States. Money for campaign purposes was generously offered, but with no success. The New York delegation was outgeneralled on every hand, even to the filling of the vast wigwam in which the convention was held. It was a curious feature, in the light of the present day, that no nominating speeches were made, the names being formally presented. After the nomination of Mr. Hamlin, the following resolution, offered by Mr. Giddings of Ohio, was adopted:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those men who have been driven, some from their native States and others from the States of their adoption, and one now exiled from his home on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for the gross violation of that clause of the Constitution which declares that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

Edwin D. Morgan was again elected chairman of the national committee and Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, secretary.

The reading of the different sections of the platform in the convention was interrupted by great bursts of applause at the end of each plank. Although naturally that portion referring to the great issue of the day received undivided attention and approval, yet it was the two planks concerning the Tariff and the Homestead law that brought forth the most tumultuous cheering. The platform of 1856 very properly was devoted entirely to the one great principle for which the party stood. The absolute failure of the Tariffs of 1846 and 1857, both as revenue measures and as no protection whatever to our labor and industries, brought into prominence early in 1860 the Tariff question, and resulted in the Morrill Tariff bill, which, as has been already stated, received the President's signature on March 2, 1861.

The Tariff question, then, was most appropriately and early

made one of the great principles of the Republican party. The Homestead law for which Mr. Grow and his associates were fighting in the House, and the bill which had already passed that body, very properly received the endorsement of the convention. The Republicans present were also unanimous for generous appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements, and also for the building of the Pacific Railroad. These questions found much prominence during the campaign which ensued.

Although the Slavery question was ever foremost, yet the Tariff question, particularly in Pennsylvania and Indiana, helped to carry the day. It was not, perhaps, so spectacular and so exciting a campaign as that of 1856, and yet what it lacked in intensity was made up in earnestness and determination.

The organization of "Wide Awakes" throughout the country contributed much to the more visible aspects of the campaign, and yet it was the great speeches made from ocean to ocean, and the splendid editorials in the now strong Republican press, that carried conviction to the millions of Northern voters, who deposited their ballots for the electors chosen to vote for Lincoln and Hamlin. Although Republican success seemed certain, yet the vigor of the campaign was kept up to the very close.

When the October elections gave Curtin, for Governor of Pennsylvania, 32,000 majority, and Lane, for Governor of Indiana, nearly 10,000, there was no longer any doubt that Lincoln would be elected the following month. But besides a President and Vice-President, there was to be chosen a House of Representatives, and the Republican National Committee in a public address cautioned against over-confidence and urged the people to elect the next Congress as well as the next President. Toward the close of the campaign a fusion had been entered into in the State of New York, which gave considerable apprehension to the Republican candidates and managers. Immense sums of money were expended, particularly by some of the business men, who feared that secession would ruin or largely check their interests. About the only form of argument throughout the South was the threat of secession in case Mr. Lincoln should be elected. There was no appeal to prin-

ciple, no advocacy of rights, for the South was now for the first time fighting a forlorn hope, and was conscious that the day of defeat was at hand.

Mr. Douglas was perhaps the most active of the several candidates, and practically conducted his own campaign. He attracted immense crowds and spoke almost incessantly, not confining himself to the North, but going into the heart of the enemy's country. When asked in Alabama if the election of Abraham Lincoln would be a sufficient cause to justify the Southern States in seceding from the Union, he replied: "The election of a man to the Presidency by the American people in conformity with the Constitution of the United States would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious Confederacy." And even this declaration was received with cheers in Alabama. A similar question was put to William L. Yancey, the "fire-eating" confederate of Jefferson Davis, by a citizen at Cooper Union, and the Southerner could only give an evasive reply for the purpose of deceiving his audience.

There was some anxiety during the campaign over the possibility of the election being thrown into the House of Representatives, in which case Mr. Breckinridge would undoubtedly be elected, and yet Mr. Lincoln and his supporters were firm in the faith and untiring in the prosecution of the campaign.

While practically all Republicans, headed by Mr. Seward himself, gave their best efforts to the elucidation of the principles of the great party, which they believed should triumph at the polls, yet the following list as given by Mr. Rhodes, of men who spoke most frequently, and to the largest audiences, will be interesting:

"While the circulation of speeches, campaign lives, and pamphlet essays has not been remarkably large, the number of meetings and oral addresses in this canvass has been beyond precedent. We judge that the number of speeches made during the recent campaign has been quite equal to that of all that were made in the previous presidential canvasses from 1789 to 1856 inclusive."—*New York Tribune*, Nov. 8th. I will mention some of the men who spoke frequently from the stump: Seward, Chase, Senator Wade, Senator Wilson, Greeley;

David D. Field, William M. Evarts, George W. Curtis, Conkling, Fenton, Charles A. Dana, C. M. Depew, and Stewart L. Woodford, of New York; Thaddeus Stevens, John Hickman, Grow, Covode, Wilmot, and Reeder, of Pennsylvania; Dayton, of New Jersey; Corwin, John Sherman, and Schenck, of Ohio; Burlingame and Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts; Morrill and Fessenden, of Maine; Caleb B. Smith, Henry S. Lee, and Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; Trumbull, Browning, Lovejoy, and David Davis, of Illinois; Howard, of Michigan; Senator Doolittle and Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin; Francis P. Blair, of Missouri; and Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky.

Almost the entire better element of citizenship at the North avowed itself in favor of Mr. Lincoln. The clergy, scholars, professional men, poets, and writers were all allied on the side of Lincoln and Hamlin. The threats of the South carried no terror throughout the North, except perhaps to a few business men in the city of New York. It was certainly the first time in the history of the country, that the Slave Power had not, with their threats of secession or nullification, succeeded in at least effecting some kind of a compromise; but now for the first time the North was uncompromisingly aggressive, and finally the important day came which brought the result of the great campaign of 1860. The popular vote cast on that day for the four candidates, and the electoral vote which resulted, is given on the next page.

It will be seen that Lincoln obtained the electoral vote of every free State except New Jersey, where because of a fusion he obtained only four out of the seven votes, the other three going to Douglas, who obtained besides these only the nine votes of Missouri. Mr. Breckinridge carried the Southern States with the exception of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, which went to Mr. Bell. Although Mr. Lincoln gained only a minority of the popular vote, yet he had a decisive plurality over the other candidates. Mr. Douglas, with only twelve electoral votes, still had a magnificent popular vote throughout the country, far exceeding the vote of Mr. Breckinridge, who had the advantage of the administration and its officeholders, not only at the South but throughout the North.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE			
	Abraham Lincoln, Illinois	Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois	John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky	John Bell, Tennessee	Lincoln and Hamlin	Douglas and Johnson	Breckinridge and Lane	Bell and Everett
Alabama		13,651	48,831	27,875			9	
Arkansas		5,227	28,732	20,094			4	
California	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	4			
Connecticut.....	43,792	15,522	14,641	3,291	6			
Delaware.....	3,815	1,023	7,337	3,864			3	
Florida.....		367	8,543	5,437			3	
Georgia.....		11,590	51,889	42,886			10	
Illinois.....	172,161	160,215	2,404	4,913	11			
Indiana.....	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306	13			
Iowa.....	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763	4			
Kentucky.....	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058				12
Louisiana.....		7,625	22,861	20,204			6	
Maine.....	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	8			
Maryland.....	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760			8	
Massachusetts..	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331	13			
Michigan.....	88,480	65,057	805	405	6			
Minnesota.....	22,069	11,920	748	62	4			
Mississippi.....		3,283	40,797	25,040			7	
Missouri.....	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372		9		
New Hampshire..	37,519	25,881	2,112	441	5			
New Jersey.....	58,324	62,801 ^a			4 ^b	3 ^b		
New York.....	362,646	312,510 ^a			35			
North Carolina..		2,701	48,539	44,990			10	
Ohio.....	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194	23			
Oregon.....	5,270	3,951	5,006	183	3			
Pennsylvania....	268,030	16,765	178,871 ^a	12,776	27			
Rhode Island...	12,244	7,707 ^a			4			
South Carolina <i>c</i> .							8	
Tennessee.....		11,350	64,709	69,274				12
Texas.....			47,548	15,438			4	
Vermont.....	33,808	8,649	1,866	217	5			
Virginia.....	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681				15
Wisconsin.....	86,110	65,021	888	161	5			
Total.....	1,866,542	1,376,957	849,781	588,879	180	12	72	39

a Vote for fusion ticket. *b* Although the fusion ticket in New Jersey received a popular majority, four of the candidates were defeated by "scratching," and four Lincoln electors had a plurality. *c* Electors appointed by the legislature.

CHAPTER XIII.

SECESSION OF THE SOUTH—LINCOLN'S UTTERANCES—VAIN ATTEMPTS AT CONCILIATION—LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL— FORT SUMTER.

IT was the first great triumph of freedom since the adoption of the Constitution. It was decisive and unqualified. No longer would there be any fear of the extension of Slavery into free territory. The South must confine her favorite institution to her own boundaries, and perhaps even the system itself was doomed to destruction. It has been shown, however, and it must be emphasized again and again that there were no threats on the part of the influential leaders of the North that Slavery was to be abolished. The growth and triumph of the Republican party up to and during 1860 meant simply that Slavery should not enter further into the Free States and Territories of the country. The Republican party was not formed and put into power for the purpose of destroying Slavery, but for the purpose of checking its further extension. This point must be made clear to the present generation.

It is true that Mr. Lincoln had said that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," and that Mr. Seward had called the contention an "Irrepressible Conflict," and that the Abolitionists were satisfied with no idea except that of complete emancipation; and yet all this was aimed at the indefinite future, and by no means at the present time.

Mr. Lincoln, who now became acknowledged as the head of the Republican party, and of the Republican sentiment, talked with great care in his speeches before reaching Washington, that no offence whatever should be given to the South; that

no boasts should be made, and that every possible effort would be put forth for a reconciliation with the Slave Power; but for the first time in our history it must be a reconciliation without compromise. The South had made the issue, and it was hoped, if not expected, that the South would abide by the result.

But the "Fire-Eaters" were ready and eager to carry out the threats that they had been making for many years to secede from the Union the very moment that they could no longer control the government. And it was very natural that South Carolina, the State of Calhoun and M'Duffie and Hayne and Rhett and Aiken and Brooks and Butler and Keitt, should be the leader in the movement to disrupt the Union.

Four days after the election, on the 10th of November, a bill was introduced in the Legislature of South Carolina calling out ten thousand volunteers. The two Senators from the State, Chestnut and Hammond, resigned their seats the following day and the day after. Howell Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, who had purposely embarrassed the Treasury Department, resigned on the 10th of December, and Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, two days before the secession convention met in South Carolina, accepted the requisition of that State for her quota of United States arms for 1861. Meetings were held throughout the South, where the leaders plotted and promulgated their doctrines of treason, and the people were advised to hasten every means to bring about a successful secession. The South Carolina secession convention met at Columbia on the 17th of December, but adjourned to Charleston, where, on the 20th, the ordinance of separation was passed, which declared as follows:

An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United

States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

The ordinance was immediately passed by a unanimous vote of the convention. After the president of the convention had announced the secession of the State as follows: "The ordinance of secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent Commonwealth," the ratified ordinance was given to the Secretary of State for preservation, and the assembly dissolved. Governor Pickens at once issued a proclamation declaring South Carolina to be "a separate, free, sovereign, and independent State." Thereupon Representatives McQueen, Boyd, Bonham, and Ashmore withdrew from Congress, although their resignation was not recognized by the Speaker.

A convention of the seceding States was called to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the 8th of January, 1861, a caucus of Southern Senators, held at Washington, advised immediate secession. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas soon followed the action of South Carolina. A Southern Confederacy was formed. Jefferson Davis was elected as President, and forts and arsenals were seized in all the seceded States. The steamer *Star of the West*, which was sent to Charleston with reinforcements and supplies for Major Anderson, was driven out of the harbor, this being the preliminary act of the great conflict which was soon to follow. The Southern Cabinet members were making demands upon President Buchanan, which he was too weak to refuse, although advised to the contrary by Edwin M. Stanton, who had succeeded Mr. Black as Attorney-General.

The whole North was now filled with anxiety and apprehension. A Peace Congress was called at Washington, over which ex-President Tyler was called to preside; but Washington was almost as full of treason as Charleston and Montgomery. Even Baltimore sympathized with the traitors. The Treasury was bankrupt, every available ship except two was beyond

call, and the forts and arsenals of the South were in the hands of the rebels.

Mr. Lincoln had silently but most intensely been watching the trend of affairs, and on the 11th of February, 1861, bade adieu to his home and friends and started for Washington. In following the President-elect on his journey to Washington, we shall follow the sentiment of the Republican party, if not the entire North. As his train was about to move out from Springfield, Illinois, he spoke to the multitude assembled to bid him good-bye as follows:

My friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is greater, perhaps, than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will pray that I may receive that divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.

Mr. Lincoln was accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and their three boys, by Governor Yates, ex-Governor Moore, Dr. W. M. Wallace, Hon. N. P. Judd, Hon. O. H. Browning, Judge David Davis, and Colonel E. E. Ellsworth, and John Hay and J. G. Nicolay, who were to become his private secretaries. At every point of any considerable population Mr. Lincoln was called out, and in many instances spoke to the vast crowds assembled to meet him. It would be impossible to reproduce all these speeches, many of which contain repetition of expression and sentiment, and yet in order to know exactly the opinions held by Mr. Lincoln in those days which preceded the time of taking up the reins of government, a few extracts will be given. At Indianapolis he said:

The words "coercion" and "invasion" are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the words. What, then, is "coercion"? What is "invasion"? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent towards them, be invasion? I certainly think it would, and it would be "coercion" also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be "invasion" or "coercion"? Do our professed lovers of the Union, who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these, on the part of the United States, would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy.

At Cincinnati he said:

I have spoken but once before this in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we Republicans would ultimately beat them as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the presidency than they could in any other way. They did not in the true sense of the word nominate Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call or recall their attention to what I then said upon that subject.

I then said: "When we do, as we say, beat you, you perhaps will want to know what we will do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the

constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you as far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the examples of those noble fathers Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we—that there is no difference between us—other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as good as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.

Fellow-citizens of Kentucky, Friends, Brethren: May I call you such? In my new position I see no occasion and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured that the fault shall not be mine.

At New York he was introduced by Fernando Wood, then Mayor, and in his response he said:

In regard to the difficulties that confront us at this time, and of which your Honor has thought fit to speak so becomingly and so justly, as I suppose, I can only say that I agree in the sentiments expressed. In my devotion to the Union, I hope I am behind no man in the nation. In the wisdom with which to conduct the affairs tending to the preservation of the Union, I fear that too great confidence may have been reposed in me; but I am sure that I bring a heart devoted to the work. There is nothing that could ever bring me to willingly consent to the destruction of this Union, under which not only the great commercial city of New York, but the whole country, acquired its greatness, except it be the purpose for which the Union itself was formed. I understand the ship to be made for the carrying and the preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved with the cargo, it should never be abandoned, unless there appears no possibility of its preservation, and it must cease to exist, except at the risk of throwing overboard both freight and passengers. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people be preserved in this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to use all my power to aid in its perpetuation.

At Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, among other things he said:

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here, in this place, where were collected the wisdom, the patriotism, the

devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon this principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my views of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say, in advance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the Government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense.

At Harrisburg, in addressing the legislature, and in making his last speech before his inauguration he said, it being the 22d of February :

Allusion has been made to the fact—the interesting fact, perhaps we should say—that I, for the first time, appear at the capital of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania upon the birthday of the Father of his Country, in connection with that beloved anniversary

connected with the history of this country. I have already gone through one exceedingly interesting scene this morning in the ceremonies at Philadelphia. Under the high conduct of gentlemen there, I was, for the first time, allowed the privilege of standing in Old Independence Hall, to have a few words addressed to me there, and opening up an opportunity of saying, with much regret, that I had not more time to express something of my own feelings, excited by the occasion—somewhat to harmonize and give shape to the feelings that had been really the feelings of my whole life.

Besides this, our friends there had provided a magnificent flag of the country. They had arranged it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its staff. And when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm; when, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it flaunted gloriously to the wind without an accident, in the bright glowing sunshine of the morning, I could not help hoping that there was in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony at least something of an omen of what is to come. Nor could I help feeling then, as I have often felt, that in the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place. I had applied but a very small portion of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it; and if I can have the same generous co-operation of the people of the nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously.

I recur for a moment to some words uttered at the hotel in regard to what has been said about the military support which the general government may expect from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in a proper emergency. To guard against any possible mistake do I recur to this. It is not with any pleasure that I contemplate the possibility that a necessity may arise in this country for the use of the military arm. While I am exceedingly gratified to see the manifestation upon your streets of your military force here, and exceedingly gratified at your promise here to use that force upon a proper emergency—while I make these acknowledgments, I desire to repeat, in order to preclude any possible misconstruction, that I do most sincerely hope that we shall have no use for them; that it will never become their duty to shed blood, and most especially never to shed fraternal blood. I promise that, so far as I may have

wisdom to direct, if so painful a result shall in any wise be brought about, it shall be through no fault of mine.

After the speech from which the last extract is taken, Mr. Lincoln repaired to his hotel, as the people of Harrisburg thought, to remain until the next morning, when it was expected he was to start for Washington. A plot to assassinate the President-elect had been discovered, and it was thought best that Mr. Lincoln should be immediately taken to the capital. At six o'clock, therefore, he entered a carriage unobserved and was driven to a special train in waiting for him. He passed through Philadelphia near midnight, and was transferred without observation to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, and without change the cars passed directly through Baltimore, arriving at Washington at half-past six the following morning. In a few minutes he had joined Senator Seward at Willard's Hotel. Mr. Lincoln's family left Harrisburg on the special train, which had been provided for him, and as news of his safe arrival at Washington had been telegraphed all over the country, there was no disturbance around the passage of the special train through Baltimore.

The plot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln as he passed through Baltimore was but one of several to take his life at different stages of his journey to Washington, and afterwards during his occupancy of the White House. Both Mr. Seward and his son Frederick were cognizant of the plot to interrupt his passage through Baltimore, and strangely enough it was these two men who were the only sharers in the terrible violence of that night when Lincoln's life was taken in 1865. Under the circumstances it was natural that the 4th of March should be anticipated with the utmost apprehension by the friends of Mr. Lincoln, not only in Washington, but throughout the country.

The second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress had reconvened on Monday, December 3, 1860, and on the following day President Buchanan sent to Congress his fourth and last annual message. The message was awaited and read throughout the entire country with the most profound interest, but it was indeed a great disappointment both to the friends of the admin-

istration and to those opposed. While Mr. Buchanan denied that the right of secession was constitutional, and maintained that the property of the United States in the South should be retained and protected, yet his main argument was to the effect that he had no legal right to coerce a State, and that no State should be compelled to remain in the Union against its will. He as much as admitted that if any State should secede there was nothing to do but to let it go. And yet Mr. Buchanan had been the close friend and follower of Andrew Jackson twenty years before, when he had so successfully opposed Nullification and the attempt of South Carolina to defy the Government. He was well versed in the tactics adopted by General Jackson, and he had at his command the services of General Scott, who had already gone through a similar situation; but Mr. Buchanan had some time before surrendered to the Slave Power, and had surrounded himself for the most part by sympathizers with the secession movement.

When General Cass, his Secretary of State, resigned, he was succeeded by Jeremiah S. Black, who had been Attorney-General, and who in turn was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Cobb, and the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, afterwards left the Cabinet and were soon followed by the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Thompson. Mr. Cobb was succeeded at first by Philip F. Thomas, and afterwards by John A. Dix of New York. Mr. Floyd was succeeded by Joseph Holt of Kentucky, who had been Postmaster-General, and who, in turn was succeeded by Horatio King of Maine. The Secretary of the Navy was Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, so that in 1861 Mr. Buchanan had what may be called a complete Union Cabinet.

In Congress nearly the whole time was taken up with measures for concession and compromise. It will be essential to mention only the principal of these, known as the Crittenden Compromise. Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, a venerable and Union-loving supporter of the Bell-Everett party had entered Congress forty-four years previously as a Senator, and had served in that body for twenty years, as well as filling the position of Attorney-General under President Harrison, and

again under President Fillmore. Senator Crittenden was to be succeeded by John C. Breckinridge on the 4th of March, 1861, and thought now, as had Mr. Clay from the same State in more than one instance, to offer a measure that would bring about a peaceful solution of the great question of the day, a reconciliation of the sections of the country, a return to the Union of the seceding States, and again a "settlement forever" of the great question of Slavery. His proposition was to amend the Constitution, first, by extending the line of the Missouri Compromise of $36^{\circ} 30'$ to the Pacific coast, dividing the entire country into Slavery and anti-Slavery sections. Second, that "Congress should have no power to abolish Slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves." Third, that Congress should not abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, so long as Virginia and Maryland permitted Slavery, and not without the consent of the inhabitants, and compensation. Fourth, that the inter-State slave trade should never be prohibited. Fifth, that the United States should pay the owner of any fugitive slave rescued by violence or intimidation full value. Sixth, that no future amendments should ever affect these five sections, and no amendments should ever give Congress power to abolish Slavery in a slave State. To these proposed amendments were added four resolutions: First, asserting the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law; second, earnestly requesting the repeal of the personal liberty laws; third, promising the amendment of the Fugitive Slave law, and fourth, promising the suppression of the African slave trade.

It was soon found that it would be impossible to adopt the Compromise, and no result whatever was reached. A select committee of thirteen Senators had been appointed by the Vice-President, to consider the crisis at which the country had arrived, consisting as follows: Powell of Kentucky, who had moved the resolution calling for the committee, Hunter of Virginia, Crittenden of Kentucky, Seward of New York, Toombs of Georgia, Douglas of Illinois, Collamer of Vermont, Davis of Mississippi, Wade of Ohio, Bigler of

Pennsylvania, Rice of Minnesota, Doolittle of Wisconsin, Grimes of Iowa. Five of this Committee were Republicans; three were Northern Democrats; three were from the border slave States, and two from the cotton slave States, making it a committee exceedingly fair, both as to section and parties. Their deliberations and attempts at a solution of the situation which would be acceptable were, however, without result, although they were more or less agreed upon individual resolutions which were proposed, and some of which were passed. In the House there was also an attempt to solve the weighty problem of the time, but here also the attempt met with the same obstacles and with the same failure as in the Senate.

As showing how eager was the North to do everything in its power and consistent with its honor, the following resolution, offered by Mr. Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, is given in full, which was adopted unanimously by the so-called House Committee of thirty-three:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the several States be respectfully requested to cause their statutes to be revised, with a view to ascertain if any of them are in conflict with, or tend to embarrass or hinder, the execution of the laws of the United States, made in pursuance of the second section of the IVth Article of the Constitution of the United States, for the delivering up of persons held to labor by the laws of any State and escaping therefrom; and the Senate and House of Representatives earnestly request that all enactments having such tendency be forthwith repealed, as required by a just sense of constitutional obligations, and by a due regard for the peace of the Republic. And the President of the United States is requested to communicate these resolutions to the Governors of the several States, with the request that they will lay the same before the Legislatures thereof respectively.

Not only was this resolution passed by the House Committee, but it is a fact that the Governors of seven States met in New York and decided to recommend to their Legislatures "the unconditional and early repeal of the personal liberty bills passed by their respective States." This promise was kept by Governors Washburn of Maine, Banks of Massachusetts,

Morgan of New York, Yates of Illinois, Sprague of Rhode Island, and Packer of Pennsylvania, the first four being Republicans, and the other two Democrats. Rhode Island did repeal her personal liberty acts, and Massachusetts and Vermont later modified theirs. Other States took steps to the same end, and no doubt every State which had on its statutes any bill interfering with the Fugitive Slave law would have repealed it in a very short time had not Sumter been fired upon, or if it had been possible to save the Union by such action.

But the South had now irrevocably decided upon separation, believing that it was impossible for the North to restrain itself from interfering with the institution of Slavery in the very States where it had been so long permitted.

On January 10, 1861, Jefferson Davis made an extended speech in the Senate full of bitterness and complaints of Northern hostility. Mr. Trumbull of Illinois replied briefly to Senator Davis, saying among other things:

I do not believe there is any cause for these complaints in the South. I do not believe there is any intention on the part of the incoming Administration, or of its friends anywhere, to make slaves of the Southern people, or to interfere in any manner with their rights. We have said this over and over again; and yet the complaint is made that we are for encroaching upon their rights, and they talk of defending themselves against encroachments. Why, sir, we do not propose to make any encroachment. Some complain about the Fugitive Slave law. Let me say to Southern Senators, that the Fugitive Slave law would probably be enforced with greater certainty under the administration of Mr. Lincoln than under the administration of either Buchanan or Pierce; and why? Because that Fugitive Slave law is an obnoxious law to the sentiment of the North, to begin with. Then, under the present Administration, it has been enforced in an obnoxious manner; officers who were obnoxious to a great majority of the Northern people, are charged with its enforcement; and hence there is much greater difficulty in enforcing it than there would be under an Administration of a different character.

But the greatest speech made on the Republican side was undoubtedly that delivered by Senator Seward on January

12th. The speech had been announced several days before, and a full Senate and crowded galleries greeted the speaker. It was known that Senator Seward would be Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State, which fact added no little interest to the speech, besides the fact that Mr. Seward was still looked upon as a leading spirit of the Republican party. Only a short extract or two can be made from the speech, as the position of the North and of the party has already been fully stated.

Beyond a doubt, Union is vitally important to the Republican citizens of the United States; but it is just as important to the whole people. Republicanism and Union are, therefore, not convertible terms. Republicanism is subordinate to Union, as everything else is and ought to be—Republicanism, Democracy, every other political name and thing; all are subordinate—and they ought to disappear in the presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so; it should be so if the question were sure to be tried as it ought only to be determined, by the peaceful ordeal of the ballot. It shall be so all the more since there is on one side preparedness to refer it to the arbitrament of civil war. I have such faith in this Republican system of ours, that there is no political good which I desire that I am not content to seek through its peaceful forms of administration without invoking revolutionary action. If others shall invoke that form of action to oppose and overthrow Government, they shall not, so far as it depends on me, have the excuse that I obstinately left myself to be misunderstood. In such a case I can afford to meet prejudice with conciliation, exaction with concession which surrenders no principle, and violence with the right hand of peace. Therefore, sir, so far as the abstract question whether, by the Constitution of the United States, the bondsman, who is made such by the laws of a State, is still a man or only property, I answer that, within that State, its laws on that subject are supreme; that when he has escaped from that State into another, the Constitution regards him as a bondsman who may not, by any law or regulation of that State, be discharged from his service, but shall be delivered up, on claim, to the party to whom his service is due. While prudence and justice would combine in persuading you to modify the acts of Congress on that subject, so as not to oblige private persons to assist in their execution, and to protect freemen from being, by abuse of the laws, carried into

slavery, I agree that all laws of the States, whether free States or slave States, which relate to this class of persons, or any others recently coming from or resident in other States, and which laws contravene the Constitution of the United States, or any law of Congress passed in conformity thereto, ought to be repealed.

But Mr. Seward's speech, it must be admitted, was not up to expectations, and with the failure of the Crittenden Compromise, and with the impossibility of submitting the question in any form to a popular vote; with the attempts to solve the problem in the House of Representatives bringing no solution; and with the irrevocable action of the six seceding States followed by Texas, war seemed to be sure and inevitable. The Peace Congress which had been called by Virginia, and which met at Washington on February 4th, where twenty-one States were represented, and whose commissioners were presided over by ex-President Tyler, finally adjourned without accomplishment. An amendment to the Constitution was, however, framed and presented to Congress. It was brought up in the Senate February 27th, but was voted down by a large majority, and the various attempts to introduce it into the House were unsuccessful. The conference was composed of able and earnest men, and its debates to some extent were even more interesting than those held at the same period in Congress. The student of such proceedings should study carefully "Crittenden's report of the debates and proceedings in the secret sessions of the conference convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution." The conference showed conclusively that a peaceful settlement of the national difficulties was absolutely impossible, and that the opinions of the opposing leaders were irreconcilable.

The Southern Confederacy was formed on the 9th of February with Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, as President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President for the current year, and they were re-elected in the autumn for a full term of six years. A Constitution was framed and adopted, which was based in large measure upon the Federal Constitution, but with a considerable number of omissions and changes.

The Tariff clause was as follows :

The Congress shall have power :

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

Mr. Davis resigned his seat in the United States Senate on the 21st of January, going to Montgomery on the 17th of the following month from his home in Jackson, Mississippi. His journey was one continued ovation, it being necessary for him to stop on the way and make twenty-five different speeches to most enthusiastic assemblages. His inaugural message was for the most part defensive rather than aggressive in tone. It was an appeal to posterity, an explanation, as it were, of the course of the seceding States. His only allusion to Slavery and to the causes for the conflict about to begin will be found in the following :

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that the States from which we have parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours, under the Government which we have instituted. For this, your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people, are, that Union with the States from which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion should be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered, which must and should result in separation.

Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, had up to the very last moment deprecated a separation of the States, but accepted the Vice-Presidency of the new Confederacy,

and found what to him and his followers was a satisfactory defence of his course. Mr. Davis selected for his Cabinet: Secretary of State, Toombs of Georgia; Secretary of the Treasury, Memminger of South Carolina; Secretary of War, Walker of Alabama; Secretary of the Navy, Mallory of Florida; Postmaster-General, Reagan of Texas; Attorney-General, Benjamin of Louisiana.

The immediate question now was, as to what the other slave States would do. Washington, the capital of the nation, was imbedded between the two States of Maryland and Virginia. So long as these States remained in the Union the capital was safe, but in case of their secession, what then? Governor Letcher of Virginia summoned a special session of the legislature, which passed a bill calling for a convention. The election of delegates took place on February 4th, when it was known that Virginia would not secede before the inauguration of the new President. None of the other States were likely to join the Confederacy before March 4th, and for a short period at least the worst was known.

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States on March 4, 1861. His inaugural message was strong indeed, reiterating the views already expressed in his speeches.

The following extracts will give the tenor of the whole:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 4, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.

Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe that I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content

that his oath shall go unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in United States"?

My countrymen, and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Mr. Lincoln selected his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, William H. Seward of New York; Secretary of the

Treasury, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio; Secretary of War, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Caleb B. Smith of Indiana; Attorney-General, Edward Bates of Missouri; Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair of Maryland. It will be noticed that the Cabinet contained, in Seward, Chase, Cameron, and Bates, four of the candidates whose names had been put in nomination at the Chicago convention. All considered that the selection of Mr. Seward was most fitting. Mr. Seward himself had hesitated some time before accepting the appointment, but was no doubt persuaded by his friend, Thurlow Weed. While the remainder of the Cabinet was for the most part acceptable to the party leaders, at the same time there were differences of opinion as to their fitness. It was thought that Mr. Seward would dominate the Cabinet, but events proved otherwise. Although he was a leading spirit and a close adviser of the President, yet Mr. Lincoln was at all times master, and, as Mr. Seward himself confessed, "he is the best of us all."

Mr. Lincoln's inaugural was received throughout the North with the utmost satisfaction, not only by his party^s, but by the loyal citizens of every political faith. Mr. Douglas was near the President when he delivered his message, and made himself conspicuous for the expressed purpose of showing that he proposed to uphold the President in his efforts for preserving the Union.

The Confederate President and Congress in the meantime had been hard at work at Montgomery, and on the same day that Lincoln was inaugurated at Washington, the Confederate flag was raised over the Southern capitol. A military force of one hundred thousand volunteers to serve for one year was authorized by the Confederate Congress, and also the issue of one million dollars in treasury notes. Acts were passed for the organization and support of a navy, post-office department, and judicial courts. Provision was made for a commission to be sent to Europe for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the new Government, and to make treaties. The permanent Constitution was adopted on March 11th, and

was ratified not only promptly but almost unanimously by the different State conventions.

The situation was now grave indeed, and prompt and decisive action was necessary on the part of President Lincoln. His Cabinet at the outset was divided on almost the first question which came before it, namely, the proper course to take regarding Fort Sumter. Mr. Seward had refused to receive or treat with the two commissioners from the Confederacy, although they were indefatigable in their attempts to gain recognition. The question now turned upon the defence or evacuation of Fort Sumter, and it was finally decided to send supplies to that important post. It was believed that the step would be decisive, and most of the Cabinet were reluctant to take any step that might precipitate the war. But the consensus of opinion was finally expressed in the words of Chase: "If war is to be the result, I see no reason why it may not be best begun in consequence of military resistance to the efforts of the Administration to sustain troops of the Union, stationed under the authority of the Government, in a fort of the Union, in the ordinary course of service." The relief fleet was consequently started, but before it arrived the leader of the Confederate forces, General Beauregard, called upon Major Anderson, who was now in command of Fort Sumter, to surrender. On the refusal of Major Anderson, the batteries of Charleston opened on the fort, April 12, 1861, and the great War of the Rebellion was begun.

CHAPTER XIV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR FOR THE UNION—THE FIRST RESULTS—THE PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

THE reader of this work will not expect to find in these pages a detailed history of the War of the Rebellion. The story has been graphically and exhaustively told by many writers. Nor will it be contended that the now successful Republican party alone fought the war for the Union. It was the North against the South, but it must be distinctly understood, that while loyal Democrats and loyal men of other party distinctions fought side by side with Republicans upon the battlefield to preserve the Union, yet it was the Republican party, guided by its great leader and his Cabinet and the majorities in both Senate and House, which originated and executed the various measures and acts to carry the war to a successful termination.

There will never be the slightest hesitancy to award full praise and honor to the soldier in the field, from the highest to the humblest position, and yet we must never forget the work done at Washington, not only at the Capitol, where the great financial and other measures were framed and adopted which gave the means for carrying on the prolonged conflict; but at the departments, where Cabinet officers and their associates were planning, not only for the armies in the field, but for the Government in all its phases and needs, and at the White House, where the President himself was exerting an executive leadership never equalled in the history of civilization.

It was necessary that we should have courage, firmness, and decision on almost every day and every hour of the day during the mighty struggle; it was necessary that we should have

diplomacy of the highest order; it was necessary that financial measures should be originated and adopted to meet the expenses which were to run up into the thousands of millions. For the carrying out of these many and important and necessary acts of the war, credit must be given to the great Republican party and its chosen leaders during those four awful years of conflict and sorrows.

The action of Mr. Douglas at the inauguration has been mentioned, but Mr. Douglas went further than passively to sustain the administration. Merriam, in his *Life of Samuel Bowles*, in speaking of the powerful influence of George Ashmun of Massachusetts, relates the following:

Probably the most notable was the result of his interview with Stephen A. Douglas, directly after the rebels fired on Fort Sumter, and the rebellion was fully launched upon the land. Such were his appeals, such the force of the arguments he addressed to Douglas, that the great Illinoisian rose up superior to partisanship, superior to disappointment, and took his stand with the country. "Now," said Mr. Ashmun, although it was very late in the night, "let us go up to the White House and talk with Mr. Lincoln. I want you to say to him what you have said to me, and then I want the result of this night's deliberations to be telegraphed to the country." That interview at the White House between these three men—Lincoln, Douglas, and Ashmun—should be historical. Then and there Mr. Douglas took down the map and planned the campaign. Then and there he gave in, most eloquently and vehemently, his adhesion to the Administration and the country. Mr. Ashmun himself briefly epitomized the story, and it went by telegraph that night all over the country, to electrify and encourage every patriot on the morrow.

As the deeds of the Republican party during the next few years are recounted, because every act of the administration was a Republican act, the writer wishes it to be distinctly understood that there is no disparagement intended for such members of the Democratic party as assisted loyally and liberally to preserve the Union. To the Republican party must be given the credit for prosecuting the war, because it was the Republican party which was in power, placed there by the votes of the people, and which most earnestly and most

ably performed the duties which were presented to it. There were in the North some Democrats who were at first disloyal, and afterwards rallied to the support of the Union; there were others who remained disloyal throughout the conflict. These were known as Copperheads, and the mere mention of them is sufficient for the present. When the nominations and election of 1864 are reached, the truth as to their position, their sentiment, and their acts will be recorded.

The firing upon Fort Sumter aroused every patriotic man at the North, each one of whom was ready to march to the front in defence of his country's flag, and to preserve the Union. Major Anderson most gallantly held out as long as his ammunition and rations would permit, and then accepted the conditions of marching out, as will be seen from the following:

STEAMSHIP *Baltic*, OFF SANDY HOOK,
April 18, 1861.

THE HONORABLE S. CAMERON,

SECRETARY OF WAR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR: Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed, the gorge-wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by Gen. Beauregard (being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities), and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major First Artillery.

On April 15th the newspapers of the North contained the following proclamation:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in

the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law.

Now, therefore, I, *Abraham Lincoln*, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces called forth will probably be to re-possess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

And I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress.

Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective Chambers, at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The proclamation was most enthusiastically received in every free State. With only the exception of Rhode Island every Governor and legislature east of the Rocky Mountains were Republican, and ready to second the call of the President. The Governor of Rhode Island, William Sprague, an Independent, not only promptly raised the quota required of him, but volunteered to lead it to Washington or wherever its services might be needed. Not only was Governor Sprague most prompt, but the troops of Rhode Island were sent into the field as completely armed and equipped as those of any other State.

The immediate response of the North was one of almost unanimous action from Maine to California. Even those who had but a few days earlier seemed to sympathize with the Slave Power were now showing an almost unbroken line in support of the President and the Union. The sentiment of the day can be no better illustrated than in the following, taken from the New York *Tribune* of April 15, 1861:

Fort Sumter is lost, but freedom is saved. There is no more thought of bribing or coaxing the traitors who have dared to aim their cannon-balls at the flag of the Union, and those who gave their lives to defend it. It seems but yesterday that at least two-thirds of the journals of this city were the virtual allies of the Secessionists, their apologists, their champions. The roar of the great circle of batteries pouring their iron hail upon devoted Sumter has struck them all dumb. It is as if one had made a brilliant and effective speech, setting forth the innocence of murder, and, having just bidden adieu to the cheers and the gas-lights, were to be confronted by the gory form and staring eyes of a victim of assassination, the first fruit of his oratorical success.

For months before the late Presidential election, a majority of our journals predicted forcible resistance to the Government as the natural and necessary result of a Republican triumph; for months since, they have been cherishing and encouraging the Slaveholders' Rebellion, as if it were a very natural and proper proceeding. Their object was purely partisan—they wished to bully the Republican Administration into shameful recreancy to Republican principle, and then call upon the people to expel from power a party so

profligate and so cowardly. They did not succeed in this; they have succeeded in enticing their Southern protégés and sometime allies into flagrant treason. . . .

Most of our journals lately parading the pranks of the Secessionists with scarcely disguised exultation, have been suddenly sobered by the culmination of the slaveholding conspiracy. They would evidently like to justify and encourage the traitors further, but they dare not; so the Amen sticks in their throat. The aspect of the people appalls them. Democrat as well as Republican, Conservative and Radical, instinctively feel that the guns fired at Sumter were aimed at the heart of the American Republic. Not even in the lowest groggery of our city would it be safe to propose cheers for Beauregard and Gov. Pickens. The Tories of the Revolution were relatively ten times as numerous here as are the open sympathizers with the Palmetto Rebels. It is hard to lose Sumter; it is a consolation to know that in losing it we have gained a united people. Henceforth, the loyal States are a unit in uncompromising hostility to treason, wherever plotted, however justified. Fort Sumter is temporarily lost, but the country is saved. Live the Republic!

There were, to be sure, exceptions to this sentiment among certain journals, but their comments shall have no place in this work. They were, after all, but the opinions of individuals, and as compared to the great mass of loyal citizens of all parties were as nothing.

At the South on the night of the attack on Fort Sumter the Confederates were rejoicing that the war had begun, and Mr. Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, was predicting that the Confederate flag would before the 1st of May float over Washington, as it might ultimately over Faneuil Hall itself. Charleston gave itself up to riotous demonstration, even the clergy joining in the celebration and pointing with exultation to the Confederate flag waving in the harbor over Fort Sumter.

To Massachusetts must be given the honor of having a fully equipped regiment first on its way to Washington. The 6th Massachusetts, armed with rifles, started for Washington on Wednesday, April 17th, within forty-eight hours after the proclamation of the President. They were assaulted while passing through Baltimore, and four of their number were

killed, their blood being the first that was shed in the great war. The entire quota called for by the proclamation was soon ready for action, but it was seen that the seventy-five thousand would be inadequate, and a second call for troops was made by the President.

It was now time for those slave States which had as yet taken no action regarding secession to decide whether they would remain in the Union or secede from it. Arkansas joined the Confederacy May 6th, and North Carolina May 29th. On April 25th the Virginia Convention had ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States, and a temporary convention was formed, placing the military forces of the State under the Confederate President. It was provided that both of these measures were to be void if the popular vote in May should be against secession; but the Confederate troops made the election a farce, and so Virginia in this lawless fashion joined the Confederacy. The western section of the State, however, refused to go with the rest, and the new State of West Virginia was formed, and was admitted into the Union June 19, 1863. Richmond was made both the capital of Virginia and of the Confederacy, and the rebels' cry "On to Washington!" was echoed back by the cry of the Unionists, "On to Richmond!" Tennessee, by methods fully as irregular as those of Virginia, joined the Confederate States on June 24th. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri remained in the Union, although many of their citizens fought on the side of the South.

The Thirty-seventh Congress in extra session convened at Washington on the 4th of July, 1861, in compliance with the foregoing proclamation of President Lincoln. The Senate was called to order by Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin. In the House Galusha A. Grow was elected Speaker, having received 99 votes out of 159 cast. The political complexion of Congress was now as follows: Senate—Republicans, 31; Democrats, 11; Unionists, 5; Vacant, 1; House—Republicans, 106; Democrats, 42; Unionists, 28; Vacant, 2. The message of the President explaining to Congress the situation of affairs was most comprehensive and explicit.

In the Senate, on the 10th, the following joint resolution

was offered to approve and confirm the acts of the President previous to the commencement of the session :

Whereas, since the adjournment of Congress, on the 4th day of March last, a formidable insurrection in certain States of this Union has arrayed itself in armed hostility to the Government of the United States, constitutionally administered; and whereas the President of the United States did, under the extraordinary exigencies thus presented, exercise certain powers and adopt certain measures for the preservation of this Government—that is to say: First. He did, on the 15th day of April last, issue his proclamation calling upon the several States for seventy-five thousand men to suppress such insurrectionary combinations, and to cause the laws to be faithfully executed. Secondly. He did, on the 19th day of April last, issue a proclamation setting on foot a blockade of the ports within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Thirdly. He did, on the 27th day of April last, issue a proclamation establishing a blockade of the ports within the States of Virginia and North Carolina. Fourthly. He did, by order of the 27th day of April last, addressed to the commanding general of the army of the United States, authorize that officer to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at any point or in the vicinity of any military line between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington. Fifthly. He did, on the 3d day of May last, issue a proclamation calling into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, increasing the regular army by the addition of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen men, and the navy by an addition of eighteen thousand seamen. Sixthly. He did, on the 10th day of May last, issue a proclamation authorizing the commander of the forces of the United States on the coast of Florida to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, if necessary. All of which proclamations and orders have been submitted to this Congress. Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all of the extraordinary acts, proclamations, and orders, hereinbefore mentioned, be, and the same are hereby, approved, and declared to be in all respects legal and valid, to the same intent, and with the same effect, as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States.

The above resolution was afterwards incorporated in a bill which passed both Houses by an almost unanimous vote.

The extra session closed on August 6th. It had provided ways and means for carrying on the military operations; duties on imports were increased; a loan of two hundred and fifty million dollars was authorized, as well as the issue of fifty millions of treasury notes. The army was increased practically to an unlimited number at the President's discretion. One bill authorized the enlistment of five hundred thousand volunteers. The proceedings were for the most part harmonious, and patriotism pervaded the sessions of both Houses.

As the entire control of Congress was in the hands of Northern men, there was, of course, no expression of sentiment from Southern members, all of whom had withdrawn during the last session of the preceding Congress.

On the 19th of April the President had issued a proclamation declaring the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas to be blockaded. An additional proclamation was issued on the 27th of April extending the blockade to the ports of North Carolina and Virginia. On the 3d of May, another proclamation was issued, calling for forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers for three years; and on the 16th a proclamation was issued in which the President commanded the suspension of *habeas corpus* if necessary.

After the adjournment of the extra session of Congress the Government at once made preparations to recover the strongholds in the Confederate States. The army around Washington was greatly increased in numbers. Before the extra session of Congress adjourned the battle of Bull Run had been fought on July 21st. Here, although the Unionists were at first successful, yet reinforcements enabled the Confederates to gain the day after a complete rout of the national forces. While this battle was a temporary victory for the South, it had the effect after the first few days of depression and disappointment of filling the whole North with increased energy and determination. It was seen that there must be more men in the field, and that they must be better disciplined, if not better equipped.

General McClellan, who had been winning minor victories in West Virginia, was summoned to take command of the troops before Washington.

November 1st, the Secretary of War received the request of General Scott, the Lieutenant-General of the Army, to be retired from active service. His request was acceded to, and the President personally, accompanied by his Cabinet, went to the residence of General Scott with the official order placing him on the retired list of the army, with the full pay and allowance of his rank. The venerable General, almost overcome by emotion, acknowledged the kindness of the President, to which the President appropriately responded. The following was the official order:

On the first day of November, A.D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction of his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that Gen. Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the Flag, when assailed by parricidal rebellion.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the same day the President directed that Major-General George B. McClellan assume command of the army of the United States, with headquarters at Washington.

Outside of the field of battle, and the acts of the administration regarding the war itself, was the so-called *Trent* affair. England and France had both early proclaimed a neutrality between the belligerents. While this was not satisfactory to the North, which did not recognize the South as a separate nation, but simply as insurrectionists, still there seemed to be no other course for foreign countries wishing to assume

neutrality. War certainly existed between two forces, and it was not for England to decide that the South had no cause, and therefore should not be treated as a belligerent.

The Confederacy now decided to appeal to Europe for full recognition, and despatched two commissioners, James M. Mason and John Slidell, to England and France respectively. They had evaded the blockade by going to Havana and sailing from there on the mail steamer *Trent*. On November 8th, the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, stopped the *Trent*, and seizing Mason and Slidell took them off and carried them to Boston, where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren. The action of Wilkes was most heartily applauded throughout the North. England, however, took an entirely different view of the affair, and demanded reparation for the insult to her flag, and backed up her demand with threats of war, and even preparations for hostilities. Our War of 1812 with Great Britain had been entered upon for just such acts by Great Britain as we ourselves had now performed in the seizure and arrest of Mason and Slidell on the British steamer.

After a considerable correspondence, Secretary Seward acknowledged our inconsistency in maintaining that we had the right of search, and an apology was finally made to England for the unauthorized action of Captain Wilkes, and Mason and Slidell were set at liberty and sailed for England during the following January.

For some time the people of the North were not reconciled to the action of the Government. Captain Wilkes received a vote of thanks from the House of Representatives, and during the following year was made a Commodore and placed first on the list. It was afterwards seen and acknowledged, however, by the fair-minded people, that the statesmanship and diplomacy of Secretary Seward had not only delivered us out of a serious difficulty, but had no doubt saved us from a foreign war. We had ourselves established a precedent, and now Great Britain herself was committed to the same position, and the likelihood of any further difficulties with foreign powers was thereby so much assuaged. The affair, almost insignificant in its beginning, became most important in its bearings upon

the relations between the two great English-speaking countries, and in its termination it quite blasted the hopes of the South of gaining the aid of Great Britain to its cause.

The year 1861 closed with very dark forebodings, and with a disappointment and depression on the part of the North that could not be concealed. Secretary Chase had found the finances of the country in such condition that it required considerable effort to adopt measures which would enable the country to prepare for and meet the extraordinary expenses which were now forced upon the Government. There was no longer any revenue from the sale of public land, and although Congress had provided several Tariff laws for the raising of immediate revenue, yet it seemed that loan after loan would be necessary, and at a very high rate of interest.

The reverses at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff were uppermost in the minds of the people, and the *Trent* affair had for a time lowered the nation's pride. At the same time there was absolute confidence in the ability of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, to meet every financial exigency and requirement. There were mutterings, of course, that the President was very slow in action, and criticism was found on every side, and from no less a person than Horace Greeley, who both in private letters to the President, and publicly in the *Tribune*, showed his impatience at the course of events. And yet the year 1862 opened, in spite of the very critical situation on all sides, with increased hope and determination.

The second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress convened at Washington on the 2d of December, 1861. The question of emancipating the slaves came up at this session, and from this time on, the sentiment for such action grew throughout the North. Pressure was at once brought to bear upon the President to the end that he should issue a Proclamation of Emancipation at once or in the near future. The President in his annual message did not refer to the subject, but confined himself to the practical situation and the conditions of the Treasury and the war. As showing the patience and consideration which at all times possessed the mind and soul of Lincoln, the following paragraph from the message is given :

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court—two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so far forbore making nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state. Two of the outgoing judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt; so that if successors were appointed in the same localities, they could not now serve upon their circuits; and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the supreme bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace; although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which had heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

In both the Senate and House during the winter of 1861–62 various resolutions looking towards peace and reconciliation were proposed and debated, but without result. The conduct of the army was also discussed, but general confidence in the President and his Cabinet was not abated.

Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, was dismissed from the Cabinet and nominated as Minister to Russia in the following terse note of January 11, 1862:

MY DEAR SIR:

As you have more than once expressed a desire for a change of position, I can now gratify you, consistently with my view of the public interest. I therefore propose nominating you to the Senate, next Monday, as Minister to Russia.

Very sincerely, your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

The Secretary of War had been surrounded by many friends who were both indiscreet and, perhaps, too mercenary. It was found that the War Department, if not corrupt, was at least extravagant, and Mr. Cameron was charged with transactions that were neither for the best interests of the Government, nor exactly within the confines of honesty. The Secretary of the Navy was also criticised, yet the House of Representatives, although it censured Cameron by a vote of 79 to 45, refused

at the same time to censure Welles by a vote of 45 to 72. Mr. Cameron was undoubtedly a victim of too many and too grasping friends. Mr. Lincoln had differed from the Secretary of War regarding the question of arming and using abandoned or fugitive negroes in a military capacity. While the President did not question the right of the Government in the matter, he simply did not think that the time had come for any such action. Although the fullest confidence and harmony did not exist between the President and his Secretary of War, in spite of the various accusations now being brought forward the relations of the two continued pleasant, and there was no change in the friendship of the two men. Mr. Lincoln, as soon as the vote of censure in the House was announced, sent a special message explaining that the transactions were committed at a time when Washington was cut off from the North, and that furthermore they had not been done exclusively by Cameron himself, but by the orders of the President and with the full assent of the Cabinet, so that each was equally responsible with the Secretary of War.

Mr. Chase continued to be a devoted personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, and was a staunch supporter of his nomination and re-election to the Presidency. Edwin M. Stanton was appointed by the President to succeed Mr. Cameron as Secretary of War. He had been a Democrat and a member of Buchanan's Cabinet, but a most efficient member and loyal to the Union. Although formerly a Democrat he now became more than ever a staunch Unionist, and his efficiency at the head of the War Department has ever been looked upon as giving him the first rank in that position during our history.

For a time there was little of importance to record on the field or at the capital. On January 27th the President issued what was known as "General War Order No. 1," which appointed the 22d of February, 1862, as a "day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces." This was followed by a "Special War Order No. 1," directing "that all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing Manassas Junction."

On April 16th, the President approved a bill which had passed both Houses, abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia and providing compensation for the owners. After signing the bill, the President returned it to the Senate with the following message :

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

The act entitled " An act for the release of certain persons held in service or labor in the District of Columbia," has this day been approved and signed.

I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the act.

In the matter of compensation, it is provided that claims may be presented within ninety days from the passage of this act, " but not thereafter "; and there is no saving for minors, *femes covert*, insane, or absent persons. I presume this is an omission by mere oversight, and I recommend that it be supplied by an amendatory or supplemental act.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

April 16, 1862.

In the House on the 10th of May the following resolution was introduced by Roscoe Conkling :

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

The resolution was adopted in the House by a vote of 89 to 31, and in the Senate by a vote of 32 to 10. This resolution

had been recommended by the President's message of the 6th of March.

The President and the Republican party were now acting for the most part harmoniously together, and carrying out the very principle for which the party was formed. Up to this time there had been no thought in the President's mind to free the slaves, except through the consent of the owners and with compensation. An opportunity was now given to the seceding and border slave States to take advantage of the most liberal offer of the Government, and gradually emancipate their slaves, receiving for the same full compensation. It was at the same time hardly expected that any but the border States would take advantage of the opportunity. But Slavery was undoubtedly doomed, and this fact was fully appreciated by the Southern leaders, and had, in fact, been acknowledged by Jefferson Davis himself.

Before the outbreak of the war Mr. Lincoln and his party had placed themselves fairly on record in acknowledging that the institution of Slavery ought not to be interfered with in the slave States, and even now, a year after the outbreak of hostilities, when there was no doubt that victory would ultimately be with the North, Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party were willing to give the slaveholders ample time in which to free their negroes, and to give them ample compensation for their property and all the inconvenience and expenses involved. Not a single Republican voted against this resolution in the Senate, and only two in the House, while six Democrats in the Senate and twenty Democrats in the House were recorded in opposition. The offer not only originated with the Republican President, but it was offered by a Republican Representative, was passed by an overwhelming Republican majority in both Houses, and was conclusively made in good faith, both as to the offer and determination to carry it out in full, should it be accepted by the slave-owners of any or all of the States.

It was thought in the spring of 1862 that the war would be over by the end of the summer, and already much had been done for the slave by legislation. From the District of

Columbia Slavery had been abolished forever. It was prohibited in the Territories, and now to the South was offered the opportunity honorably and without further sacrifice to abolish the system throughout the land and end the war at once. In fact, as will be seen, there was a spirit of overconfidence and unwarranted hope pervading both the capital and the whole North. A glance at what had taken place in the field will give the reasons for the exuberant feeling.

In February it was decided to attack Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. It was here that the great general of the war, afterwards the commander of the Union forces, Ulysses S. Grant, came to the front. With seventeen thousand men and several gunboats, Grant was carried up the Tennessee by Commodore Foote. On landing it was found that most of the Federal forces had withdrawn to Fort Donelson, eleven miles distant. Grant now, with five thousand less men than had the enemy, attacked the fort and was soon assisted by reinforcements. The fort surrendered, and over fifteen thousand prisoners were taken. This victorious action broke the line of the Confederate defence, and Kentucky was wrested from the Confederates, and the Union troops occupied Nashville.

New Madrid and Island No. 10 were strong posts on the Mississippi River held by the Confederates. They were attacked by Commodore Foote and General Pope, New Madrid being first taken, and then the Island with a garrison of seven hundred men. These victories were hailed throughout the North with delight, and Grant at once became the hero of the hour.

Soon afterwards Grant gained another important victory at Shiloh on April 7th, where, after two days' fighting, the Confederates were driven from the field. Corinth was now taken by the Federal army, and the second line of the Confederate defence was broken. The fall of Memphis soon followed, and the Union gunboats had now free access to the Mississippi as far as Vicksburg.

In the East another line of warfare had been engaged in, and a revolution accomplished in the mechanism and occupation of

fighting craft. In 1858 France had constructed a steam frigate with armor plate, and England soon after followed with a similarly constructed vessel. The Confederate naval officers now conceived the idea of following this construction, and the steam frigate *Merrimac*, which had been burned and sunk, was ordered to be raised and converted into an ironclad. The news coming to the attention of the officials at Washington, they determined to build at once an ironclad on a plan which had been submitted by John Ericsson. Both the North and the South were to a degree cognizant of the other's plans, and it was practically a race as to which craft should be first completed. The *Monitor*, as the new Federal boat was to be called, was constructed at Brooklyn, and the *Merrimac* at the Gosport Navy Yard.

On Saturday, March 8th, the *Merrimac* steamed into Hampton Roads, and at once attacked the frigates *Congress* and *Cumberland*, and without much difficulty destroyed them. Consternation now seized the Federal officials, as it was feared that the rebel ram might bring destruction to the capital itself or to Philadelphia and New York. But within a few hours the *Monitor* appeared and took a position to defend the *Minnesota*, anchored off Fortress Monroe.

Early on the morning of the 9th, as the *Merrimac* opened fire on the *Minnesota*, the *Monitor* steered directly for her and opened fire. For four hours the fight continued, and it seemed to be impossible to make any impression whatever upon the armor of the turret or deck of either boat. The *Merrimac*, although not destroyed, was finally forced to retreat, disabled and leaking badly, and withdrew to Norfolk, its brief career being ended. Only a few had been wounded on the Confederate boat, while an injury to Lieutenant Worden, who commanded the *Monitor*, was the only casualty suffered by the Union boat.

This victory of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*, added to the Western victories, filled the North with hope, and the early end of the war was predicted. Even with Grant's successes at the West, he had been guilty of carelessness, or what might better, in the light of later events, be called recklessness. Charges were made against the man, and the President was

urged to remove him, but Lincoln knew his value and, saying that he could not spare the man, "because he fights," retained his services, to what end will be seen hereafter.

With the rise of Grant because of repeated victories in the West, there appeared in Virginia at about the same time a man who was to assume the command of the Confederate forces, and who was bound to share with Grant the highest honors of the greatest war of modern times. The Confederate commander, Johnston, had been wounded in the battle at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862, and on June 1st Robert E. Lee assumed command of all the Confederate forces. President Davis and General Jackson both had unbounded confidence in Lee, but even they hardly anticipated the brilliant though brief career which was in store for their most able soldier and general.

The President of the Confederacy and the commander of its army were now in complete harmony, such as had not existed between Davis and Johnston. Lee at once proved himself to be an indefatigable worker, a man of great genius, and of most effective strategy. He at once began an attack upon the long line of national troops, attacking the Union forces with terrific onslaught, which in turn was met with courageous resistance. McClellan, though slow in his actions, had complete control of his forces, and handled them with exceeding skill. For seven days battles followed, the last being at Malvern Hill, on the James, but the Union troops finally withdrew towards Fortress Monroe. General Halleck was now put in general control of the Union forces.

On August 29th and 30th another battle was fought near the old battlefield of Bull Run, where the result was disastrous to the Union forces. Pope had been completely outgeneralled by Lee, who showed a thorough mastery of the situation, and was most efficiently aided by General Jackson. After this McClellan again assumed command of the Army of the Potomac, combining in his force the troops of Pope, but all being under the general direction of Halleck.

In June the Union forces were near enough to the Confederate capital to see the spires of their churches, and hear the sound of the bells, but in September they had retreated

to the vicinity of Washington in order to guard it from Confederate attack. At Antietam a fierce contest took place between the two forces, each side losing about twelve thousand men. Lee had failed in his invasion of Maryland, and retreated across the Potomac. McClellan was now superseded by Burnside, who determined upon assuming the aggressive and pushing vigorously against the enemy. In December the Union troops made an attack upon the Confederates at Fredericksburg, but they were compelled to retreat after a terrible slaughter and a loss of thirteen thousand men. The latter half of the year was certainly a most disastrous one for the Army of the East, and instead of the confidence and hope of the opening of the year, the close of 1862 carried gloom and discouragement and despair to every Northern home.

At Washington the mind of the President had been occupied largely with the question of Emancipation. A strong sentiment had sprung up in the North, and was growing daily to the effect that the slaves must be freed. In the halls of Congress the debate was most spirited, and the President was overwhelmed with public and private communications urging him to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation. And yet the President hesitated, and was loath to adopt so decided a course. His first thought was to save the Union at any cost. He had kept his oath of office and his many pledges that he would try to save the Union without disturbing any existing institution. In a letter written April 4, 1864, to Mr. A. G. Hodges of Frankfort, Kentucky, Mr. Lincoln explains his feelings during the summer of 1862 as follows:

I did understand, however, that every oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means, that government—that nation of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed

this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to preserve slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution altogether. When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter.

An open letter written to the President on August 19, 1862, and printed in the *New York Tribune*, under the caption of "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," not only awakened increased interest at this time, but elicited a most significant reply from the President. The former was signed by Horace Greeley, and concludes as follows:

On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the Rebellion, and at the same time uphold its inciting cause, are preposterous and futile—that the Rebellion, if crushed out to-morrow, would be renewed within a year if Slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers, who remain to this day devoted to Slavery, can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to Slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your Embassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slaveholding, Slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair, of statesmen of all parties; and be admonished by the general answer!

I close as I began, with the statement that what an immense majority of the loyal millions of your countrymen require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land, more especially of the Confiscation Act. That act gives freedom to the slaves of Rebels coming within our lines, or whom those lines may at any time inclose—we ask you to render it due obedience by publicly requiring all your subordinates to recognize and obey it. The rebels are everywhere using the late anti-negro riots in the North—as they have long used your officers' treatment of negroes in the South—to convince the slaves that they have nothing to hope from a Union success—that we mean in that case to sell them into a bitter bondage to defray the cost of the war. Let them impress this as a truth on the great mass of their ignorant and credulous bondmen, and the Union will never be restored—never. We can not conquer ten millions of people united in solid phalanx against us, powerfully aided by Northern sympathizers and European allies. We must have scouts, guides, spies, cooks, teamsters, diggers, and choppers, from the Blacks of the South—whether we allow them to fight for us or not—or we shall be baffled and repelled. As one of the millions who would gladly have avoided this struggle at any sacrifice but that of principle and honor, but who now feel that the triumph of the Union is indispensable not only to the existence of our country, but to the well-being of mankind, I entreat you to render a hearty and unequivocal obedience to the law of the land.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

So important did this appeal seem to the President, that he answered it by telegraph as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
Aug. 22, 1862.

HON. HORACE GREELEY:

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the New York *Tribune*.

If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save Slavery, I do not agree with them:

If there be those who would not save the Union unless at the same time destroy Slavery, I do not agree with them.

My paramount object is to save the Union, and not to save or destroy Slavery.

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it—if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it—and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about Slavery and the Colored Race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help me to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

Although the letter gave no hint of his determination, yet after-events showed that already a Proclamation had not only been framed in the President's mind, but had been put on paper, and that he was simply awaiting what should seem to him, in his great and good judgment, the wisest time for its promulgation.

On July 22d Lincoln summoned a Cabinet meeting, and here submitted a draft of an Emancipation Proclamation. He

asked for no discussion and for no advice, but simply stated that when he was ready the Proclamation should be made. It was soon known to be Mr. Lincoln's intention that the Proclamation should be made to the public as soon as some military success should warrant it. The President was at the Soldiers' Home when news came of the battle of Antietam, and he immediately wrote the second draft of what became known as the preliminary Proclamation, and on returning to Washington called a Cabinet meeting, at which time he announced that he should at once make public the Proclamation. Mr. Lincoln said, "I made a solemn vow before God, that if General Lee should be driven back from Pennsylvania, I would crown the result by a declaration of freedom to the slaves." On Monday, the 22d of September, 1862, the preliminary Proclamation was given to the country. It was in the following words:

PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON THE
EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

I, *Abraham Lincoln*, President of the United States of America, and Commander in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof

shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby, called to an act of Congress entitled "An Act to Make an Additional Article of War," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such :

Article.—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due ; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion, to Seize and Confiscate Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army ; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the

United States ; and all slaves of such persons found *on (or)* being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto ; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred (SEAL) and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The Proclamation was received with mingled expressions of approval and disapproval throughout the country, but for the most part it was thought to be a wise measure.

It is true that the fall elections were not so favorable to the Republican party, but this was thought to be more a rebuke to McClellan's management than to the measures of the party

and its President at Washington. There was, however, now to be no further hesitancy or retreat in the matter, and on the 1st of January, 1863, the final Proclamation of Emancipation was issued, and every negro slave within the confines of the United States was at last made free. The second Proclamation was as follows:

FINAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN,
ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1863.

Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any States or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

“That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.”

Now, therefore, I, *Abraham Lincoln*, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of

one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-
(L. S.) three, and of the independence of the United States the
eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION (*Continued*)—REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION AND DIPLOMACY—CONVENTIONS OF 1864 AND RE-ELECTION OF LINCOLN.

THE second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress had closed on the 17th of July. The record made was both wise and important. Slavery had been abolished from the District of Columbia, and forbidden in the Territories of the United States. Liberia and Hayti were recognized as independent republics. All persons in the army and navy were prohibited from returning slaves or sitting in judgment on the claim of their masters, and furthermore it had been declared that the slaves of the seceding masters were emancipated on coming within the lines of the Federal army. The resolution tendering compensation to loyal masters on the voluntary emancipation of their slaves was also adopted at this session.

The third session of the Thirty-seventh Congress convened at Washington on the first day of December, 1862. The annual message of the President was a most able paper, covering every feature of the military and financial condition of the country. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation had been issued, and in another month the slaves would be free. In concluding his message the President said:

Fellow citizens we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how

to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 1, 1862.

The most important legislation of this session was the enactment of a law providing a national currency through a national banking system. It authorized the issue of circulating notes by banking houses throughout the country organized in conformity to law. These banks were to buy United States bonds, which being deposited with the Government, the banks were then entitled to receive and circulate notes to the value of ninety per cent. of the bonds deposited. These notes then became guaranteed by the Government, which had the bonds for security. A national currency was now established and given to the country, based on the credit of the Government. The advantageous effect of the act was twofold: first in giving the country a safe and suitable circulating medium, and, in addition to this, creating and maintaining a demand for the United States bonds. Renewed confidence in the financial stability of the country was shown at once. By the act of March 3d, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue \$300,000,000 for the current fiscal year, and \$600,000,000 for the next fiscal year, of six per cent. 10-40 bonds. The Secretary was also authorized to issue \$400,000,000 of six per cent. treasury notes, payable within three years, and to be a legal tender for their face value, excluding interest, and exchangeable for and redeemable by government notes, for which purpose alone an issue of \$150,000,000 of the latter was authorized. He was also authorized to issue \$150,000,000 of government notes, including \$100,000,000 authorized in January; also to issue \$50,000,000 of fractional notes in lieu

of the postage and revenue stamps for fractional currency. By the 1st of May about \$64,000,000 of the 5-20 bonds had been taken, and from that time forward the sales averaged about \$50,000,000 a month, until the entire loan was taken.

The first of the internal revenue laws was passed July 1, 1862, and although the continually increasing taxation, both direct and indirect, bore heavily upon individuals and corporations and every branch of trade and industry, nevertheless the burden was borne with most surprising willingness by all, almost without exception. The heavy Tariff duties which had been laid had the effect of stimulating industry to a wonderful degree, and the demand for labor in the North was everywhere unprecedented. We were beginning again to manufacture for ourselves, and the result was new industries and increased facilities of the old established plants on every side, and in almost every State.

The financial history of the War of the Rebellion would itself fill several volumes if exhaustively treated. It is enough to say here, midway between the opening and closing of the great rebellion, that, in the very darkest hour, the finances of the country, its methods of taxation, the loans and credits and payments, were as near perfect as human wisdom could devise. Secretary Chase vindicated fully the wisdom of his selection by the President to be at the head of the nation's finances at such a critical period in our history. His grasp of the situation; his lucid method of transmitting his recommendations to Congress, and in return the prompt acquiescence by our national legislators in the suggestions of the Secretary, as found in about twenty-five fiscal and financial acts during the war, all did much towards maintaining our national credit both at home and abroad, and in securing to our industries and for our people security and safety for property and investments. The expenses growing out of the war were enormous, and required prompt and effective action, but they were met, as far as was consistent with proper debate over measures and careful consideration, as promptly as both the President and Secretary, as well as the great mass of financial institutions, could desire. The Republicans in both Senate and House were

harmonious in favor of sound financiering, and to their number, it is a pleasure to say, were added the votes of many loyal Democrats. The Thirty-seventh Congress expired on March 4, 1863, having confined its legislation almost entirely to revenue and financial measures, and to laws otherwise upholding the President.

From the commencement of the war till the early part of 1863 our armies had been made up entirely of volunteers. The continued defeats of the fall and winter of 1862 had, however, such a dispiriting effect that voluntary enlistment almost ceased. It was, therefore, thought necessary to follow the example of other governments, and provide for the lack of a quota from any section at any time. On March 3, 1863, the so-called "Conscription bill" became a law, which provided for the enlistment of all able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. In case there should be a default of volunteers from any congressional district, then the deficiency was to be supplied by drafts upon the enrolled citizens. Persons refusing the summons were to be treated as deserters. In May, the President called for three hundred thousand troops, and in some places riots followed the drafts. In October, 1863, another call was made for three hundred thousand men, and a draft was ordered for the following January to supply any and all deficiencies. The voluntary enlistments, however, seemed to increase, and although there were in several instances most serious outbreaks on account of the drafts, the victories of Northern armies soon overcame the reluctance on the part of volunteers to enlist. The Confederate States were obliged to enforce several times their very severe "Conscription Laws."

In the field in the extreme East, and on the Mississippi, and at the South, the most important engagements of the whole war took place during the year 1863, and particularly in the month of July. In the early part of the year the Union army had suffered several small defeats in the East. General Hooker was put in command of the Eastern army, and after the battle of Chancellorsville, in May, his removal took place, and General Meade was put in his place. Lee now began to

assume the offensive, and crossing the Potomac, marched north into Southeastern Pennsylvania. Here at Gettysburg, July 1-3, was fought, not only the fiercest and bloodiest battle of our Civil War, but one of the mightiest conflicts in all history.

General Lee, at the head of the very flower of Southern troops, had advanced to Chambersburg, followed by the Union army along the east side of Blue Ridge and South Mountain. Just westward from Gettysburg on the Chambersburg road, the Confederate advance met the Union cavalry. A battle ensued, both sides being joined by reinforcements; but the Federal troops were finally forced back. All that night troops for both sides were constantly arriving, and taking their positions by moonlight in anticipation of the conflict that would surely take place on the morrow.

In the afternoon of the second day, Longstreet led a grand charge against the left of the Union lines, in order to secure the position called Little Round Top. Here General Sickles had taken a position in front of the line of battle intended by the leader of the Union forces, General Meade. It seemed as if the Confederate forces were on the point of success, when their attempt was defeated by a brigade, although Sickles was driven back to Cemetery Ridge.

While the success of the Confederates was not as yet material, still General Lee felt enough encouraged to continue the conflict. At one o'clock on the third day Cemetery Ridge was the point upon which one hundred and fifty of the Confederate guns were trained. The fusillade was kept up for two hours, and then out of the woods slowly crept the Confederate double battle line fully a mile long. Under the leadership of General Pickett, those eighteen thousand Confederate soldiers, after crossing a mile of open ground, moved slowly up the slope of Cemetery Ridge. It was the grandest and bravest charge of all history, but the hundred guns of the Federal forces ploughed into their ranks till they were compelled to fall back entirely defeated, and the end of the great battle of Gettysburg was at hand, where nearly fifty thousand brave men had fallen, fully twenty-three thousand Union men and twenty-five thousand Confederates. At the beginning of the

battle Lee's army had numbered some seventy-three thousand men, and Meade's about eighty thousand men. The charge of Pickett and his men on that eventful third day of July, 1863, will go down in history as the most magnificent attempt to take an enemy's position known in warfare of any time. Although great gaps were torn in their lines, they were immediately refilled, and as they pushed forward and planted their battle-flags upon the breastworks, and fought at times almost hand to hand,—they were so close that the exploding powder scorched their clothes,—yet they would not falter, but rushed into the jaws of death for honor and for their flag.

At the very same hour when this charge of Pickett's men was being repulsed on the hills outside of Gettysburg, General Pemberton was negotiating with Grant for the surrender of Vicksburg. General J. E. Johnston had attempted to join Pemberton, who was holding Vicksburg and vicinity by a strong Confederate force. Grant had forced Pemberton to retreat to Vicksburg, having driven Johnston off the field. The only way now to take Vicksburg itself was by siege, and for seven weeks Grant and Sherman with a force of seventy thousand surrounded the place and cut off all supplies, at the same time constantly shelling the city day and night. Finally, when they could hold out no longer, Vicksburg surrendered on July 4, 1863. Grant took thirty-two thousand prisoners, but, like the prisoners of Meade at Gettysburg, they were such because human endurance could no longer hold out.

The Mississippi was now free from Minnesota to Louisiana, and from Louisiana to the sea. That 3d and 4th of July, 1863, was the turning-point in the great War of the Rebellion. From that time the Confederate forces were weakened, and the Confederate cause waned until the end of the great struggle. The North was supremely happy and hopeful, and the standing of the United States with foreign nations at once assumed a different aspect. There was no longer any doubt that Lincoln and his army would be successful, and that the Union would be preserved, while Slavery itself would be destroyed.

During the summer the Federal troops took possession of Chattanooga, and in September the battle of Chickamauga was

fought, where the Union army was defeated, although saved from complete rout by General Thomas. Although surrounded on three sides he withstood the onslaught of the enemy until he was able to retire in good order. Grant now took command of the army in the South, and late in November the battle of Chattanooga was fought, marked by brilliant generalship on both sides. The Union forces won the day, ending in a most brilliant and courageous charge up Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863. It was a fitting climax to the many fierce struggles of that year, and both armies had shown heroism and endurance to a degree probably never before exhibited by any soldiers on the field of battle. But not only did the North have the advantage of numbers, but, for the most part, of better generalship, and of a righteous cause. The end of the war was not yet, but there could no longer be any doubt as to the final outcome. It would have been better had the Confederate General and the Confederate President surrendered at that time, and saved the further loss of thousands of brave men, and millions upon millions of dollars.

In March, 1864, Grant was placed in command of the entire Union forces and made a Lieutenant-General, the first man to have conferred upon him that honor since the days of Washington.

It is now necessary to chronicle briefly one of the unpleasant incidents of the war, as showing the attitude of certain Democrats at the North toward the administration, and its conduct not only of the war itself, but of national affairs in general.

C. L. Vallandigham, a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress from Ohio, was defeated at the State election in 1862 by General Robert C. Schenck. Indignant and revengeful he returned to Ohio and engaged in open hostility to both the Federal and War Departments. General Burnside, who was in command of the military department including Ohio, on April 13, 1863, issued a proclamation that:

All persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and, if convicted, will suffer death. . . . The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department.

Persons committing such offences will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried, as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department.

But Vallandigham continued his speeches, evidently with a view to being recognized as the leader of the "Copperheads" at the West if not of the entire North. He was now a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, and on May 1st, a Democratic mass-meeting was held at Mount Vernon, where Vallandigham, as the chief speaker, made a most inflammatory address. The result was that he was arrested and taken to Cincinnati, where he was held as a military prisoner. His trial soon followed, and he was sentenced to close confinement as long as the war continued. His sentence, however, was commuted by the President to banishment within the lines of the Confederacy. Judge Leavitt of the United States District Court for Ohio had been applied to for a writ of *habeas corpus* to take the prisoner out of the hands of the military, but refused it. Vallandigham afterwards escaped to Canada, where he remained. In the meantime, he had been nominated for Governor by an overwhelming vote in an enthusiastic Democratic State Convention, and in case he should be elected it was the intention to escort him to the capital of Ohio by a mob of Democrats sufficiently strong to overcome any Federal resistance. Thus the Democratic party of Ohio became sponsor for the attitude of Vallandigham, and in fact the whole Democratic party of the North, with notable exceptions, endorsed the position of their Ohio brethren and their hero.

The whole matter caused intense excitement, and the President was appealed to, but in vain. Mr. Lincoln did, however, offer to release Mr. Vallandigham on certain conditions, which were not accepted. While the incident was deplored by some Republicans, the party leaders in the main upheld the course of the President, while his action was severely condemned by a large majority of the Northern Democrats.

In a letter written in response to resolutions of censure adopted at an Albany meeting of Democrats Mr. Lincoln said that Mr. Vallandigham

was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration, or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. . . .

Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertions shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

While the President was no doubt within his rights as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, it may have been bad policy to take, or to order, the arbitrary action which simply brought into prominence a man who was not worth it. It had the effect to make a large portion of the Democratic party of the North an anti-war party, and no doubt the conflict was prolonged because of the attitude of that party during the year 1864.

The draft riots which occurred in different cities only served to intensify the feeling, and yet the fall elections resulted in large Republican majorities, and a most pronounced endorsement of the administration and the Federal forces. In Pennsylvania, Governor Curtin had been nominated by the Republicans for re-election and was elected by more than fifteen thousand majority, while the Republicans gained every branch of the State government. Mr. Vallandigham was defeated in Ohio by over one hundred thousand, where the Republican candidate, John Brough, was elected. Although Vallandigham received 187,200 votes, of which twenty-two hundred were those of soldiers, yet it can hardly be possible that that number of Ohio citizens sympathized with his views concerning the conduct of the war. In New York Chauncey M. Depew received a majority of thirty thousand for Secretary of State, besides overcoming Governor Seymour's majority

of over ten thousand of the previous year. In Massachusetts Governor Andrew had over forty thousand majority, and in Connecticut Buckingham had somewhat over two thousand. Even Maryland elected four out of five Unionists to Congress, and a Controllor and legislature favorable to emancipation by twenty thousand majority. Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was thus approved by every Northern State without exception, and even the border States showed no particular opposition, but seemed to be now thoroughly convinced that the Union would be preserved, and Slavery forever destroyed.

The first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress convened at Washington on the 7th of December, 1863. The Vice-President, Mr. Hamlin, presided over the Senate, and in the House, Mr. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was elected Speaker by 101 votes out of 182 cast, his principal opponent being Mr. S. S. Cox of Ohio. This vote showed the majority of the Republicans and Unionists over the Democrats and border men, and while it was not so large as that of the preceding Congress, because all members of the present House had been elected in the fall of 1862, yet there was less opposition on the part of the Democrats to the measures presented by the majority. In the Senate the Administration party numbered thirty-six, while the Democrats could muster but nine, sometimes aided by five so-called Conditional Unionists. The message of the President was a most comprehensive paper, and concluded as follows:

In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, to give confidence to the people in the congested regions, that the insurgent power will not again overrun them.

Until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that, in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable

arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged and perpetuated.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

December 8th, 1863.

Accompanying the message was the following Proclamation of Amnesty.

PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY.

Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment";

And *whereas* a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State Governments of several of the States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States;

And *whereas*, with reference to said rebellion and treason laws have been enacted by Congress, declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to the persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare;

And *whereas*, the Congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power;

And *whereas*, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves;

And *whereas*, it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State Governments within and for their respective States:

Therefore, I, *Abraham Lincoln*, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have,

directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

“I, — — —, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by, and faithfully support all proclamations of the President, made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.”

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are or shall have been civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a

qualified voter by the election laws of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State Government which shall be republican, and in nowise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true Government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such State Government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, homeless class, will not be objected to by the National Executive.

And it is suggested as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State Government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State Government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State Governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State Governments have all the while been maintained. And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say, that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats constitutionally, rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the Executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the State wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State Governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State Governments may be re-established within said States, or in any of them; and, while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the eighth day of December, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty- (L. s.) three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Among the acts of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress was the restoration of the grade of Lieutenant-General; an act authorizing the Territories of Nevada, Colorado, and Nebraska to form State governments; an act amending the Homestead law; an act providing for coining one-cent and two-cent pieces; an act establishing money order offices; an act organizing temporary government in the new Territory of Montana; an act amending the act of 1862 incorporating the Pacific Railroad Company and forming the Union Pacific Railroad; an act for the encouragement of immigration, and authorizing the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration, besides the various acts of revenue and taxation. The session adjourned on July 4th, its proceedings having been marked by unusual tranquillity and a very harmonious support of the Government.

Before taking up the nominating conventions and elections of the year 1864 a brief *résumé* of the movements and results of the army in the field will be given.

The spring of 1864 found Grant and Sherman inaugurating the great hammering campaign. The Confederate forces were now concentrated at two points. Lee with his army of about sixty thousand was on the southern banks of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, guarding Richmond and the country to the south of it. Johnston, with about seventy-five thousand, held Dalton, Georgia, and all the country south and east of it. Grant with one hundred and twenty thousand men now proposed to move on Lee, with the intention of compelling him to surrender the Confederate capital. Sherman at the same time, with his army of one hundred thousand, was to march on Johnston, defeat him, and push through to the sea. It was agreed to hammer together and incessantly till the finishing

blow had been given and peace restored throughout the country.

Grant's army began to advance on March 4, 1864, but the result of the next month's work was disheartening and disastrous. It was necessary to pass through a desolate region called the "Wilderness." It was covered with a scraggy growth of oak and pine, with tangled underbrush. Grant and his army encountered Longstreet, and other noted generals of the Confederate forces, and at Spottsylvania Court House and Cold Harbor, and almost under the fortifications of Richmond itself, the Union army lost over sixty thousand men in killed and wounded, while Lee's army suffered to fully half that number; but Grant was determined not to go back, and declared he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. He was obliged to change his tactics, however, and take another line of advance. Lee had now entrenched himself within the fortifications of Richmond, and to draw him out Grant moved to Petersburg, south of the Confederate capital. It was so strongly fortified that Grant had to lay siege to it as had been the case at Vicksburg. This siege continued until the following year.

In the meantime an important naval engagement had taken place. Several Confederate cruisers had been built, and some of them equipped in England, in violation of Great Britain's neutral position and in spite of the protests of our Minister, Charles Francis Adams, who repeatedly called the attention of the English Government to the exact state of affairs. Among the cruisers which were built were the *Florida*, *Georgia*, *Shenandoah*, and the *Alabama*. The last-named proved to be a most formidable craft and exceedingly destructive, and, as will be noted later, proved to be the subject of very important diplomatic relations between the two countries. At first she was known as the "290," but soon assumed the name *Alabama*, and did immense damage in capturing and burning Northern merchantmen. In June, 1864, a fight ensued off Cherbourg, France, between the *Alabama* and the United States ship *Kearsarge*. The conflict was brief and most decisive, the *Kearsarge* being not only most admirably handled,

but her fire being most destructive. In an hour's time the *Alabama* was completely disabled and struck her colors. Even before her crew could be taken off, she sank to the bottom of the English Channel. Some of her officers and men were taken on board an English vessel, and escaped capture. The *Alabama* had destroyed sixty-three of our merchantmen, and the other vessels of the Confederacy did much damage. The protest of the American people was made in the strongest language, and can be summed up in the following despatch to our Minister by the Secretary of War:

Upon these principles of law and these assumptions of fact, the United States do insist, and must continue to insist, that the British Government is justly responsible for the damages which the peaceful, law-abiding citizens of the United States sustain by the depredations of the *Alabama*.

Sherman was driving Johnston before him in the South, and the Union forces were repeatedly successful. Hood was now put in charge of the Confederate forces, and in September was obliged to abandon Atlanta, to which place the Confederates had retreated. Here the Northern troops marched in September, but the position of Sherman was dangerous. He now concluded that Thomas could look after Hood, and he himself began preparations for his famous march to the sea. His progress was through the very heart of the Confederate country, and the fact that he met with but little resistance showed that the South could hold out but a little longer. With sixty thousand veterans he marched across the State of Georgia, through a fertile region about sixty miles wide and three hundred long, capturing immense supplies of provisions and destroying everything in their path. In five weeks they had stormed Fort McAlister and captured Savannah, and on December 22d Sherman sent the President the following despatch:

SAVANNAH, GA., December 22, 1864.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT LINCOLN,
Washington, D. C.:

I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah,

with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General. °

In the meantime Thomas with his forces had completely crushed Hood, and the rebellion in the Southwest was practically over.

The nominating conventions of 1864 were neither so important nor so exciting as those of 1860. The renomination of Mr. Lincoln seemed absolutely certain. Still the President had in no way urged his renomination, although openly expressing his willingness to become again a candidate. He believed that it was for the best interest of the country that he should continue in office, and did not hesitate frankly to say so. Yet there were certain radical opponents, indeed we might say enemies, of the administration, who forestalled the regular Republican convention by a convention which met on the 31st of May at Cleveland. A call had been signed by B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever of New York, Lucius Robinson of New York, and others. General John Cochrane of New York was made chairman. About three hundred and fifty persons had met in response to the call, while Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, and others sent letters approving of the convention. A platform was adopted as follows:

First. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

Second. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

Third. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.

Fourth. That the rights of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

Fifth. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

Sixth. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

Seventh. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.

Eighth. That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

Ninth. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and navy for their heroic achievements of deathless valor in defence of our imperilled country and civil liberty.

Tenth. That the one-term policy for the presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendments.

Eleventh. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

Twelfth. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

Thirteenth. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

General John C. Fremont was nominated for President by acclamation, and General John Cochrane for Vice-President. These men, however, in September both withdrew and united with the Republican party in support of its regular nominees.

The call for the regular Republican convention was issued from Washington, February 22, 1864, although the word "Republican" was avoided, as will be seen from the following text of the call:

UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The undersigned, who by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the Executive Committee created by the National Convention held at Chicago, on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing re-

bellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war, and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a Convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1864, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Each State having a representation in Congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such State is entitled in the Electoral College of the United States.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, New York, Chairman.	GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut.
CHARLES J. GILMAN, Maine.	DENNING DUER, New Jersey.
E. H. ROLLINS, New Hampshire.	EDWARD MCPHERSON, Pennsylvania.
L. BRAINERD, Vermont.	N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.
J. Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.	J. F. WAGNER, Maryland.
THOMAS G. TURNER, Rhode Island.	THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.
H. S. LANE, Indiana.	CARL SCHURZ, Wisconsin.
SAMUEL L. CASEY, Kentucky.	W. D. WASHBURN, Minnesota.
E. PECK, Illinois.	CORNELIUS COLE, California.
HERBERT M. HOXIE, Iowa.	WM. A. PHILLIPS, Kansas.
AUSTIN BLAIR, Michigan.	O. H. IRISH, Nebraska.
JOS. GERNHARDT, District of Columbia.	

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

Mr. Morgan, the chairman of the Union National Executive Committee, called the convention to order, and spoke as follows:

Members of the Convention: It is a little more than eight years since it was resolved to form a national party to be conducted upon the principles and policy which had been established and maintained by those illustrious statesmen, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. A Convention was held in Philadelphia, under the shade of the trees that surrounded the Hall of Independence, and candidates—Fremont and Dayton—were chosen to uphold our cause. But the State of Pennsylvania gave its electoral vote to James Buchanan, and the election of 1856 was lost.

Nothing daunted by defeat, it was immediately determined "to fight on this line," not only "all summer," but four summers and four winters; and in 1860 the party banner was again unfurled, with the names of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin inscribed thereon. This time it was successful, but with success came rebellion; and with rebellion of course came war; and war, terrible civil war, has continued with varying success up to nearly the period

when it was necessary, under our Constitution, to prepare for another Presidential election. It is for this highly responsible purpose that you are to-day assembled. It is not my duty nor my purpose to indicate any general course of action for this Convention; but I trust I may be permitted to say that, in view of the dread realities of the past, and of what is passing at this moment—and of the fact that the bones of our soldiers lie bleaching in every State of this Union, and with the knowledge of the further fact that this has all been caused by slavery, the party of which you, gentlemen, are the delegated and honored representatives will fall short of accomplishing its great mission, unless, among its other resolves, it shall declare for such an amendment of the Constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States.

In behalf of the National Committee, I now propose for temporary president of this convention, Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and appoint Governor Randall of Wisconsin and Governor King of New York as a committee to conduct the President *pro tem.* to the chair.

Mr. Breckinridge, on taking the chair, after three cheers had been given for the "old war-horse of Kentucky," addressed the convention quite at length, concluding as follows:

I have no hesitation in saying, for myself, that if I were a pro-Slavery man, if I believed this institution was an ordinance of God, and was given to man, I would unhesitatingly join those who demand that the Government should be put back where it was. But I am not a pro-Slavery man—I never was. I unite myself with those who believe it is contrary to the highest interests of all men and of all government, contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion, and incompatible with the natural rights of man. I join myself with those who say, "Away with it forever!" and I fervently pray God that the day may come when throughout the whole land every man may be as free as you are, and as capable of enjoying regulated liberty.

I will not detain you any longer. One single word you will allow me to say in behalf of the State from which I come, one of the smallest of the thousands of Israel. We know very well that our eleven votes are of no consequence in the Presidential election. We know very well that in our present unhappy condition, it is by no means certain that we are here to-day representing the party that will cast the majority of the votes in that unhappy State. I know

very well that the sentiments which I am uttering will cause me great odium in the State in which I was born, which I love, where the bones of two generations of my ancestors and some of my children are, and where, very soon, I shall lay my own. I know very well that my colleagues will incur odium if they indorse what I say, and they, too, know it. But we have put our faces toward the way in which we intend to go, and we will go in it to the end. If we are to perish, we will perish in that way. All I have to say to you is, help us if you can; if you cannot, believe in your hearts that we have died like men.

Considerable time was then spent in organization, and in a more or less spirited debate over the delegates from the States in rebellion. At the evening session Mr. A. K. McClure of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the following list of officers:

President—William Dennison of Ohio.

Vice-Presidents—Maine, Nathan A. Farwell; New Hampshire, Onslow Stearns; Vermont, Henry Stowell; Massachusetts, Moses Kimball; Rhode Island, James DeWolf Perry; Connecticut, Henry A. Grant; New York, Lyman Tremaine; New Jersey, William A. Newell; Pennsylvania, William W. Ketchum; Delaware, George Z. Tybond; Maryland, A. C. Greene; Kentucky, J. C. Record; Ohio, David Tod; Indiana, John Beard; Illinois, James M. Brown; Michigan, Charles T. Gorham; Wisconsin, John F. Potter; Iowa, G. W. McCreary; Minnesota, Charles M. Daily; California, Robert Gardner; Oregon, Frederick Charman; West Virginia, Chester D. Hubbard; Kansas, F. W. Potter.

Secretaries—Maine, Nahum Morrill; New Hampshire, Edward Spalding; Vermont, Horace Fairbanks; Massachusetts, George A. Shaw; Rhode Island, Joel M. Spencer; Connecticut, Samuel S. Warren; New York, William R. Stewart; New Jersey, Edward Bettle; Pennsylvania, John Stewart; Delaware, Benjamin Burton; Maryland, Levi E. Straughn; Kentucky, A. G. Hodges; Ohio, J. C. Devine; Indiana, John W. Ray; Illinois, Lorenz Brentano; Michigan, Wm. L. Noyes; Wisconsin, C. C. Sholes; Iowa, G. D. Stubbs; Minnesota, Charles Taylor; California, James Otis; Oregon, J. W. Souther; West Virginia, Granville D. Hall; Kansas, W. H. H. Lawrence.

The chairman then appointed Governor Lane of Indiana, and Mr. Grow of Pennsylvania, to conduct the president to the chair. He concluded his address to the convention as follows:

I need not remind you of the very grave responsibilities, that devolve upon you as members of this Convention. The loyal people of the country have authorized and expect you to renew on their part the pledge of their faith to support the Government, in the most vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, regardless of the time or the resources required to that end, and they equally expect and call upon you to declare the cause and the support of the Rebellion to be slavery, which, as well for its treasonable offenses against the Government as for its incompatibility with the rights of humanity, and the permanent peace of the country, must, with the termination of the war, and as much speedier as possible, be made to cease forever in every State and Territory of the Union. But I must not refer to other subjects of interest that will challenge your attention.

On the second day the report of the Committee on Credentials brought out another spirited debate and several votes, with the result that the delegates from the Southern States and Territories were admitted with the right to vote. Mr. Henry J. Raymond of New York then presented the platform as reported by the Committee on Resolutions, which was as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the permanent authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the govern-

ment of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That, as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamation by which the government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have perilled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination

to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

They were adopted by acclamation. The nomination of a candidate for President was then taken up and the call of States was proceeded with by the secretary, the chairmen of the delegations responding as the name of each State was called. The chairman of every delegation cast the full vote for Abraham Lincoln with the single exception of Missouri.

When that State was called Mr. J. F. Hume addressed the convention as follows :

It is a matter of much regret that we now differ from the Convention which has been so kind to the Radicals of Missouri; but we come here instructed. We represent those who are behind us at home, and we recognize the right of instruction, and intend to obey our instruction; but in doing so, we declare emphatically that we are with the Union party of this Nation, and we intend to fight the battle through with it, and assist in carrying its banner to victory in the end, and we will support your nominees, be they who they may. I will read the resolution adopted by the convention which sent us here:

“That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of Missouri, who have been, and are now, baring their breasts to the storm of battle for the preservation of our free institutions. That we hail them as the practical Radicals of the Nation, whose arguments are invincible, and whose policy for putting down the rebellion is first in importance and effectiveness.”

Mr. President, in the spirit of that resolution, I cast the twenty-two votes of Missouri for the man who stands at the head of the fighting Radicals of the Nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

Before the final vote was announced, however, Mr. Hume moved that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous, and changed the vote of Missouri from Grant to Lincoln, whereupon the secretaries announced that the vote was unanimous, 506 for Abraham Lincoln. The announcement was hailed with tumultuous applause, the bands played “Hail Columbia” and “Yankee Doodle,” and the cheering continued for some minutes. Only one ballot was taken for Vice-President, which resulted as follows:

Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	200
Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.....	150
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York.....	108
Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts.....	28
Lovell H. Rousseau of Kentucky.....	21
Scattering.....	13

Before the vote was announced, the different States which had voted otherwise changed their votes to Andrew Johnson, so that the result of the balloting was announced as follows: Johnson, 494; Dickinson, 17; Hamlin, 9. It was moved that the nomination of Mr. Johnson be made unanimous, and the motion was adopted amid great enthusiasm.

The Democratic convention met at Chicago on August 29th. Ex-Governor William Bigler of Pennsylvania being the temporary chairman, and Governor Horatio Seymour of New York being the permanent president. The platform adopted was as follows:

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired,—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal Union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in States

not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defence,—are calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard by the administration of its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now, and long have been, prisoners of war and in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sailors of our navy, who are and have been, in the field and on the sea, under the flag of our country; and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the republic have so nobly earned.

On the first ballot for President the vote stood :

Gen. George B. McClellan of New Jersey	174
Thomas H. Seymour of Connecticut	38
Horatio Seymour of New York.....	12
Charles O'Connor of New York.....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Blank	$1\frac{1}{2}$

Several changes were made before the result was announced, and on motion of Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio, who nominated General McClellan, the nomination was made unanimous. George H. Pendleton of Ohio was nominated for Vice-President.

The campaign of 1864 was very unlike any which had preceded it or has followed it. Nearly two hundred thousand Northern voters were away from home fighting for their country, and those left behind were in no mood for the spectacular campaigns of other years. There seemed from the first to be no doubt whatever of the triumph of the Republican ticket, or, as they were known, the Union candidates, and perhaps if any one person entertained serious doubts it was Mr.

Lincoln himself. On the 23d of August, 1864, he wrote the following over his signature, and after sealing it delivered it to Secretary Welles with instructions not to open it until after the election :

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to co-operate with the President-elect so as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

At other times during the campaign Mr. Lincoln seemed downcast and anxious as to the result. Perhaps he had at no time entertained serious fears of being defeated, but it was his earnest wish that his election should be so emphatic as to amount to a universal approval of his course. He believed that such a result would be for the best good and for the earlier finality of the conflict.

Throughout the campaign the Democratic platform was reduced to the single sentence, "The war is a failure," and while the people of the North read those words daily through their newspapers, and heard them from the platform, at the same time they were rejoicing over Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and the brilliant victories of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan fully appreciated the mistake that his party had made in giving utterance to any such expression, and openly announced his dissension from that plank of the platform. Said he :

I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain, that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often perilled our lives.

The fall elections were for the most part favorable, although the Republican managers became somewhat apprehensive of both Pennsylvania and New York. A letter from General Grant proved a strong campaign document, and is so characteristic of the man that we reproduce it as follows :

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CITY POINT, VA., August 16th, 1864.

TO HON. E. B. WASHBURNE:

DEAR SIR: I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched position. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day.

With this drain upon them the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them re-enforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects.

They hope a counter revolution; they hope the election of the Peace candidate. In fact, like "Micawber," they hope for something to "turn up." Our Peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would but be the beginning of war with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms," the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

Chase, who had at first shown his opposition to Mr. Lincoln flavored with considerable spite, finally came round to the support of the President and made some very effective speeches toward the end of the campaign. The only difference between Mr. Lincoln and his party was now the retention of Mr. Blair

as Postmaster-General. This was finally overcome on September 24th, when Mr. Lincoln requested the resignation of Blair, which immediately followed the withdrawal of Fremont and Cochrane. The Republican party was now thoroughly harmonious and in complete consolidation. Mr. Lincoln was vilified outrageously by the Democratic press and orators. He was called corrupt, incompetent, and ignorant, and even was accused of dishonesty. But the slanders simply acted as boomerangs, and, as the result shows, came very near giving him the entire electoral vote of the North.

Among the effective speeches of the campaign were those of Carl Schurz, whose blunt, outspoken sentences carried great weight not only with his German friends, but with thousands of others who approved his every utterance. He was for continuing the war until the end, and he was most decidedly against "peace on any terms" or reconciliation that would restore the institution of Slavery. Said he:

We went into the war for the purpose of maintaining the Union and preserving our nationality. . . . Gradually it became clear to every candid mind that slavery untouched constituted the strength of the rebellion, but that slavery touched would constitute its weakness. . . . It became a question of life or death—the death of the nation or the death of slavery. Then the government chose. It chose the life of the nation by the death of slavery. . . . As soon as a man throws his whole heart into the struggle for the Union, he throws, at the same time, his whole heart into the struggle against slavery.

On November 8th the election was decided. Lincoln carried every Northern State except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. In New York alone was the vote at all close, and the popular majority of the whole country was nearly five hundred thousand. With the re-election of Lincoln enough Republican Unionist members of the House of Representatives were elected to constitute a majority of two thirds in the new Thirty-ninth Congress. The popular and electoral vote is shown in the following table:

STATES	POPULAR VOTE		SOLDIERS' VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Abraham Lincoln, Illinois	George B. McClellan, New Jersey	Lincoln	McClellan	Lincoln and Johnson	McClellan and Pendleton
California	62,134	43,841	2,600	237	5	
Connecticut	44,693	42,288			6	
Delaware	8,155	8,767				3
Illinois	189,487	158,349			16	
Indiana	150,422	130,233			13	
Iowa	87,331	49,260	15,178	1,364	8	
Kansas	14,228	3,871			3	
Kentucky	27,786	64,301	1,194	2,823		11
Maine	72,278	47,736	4,174	741	7	
Maryland	40,153	32,739	2,800	321	7	
Massachusetts	126,742	48,745			12	
Michigan	85,352	67,370	9,402	2,959	8	
Minnesota	25,060	17,375			4	
Missouri	72,991	31,026			11	
Nevada	9,826	6,594			2 ¹	
New Hampshire	36,595	33,034	2,066	690	5	
New Jersey	60,723	68,014				7
New York	368,726	361,986			33	
Ohio	265,154	205,568	41,146	9,757	21	
Oregon	9,888	8,457			3	
Pennsylvania	296,389	276,308	26,712	12,349	26	
Rhode Island	14,343	8,718			4	
Vermont	42,422	13,325	243	49	5	
West Virginia	23,223	10,457			5	
Wisconsin	79,564	63,875	11,372	2,458	8	
Totals	2,213,665	1,802,237	116,887	33,748	212	21

¹ Nevada chose three electors, one of whom died before the election.

CHAPTER XVI.

MEASURES OF THIRTY-SEVENTH AND THIRTY-EIGHTH CON-
GRESSES—END OF THE WAR—DEATH OF LINCOLN—
PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION.

THE second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress convened at Washington on December 5, 1864. The annual message of the President, which proved to be his last, was again an able statement of the affairs of the Government, with a conclusion reiterating the determination of the administration to continue the war without retreat or retraction of any principle or policy that had been inaugurated. The President closed his message with the following words:

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the Government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to Slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to Slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any act of Congress."

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace, I mean to say that the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

The measures enacted by the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses, which covered almost the entire period of the War of the Rebellion, have been ably summarized by Henry Wilson, who during these two Congresses was chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, and whose work at the outbreak of the war was perhaps equalled or exceeded by no other man in civil or military service. In fact, Secretary Cameron acknowledged that the salvation of Washington in the early days of the war was due mainly to the exertions of Chairman Wilson in getting the Northern armies promptly into the field. General Scott said that Wilson did more in the first three months of the war than had been done in the same position for twenty years before. Senator Wilson was peculiarly fitted to relate the history of those two Congresses during the sessions of which the war for the preservation of the Union was waged, and the institution of Slavery was destroyed. As no better summary could be made of the measures enacted during those two Congresses than that given by Mr. Wilson in his book entitled *History of the Anti-Slavery Measures in Congress*, Mr. Wilson's own condensation is given as follows:

SUMMARY OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH
AND THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESSES BY HENRY WILSON.

The annals of the nation bear the amplest evidence that the patriots and statesmen who carried the country through the Revolution from colonial dependence to national independence, framed the Constitution, and inaugurated the Federal Government, hoped and believed that Slavery would pass away at no distant period under the influences of the institutions they had founded. But those illustrious men tasted death without witnessing the realization of their hopes and anticipations. The rapid development of the resources of the country under the protection of a stable government, the opening-up of new and rich lands, the expansion of territory, and perhaps, more than all, the wonderful growth and importance of the cotton culture, enhanced the value of labor, and increased many-fold the price of slaves. Under the stimulating influences of an ever-increasing pecuniary interest, a political power was speedily developed, which early manifested itself in the National

Government. For nearly two generations, the slaveholding class, into whose power the government early passed, dictated the policy of the nation. But the presidential election of 1860 resulted in the defeat of the slaveholding class, and in the success of men who religiously believed Slavery to be a grievous wrong to the slave, a blight upon the prosperity, and a stain upon the name, of the country. Defeated in its aims, broken in its power, humiliated in its pride, the slaveholding class raised at once the banners of treason. Retiring from the chambers of Congress, abandoning the seats of power to men who had persistently opposed their aggressive policy, they brought to an abrupt close the record of half a century of *Slavery measures in Congress*. Then, when Slavery legislation ended, anti-Slavery legislation began. . . .

When the Rebellion culminated in active hostilities, it was seen that thousands of slaves were used for military purposes by the rebel forces. To weaken the forces of the Rebellion, the Thirty-seventh Congress decreed that such slaves should be forever free.

As the Union armies advanced into the rebel States, slaves, inspired by the hope of personal freedom, flocked to their encampments, claiming protection against rebel masters, and offering to work and fight for the flag whose stars for the first time gleamed upon their vision with the radiance of liberty. Rebel masters and rebel-sympathizing masters sought the encampments of the loyal forces, demanding the surrender of the escaped fugitives; and they were often delivered up by officers of the armies. To weaken the power of the insurgents, to strengthen the loyal forces, and assert the claims of humanity, the Thirty-seventh Congress enacted an article of war, dismissing from the service officers guilty of surrendering these fugitives.

Three thousand persons were held as slaves in the District of Columbia, over whom the nation exercised exclusive jurisdiction: the Thirty-seventh Congress made these three thousand bondmen freemen, and made slaveholding in the capital of the nation forevermore impossible.

Laws and ordinances existed in the national capital that pressed with merciless rigor upon the colored people: the Thirty-seventh Congress enacted that colored persons should be tried for the same offences in the same manner, and be subject to the same punishments, as white persons; thus abrogating the "black code."

Colored persons in the capital of this Christian nation were de-

nied the right to testify in the judicial tribunals; thus placing their property, their liberties, and their lives, in the power of unjust and wicked men: the Thirty-seventh Congress enacted that persons should not be excluded as witnesses in the courts of the District on account of color.

In the capital of the nation, colored persons were taxed to support schools from which their own children were excluded; and no public schools were provided for the instruction of more than four thousand youth: the Thirty-seventh Congress provided by law that public schools should be established for colored children, and that the same rate of appropriations for colored schools should be made as are made for schools for the education of white children.

The railways chartered by Congress excluded from their cars colored persons, without the authority of law: Congress enacted that there should be no exclusion from any car on account of color.

Into the Territories of the United States—one-third of the surface of the country—the slaveholding class claimed the right to take and hold their slaves under the protection of law: the Thirty-seventh Congress prohibited Slavery forever in all the existing territory, and in all territory which may hereafter be acquired; thus stamping freedom for all, for ever, upon the public domain.

As the war progressed, it became more clearly apparent that the rebels hoped to win the border slave States; that rebel sympathizers in those States hoped to join the rebel States; and that emancipation in loyal States would bring repose to them, and weaken the power of the Rebellion: the Thirty-seventh Congress, on the recommendation of the President, by the passage of a joint resolution, pledged the faith of the nation to aid loyal States to emancipate the slaves therein.

The hoe and spade of the rebel slave were hardly less potent for the Rebellion than the rifle and bayonet of the rebel soldier. Slaves sowed and reaped for the rebels, enabling the rebel leaders to fill the wasting ranks of their armies, and feed them. To weaken the military forces and the power of the Rebellion, the Thirty-seventh Congress decreed that all slaves of persons giving aid and comfort to the Rebellion, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them; all slaves of such persons, being within any places occupied by rebel forces, and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States,—shall be captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

The provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Act permitted disloyal masters to claim, and they did claim, the return of their fugitive bondmen: the Thirty-seventh Congress enacted that no fugitive should be surrendered until the claimant made oath that he had not given aid and comfort to the Rebellion.

The progress of the Rebellion demonstrated its power, and the needs of the imperilled nation. To strengthen the physical forces of the United States, the Thirty-seventh Congress authorized the President to receive into the military service persons of African descent; and every such person mustered into the service, his mother, his wife and children, owing service or labor to any person who should give aid and comfort to the Rebellion, was made forever free.

The African slave-trade had been carried on by slave pirates under the protection of the flag of the United States. To extirpate from the seas that inhuman traffic, and to vindicate the sullied honor of the nation, the administration early entered into treaty stipulations with the British Government for the mutual right of search within certain limits; and the Thirty-seventh Congress hastened to enact the appropriate legislation to carry the treaty into effect.

The slaveholding class, in the pride of power, persistently refused to recognize the independence of Hayti and Liberia; thus dealing unjustly towards those nations, to the detriment of the commercial interests of the country: the Thirty-seventh Congress recognized the independence of those republics by authorizing the President to establish diplomatic relations with them.

By the provisions of law, white male citizens alone were enrolled in the militia. In the amendment to the acts for calling out the militia, the Thirty-seventh Congress provided for the enrolment and drafting of citizens, without regard to color; and, by the Enrolment Act, colored persons, free or slave, are enrolled and drafted the same as white men: the Thirty-eighth Congress enacted that colored soldiers shall have the same pay, clothing, and rations, and be placed in all respects upon the same footing, as white soldiers. To encourage enlistments, and to aid emancipation, the Thirty-eighth Congress decreed that every slave mustered into the military service shall be free forever; thus enabling every slave fit for military service to secure personal freedom.

By the provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Act, slave masters could hunt their absconding bondmen, require the people to aid in their recapture, and have them returned at the expense of the nation:

the Thirty-eighth Congress erased all Fugitive-Slave acts from the statutes of the republic.

The law of 1807 legalized the coastwise slave-trade: the Thirty-eighth Congress repealed that act, and made the trade illegal.

The courts of the United States receive such testimony as is permitted in the States where the courts are holden; several of the States excluded the testimony of colored persons: the Thirty-eighth Congress made it legal for colored persons to testify in all courts of the United States.

Different views are entertained by public men relative to the reconstruction of the governments of the seceded States and the validity of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation: the Thirty-eighth Congress passed a bill providing for the reconstruction of the governments of the rebel States, and for the emancipation of the slaves in those States; but it did not receive the approval of the President.

Colored persons were not permitted to carry the United States mails: the Thirty-eighth Congress repealed the prohibitory legislation, and made it lawful for persons of color to carry the mails.

Wives and children of colored persons in the military and naval service of the United States were often held as slaves; and, while husbands and fathers were absent fighting the battles of the country, these wives and children were sometimes removed and sold, and often treated with cruelty: the Thirty-eighth Congress made free the wives and children of all persons engaged in the military or naval service of the country.

The disorganization of the slave system, and the exigencies of civil war, have thrown thousands of freedmen upon the charity of the nation: to relieve their immediate needs, and to aid them through the transition period, the Thirty-eighth Congress established a bureau of freedmen.

The prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, its abolition in the District of Columbia, the freedom of colored soldiers and their wives and children, emancipation in Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri, and, by the reorganized State authorities, of Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana, and the President's Emancipation Proclamation, disorganized the slave system, and practically left few persons in bondage; but Slavery still continued in Delaware and Kentucky, and the slave codes remained unrepealed in the rebel States. To annihilate the slave system, its codes and usages; to make Slavery

impossible, and freedom universal, the Thirty-eighth Congress submitted to the people an anti-Slavery amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The adoption of that crowning measure assures freedom to all.

Such are the *anti-Slavery measures* of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses during the past four crowded years. Seldom in the history of nations is it given to any body of legislators or lawgivers to enact or institute a series of measures so vast in their scope, so comprehensive in their character, so patriotic, just, and humane.

But, while the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses were enacting this anti-Slavery legislation, other agencies were working to the consummation of the same end,—the complete and final abolition of Slavery. The President proclaims three and a half millions of bondmen in the rebel States henceforward and forever free. Maryland, Virginia, and Missouri adopt immediate and unconditional emancipation. The partially re-organized rebel States of Virginia and Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, accept and adopt the unrestricted abolition of Slavery. Illinois and other States hasten to blot from their statute-books their dishonoring "black codes." The attorney-general officially pronounces the negro a citizen of the United States. The negro, who had no status in the Supreme Court, is admitted by the chief justice to practise as an attorney before that august tribunal. Christian men and women follow the loyal armies with the agencies of mental and moral instruction to fit and prepare the enfranchised freedmen for the duties of the higher condition of life now opening before them.

It would be impossible to analyze every measure which passed these two Congresses with the party vote upon each, but as the Republican party was not only in the majority in both Houses but possessed the chairmanships and majorities of all committees, it is a fair assumption and claim that to the Republican party alone is due all the credit for the measures originated and enacted from 1861 to 1865. It is true that at times members of the Democratic party voted with the Republicans in the passage of certain revenue, financial, and military measures, and even other measures concerning the management of the war or acts looking to a reconstruction of the States and their population. At the same time it was

necessary for the Republicans to exercise firmness in opposition to the enmity encountered on many occasions, as the Democratic party, or certain Representatives of the party, seemed inclined to thwart both the intentions of the President or members of his Cabinet, or the members of one or both Houses of Congress. Among the most important measures, and the only one which we need allude to singly, was the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution which as finally adopted was in the following words:

Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

It had been introduced early in 1864 for the purpose of supplementing the Emancipation Proclamation by making universal and permanent the abolition of Slavery. It passed the Senate April 8, 1864, by 38 to 6, but failed to get the necessary two-thirds vote in the House on June 15th, the vote being 95 to 66. Another effort was made, however, during the second session, and on January 31, 1865, the amendment was passed in the House by a vote of 119 to 56.

During the important session of Congress following the election, Sherman left Savannah with his army and marched north through the Carolinas; Grant was still holding Lee at Richmond and Petersburg. There was occasionally sharp fighting along the lines, and there were a few severe and bloody engagements where Lee fought with great desperation, but in spite of his great skill he was unable to gain any advantage over Grant and the immense armies which were now rapidly hemming in the last remnants of the brave but heart-broken followers of the Confederacy. At last came the critical night when the Confederate capital was abandoned, April 2d and 3d, 1865, when Grant entered Richmond, and gave hot pursuit to the fleeing rebels. There was only one possibility of escape, and that was through a narrow strip of land between

the Appomattox and James rivers, but here Sheridan planted himself in the way and Lee was entirely surrounded. On the 9th of April he surrendered, and the great war was practically at an end. The formal and official manner in which it was brought about is important and interesting enough to be given in this work:

April 7, 1865.

GENERAL:

The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of farther resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so; and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any farther effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. GRANT, Lt.-General.

GEN. R. E. LEE.

April 7, 1865.

GENERAL:

I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

R. E. LEE, General.

LT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

April 8, 1865.

GENERAL:

Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that, peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. GRANT, Lt.-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

April 8, 1865.

GENERAL:

I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army; but, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia; but, as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A.M. to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

R. E. LEE, General.

LT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

April 9, 1865.

GENERAL:

Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed for 10 A.M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.

U. S. GRANT, Lt.-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

April 9, 1865.

GENERAL:

I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

R. E. LEE, General.

LT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA.,
April 9, 1865.

GENERAL:

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT, Lt.-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

HEADQ'RS ARMY OF NORTHERN VA.,
April 9, 1865.

GENERAL:

I received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. LEE, General.

LT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

Among the many histories of the War of the Rebellion which one should study most closely is Greeley's *American Conflict*. While it was written very hastily and very shortly after the termination of the war, making it not at all times an accurate recital, yet the scholar of American politics, and particularly of the Slavery question, resulting in the formation of the Republican party, which through its chosen leaders administered the war and destroyed the institution of Slavery,

will always be grateful to Mr. Greeley for his work. The editor of the *Tribune* was rarely in full harmony with any policy or any man, but there can be no doubt of Mr. Greeley's sincerity in regard to all that he ever said against Slavery, and there can be no doubt of his sincerity in his wish for preserving the Union. He struck some very hard blows against both friends and foes, but never did he pen more sincere or worthy sentences than the following, which conclude his history of the American conflict :

The Rebellion had failed and gone down; but the Rebel Army of Virginia and its commander had *not* failed. Fighting sternly against the Inevitable — against the irrepressible tendencies, the generous aspirations of the age—they had been proved unable to succeed where success would have been a calamity to their children, to their country, and the human race. And, when the transient agony of defeat had been endured and had passed, they all experienced a sense of relief, as they crowded around their departing chief, who, with streaming eyes, grasped and pressed their outstretched hands, at length finding words to say, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best that I could for you." There were few dry eyes among those who witnessed the scene; and our soldiers hastened to divide their rations with their late enemies, now fellow-countrymen, to stay their hunger until provisions from our trains could be drawn for them. Then, while most of our army returned to Burkesville, and thence, a few days later, to Petersburg and Richmond, the work of paroling went on, under the guardianship of Griffin's and Gibbon's infantry, with McKenzie's cavalry; and, so fast as paroled, the Confederates took their way severally to their respective homes; many of them supplied with transportation, as well as food, by the Government they had fought so long and so bravely to subvert and destroy.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Lincoln delivered his second inaugural message, concluding as follows :

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood

drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all," this is the terse and eloquent sentence which expressed the feelings of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and President of the entire people. He had been reviled as no man had ever been before; he was hated with a bitterness that had probably never before been thrown at a single person; he had been criticised by those who should have given sympathy and aid, and yet this great mind knew no sentiment except forgiveness and charity. With weightier affairs of State than had been borne by any predecessor; with the responsibility of the entire war; with the importunities of the office-seeker and the jealousies of politicians; with all the worry that must come from such cares and trials, added to a domestic affliction great enough in itself to weigh down most men and unfit them for duty, yet the great mind and heart of Abraham Lincoln sent forth its good cheer, its encouragement, and, best of all, the comprehensive sentiment, "With malice toward none, with charity for all. . . . let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

On the 6th, Mr. Fessenden, the Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and Hugh McCulloch of Indiana was appointed to his place. The President made no further changes in his Cabinet.

As Grant began his pursuit of Lee, Lincoln had gone to the front for the purpose of being in constant communication with the Lieutenant-General. He was mainly at City Point, where he received the reports from Grant, and whence they were telegraphed to the War Department for promulgation to the country. On April 4th he accompanied Admiral Porter in his gunboat to General Weitzel's headquarters in the house just

abandoned by Jefferson Davis. Here he was greeted by thousands of soldiers and of grateful negroes in such numbers that it was necessary for the military to clear a passage through them. Two days after, on April 6th, he visited Richmond, attended by Mrs. Lincoln, Vice-President Johnson, and several prominent United States Senators. On returning to City Point and learning that Mr. Seward had been injured, the President at once returned to Washington, where he arrived but a short time previous to the receipt of the word from Grant that Lee had surrendered.

It is probable that no such hour was ever before or since experienced in the demonstration that followed the announcement throughout the country. Bells were rung from every church and every public building, cannons roared from every possible place where a stand could be made, flags were waving, men were grasping each other's hand, women were crying, and the whole nation at the North, from Maine to California and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was cheering either audibly or through the sobs that could not be withheld. Public meetings were at once called in every city, town, and hamlet, at which the glad tidings were related and commented upon, and applauded over and over again. It was a day of delirious joy throughout the nation, and the happiest man of all should have been the President of the United States, and yet Abraham Lincoln was more sad than glad.

True, he must have been relieved and a great weight must have been taken from both mind and heart. His first thought, as might be expected, was for the vanquished and the speediest manner to restore them to their homes, to citizenship, and reconstruct their State Governments so that they might be as soon as possible re-admitted to the Union, and the great United States be one again. In an address made to a vast crowd which assembled before the Executive Mansion, he avowed his desire that the right of suffrage be accorded to the blacks, and, showing an absence of any bitterness toward the late rebels, declared that the Confederate States should be restored to all the powers and functions of government at the earliest possible day consistent with safety and national honor.

On April 14th, the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, a large number of citizens, including Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Tilton, and General Robert Anderson, had gone down to Port Royal and Charleston for the purpose of raising over the ruins of the historic fort the identical flag which had waved over it during the firing of those memorable days in April, 1861. The whole country was still rejoicing over the surrender of Lee and the early prospects of a complete end of the war. The President, after his attendance at a Cabinet meeting, where a personal report had been received from Grant, who had just arrived from Appomattox, then listened to the story of Lee's surrender from his own son, Captain Robert Lincoln, who had been a member of Grant's staff and an eye-witness of the scene. After giving a personal audience to several leading men, one of them being the venerable John P. Hale, whom he had just appointed Minister to Spain, and another, Speaker Colfax, who was about to leave for a journey to California and Oregon, Mr. Lincoln was persuaded to spend the evening at Ford's Theatre. It had also been announced that the General of the Army would accompany the President, but General Grant was unable to attend.

Somewhat late the President and his wife, accompanied by their guests, the daughter of Senator Harris and his stepson, Major H. R. Rathbone, rode to the theatre and took seats in the private box which had been reserved for them. The play was *Our American Cousin*, in which Laura Keane was taking the leading part. About ten o'clock John Wilkes Booth, a young actor, obtained admission to the theatre and, making his way to the box of the President, drew a small deringer pistol and, thrusting it through an entrance into the box, fired it at the President. The ball struck the side of his head and entered his brain. Mr. Lincoln did not stir, and for a moment the audience, thinking it was a portion of the play, did not comprehend the situation, but soon the awful truth was known. Major Rathbone sprang upon Booth, but was thrown off by the latter, who dropped his pistol and used a dagger which he had in his other hand. The murderer then

rushed to the front of the box, and holding aside the flag with which it was draped, jumped to the stage, catching one of his spurs in the drapery of the box, and uttering the State motto of Virginia, "Sic semper tyrannis!" he added, "the South is avenged," and rushed forth, striking all who came in his path. He escaped at the rear of the theatre and was away on horseback long before a full realization was had of what had occurred. The scene within the theatre beggars description, and the utmost confusion and uproar prevailed.

The President had not stirred and was entirely unconscious. He was at once borne across the street to the house of a Mr. Peterson, where he died at twenty minutes past seven the following morning in the presence of his son Robert, Secretaries Stanton, Welles, and Usher, Attorney-General Speed, Senator Sumner, Private Secretary John Hay, Rev. Dr. Gurley, and several physicians and friends. Two hours later the body of the President, wrapped in an American flag, was borne to the White House, where it lay till the day that it started upon its last journey.

At the same time that Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, an attempt was made upon the life of Secretary Seward and his son, Frederick, in another part of the city. Although severely wounded with repeated knife-thrusts, yet the Secretary survived. That the attempt upon the life of the President, and the members of his Cabinet was part of a pre-arranged plan and conspiracy there is no doubt; but as to laying the conspiracy to the South or to the Confederacy there could be no substantiated charge. The great man who but a few days before had uttered the words, "With malice toward none, with charity for all," was now the victim of a heartless, revengeful assassin, representing at least a portion of the very people that the President would fain have forgiven and welcomed back to the sisterhood of States as soon as such reconstruction could possibly be brought about.

The joy of the glad people was turned into sadness, and more than sadness, for the great mass in their momentary burst of feeling against the assassin called for a retaliation against the conspirators and all engaged in such a fiendish plot.

The hasty anger of the people, however, soon gave way to sadness and sorrow as the funeral cortège moved through the land and the body of the President was carried to its last resting-place. The capture of Booth and of some of his accomplices, and their execution, are well-known historical events, which need only be alluded to in this work.

On the 26th of April Johnston's army surrendered to Sherman, on the same terms already accorded to Lee. The surrender of General Taylor's forces in Alabama took place on May 4th, and at the same time Commodore Farrand surrendered to Rear-Admiral Thatcher the twelve rebel gunboats with twenty officers, and others blockaded in the Tombigbee River. President Davis was captured May 13th, and taken by way of Savannah and the ocean to Fortress Monroe. Vice-President Stephens with Secretary Reagan were captured at about the same time and taken to Boston, where they were confined in Fort Warren, but each was liberated on parole a few months after. On June 2d the following General Order was issued:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJ.-GEN.'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 2, 1865.

Soldiers of the Armies of the United States:

By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamations forever abolishing Slavery—the cause and pretext of the Rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution, and brilliancy of results, dim the luster of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defense of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defense. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and, with the gratitude of your countrymen and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the

highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.

U. S. GRANT, Lt.-General.

In recounting the measures and words of the members of the Republican party, it will be necessary at times to refer to the acts and to quote to some extent the language of members of the Democratic party in so far as they may relate to the doings of the Republican party, either at the time or subsequently. In order to do justice to the Republican party, and no more than justice, it will be necessary at all times in this work to put the Democratic party on record as showing to what extent its opposition to attempted or adopted measures thwarted the will and often the success of the Republican party.

It must be reiterated again and again, that during the War of the Rebellion there were thousands of loyal Democrats fighting side by side with loyal Republicans. There was no partisanship at the front, except on election day. It must also be stated again, that there were thousand of loyal Democrats at home who were contributing money and aiding in every way possible the administration in its attempts to preserve the Union. There were instances, too, where able Democrats both in the Senate and House of Representatives with their voice and vote aided the President in his work, and helped to enact laws that were for the best good of the country; and yet it must be stated with equal frankness that the Democratic party, as a party, was not only disloyal to the Union during almost the entire war, but that, by its opposition, by its treasonable utterances, and by efforts too numerous to relate in such a brief work as this, it sought to hamper the President and his Cabinet in their work, to throw discredit upon the efforts of not only the Republican party but most of the North to preserve the Union, and in innumerable ways sought,

and succeeded in many instances, in bringing discredit upon their country. We have already referred to the case of Mr. Vallandigham, and the support which his action received from leading Democrats of the North, not only in his own State but from such men as Governor Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden of New York. We have referred to the plank of the Democratic platform adopted in 1864, which declared the war a failure, and it must be added that the convention was run, and the platform written and adopted, and the nominations made practically at the order of Vallandigham and his sympathizers. To these instances must be added sentiments such as were uttered by Alexander Long, the Representative of the Second District of Ohio, in the Thirty-eighth Congress, who boldly defended the cause of the Confederacy as follows:

I now believe that there are but two alternatives, and they are either an acknowledgment of the independence of the South as an independent nation, or their complete subjugation and extermination as a people; and of these alternatives I prefer the former.

A resolution was offered for the expulsion of Long, declaring that by his speech he had given "aid, countenance, and encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility to the United States." The debate upon the resolution was opened by Mr. Garfield of Ohio, then sitting in the House of Representatives for his first term. His speech occupied the attention of the House for several days. He was fresh from the battlefield of Chickamauga, and, indignant at the words of his colleague, he gave most eloquent expression to a demand for his expulsion. In answering Mr. Garfield, Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland, said:

The South ask you to leave them in peace, but now you say you will bring them into subjection. That is not done yet, and God Almighty grant it never may be!

This was followed by the offering of a resolution for the expulsion of Mr. Harris. Subsequently Mr. Harris was declared to be an unworthy member of the House by a vote of 93 to 18. Fernando Wood, George H. Pendleton, the candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket of 1864, and Samuel J. Randall, afterwards Democratic Speaker of the House, were

among those who voted in the negative. A resolution was also adopted declaring Mr. Long an unworthy member of the House.

But perhaps the most despicable act of a portion of the Democratic party during the war was a widespread conspiracy, by means of an organization known as "The Knights of the Golden Circle," for not only liberating rebel prisoners, but interfering with the movements of the Union forces. This organization had existed at the South before the war, but in 1862 it was extended into the West, its primary object being at first to hinder the draft of soldiers. It was known under various names, and new societies sprang up from time to time till, in 1864, the number of its members was estimated at half a million. P. C. Wright of New York, and Vallandigham of Ohio, were its highest officers; and the declared object of the "Order of American Knights" was to encourage desertion among Union soldiers and to aid the Confederates by giving them information and recruiting for their ranks.

It is not claimed that this was a Democratic organization, but it is claimed that none but Democrats belonged to the organization, and that it was ruled by men high in the councils of the Democratic party, by such men as Vallandigham, who was for months the greatest hero the Democratic party possessed. There is no desire whatever on the part of the writer of this work to attribute to the Democratic party men or measures or acts which do not belong to it. There will, however, be no reluctance in crediting the party with men, and the acts of men, who have been disloyal to their country and to their country's best interest during the period of time which this work covers in recounting the history of the Republican party. It may be that the success of the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and McKinley may have been in part due to the misdeeds and the miscreants of the Democratic party itself, and so far as that may be true the Democratic party shall have full credit.

Before leaving the period of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses, a few sentences should be given in completion of the history of the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. The joint resolution for the submission to the States of the

amendment to the Constitution prohibiting Slavery had been adopted in the Senate on April 8, 1864, by a vote of 38 to 6. These six votes were cast by the two Democratic Senators from Kentucky, the two from Delaware, and by Mr. McDougall of California, and Mr. Hendricks of Indiana, the same Mr. Hendricks who afterwards was a candidate of the Democratic party for Vice-President, and was accepted unflinchingly by the Mugwumps of 1884. Every Republican voted for the resolution, as did also Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, who had made one of the principal speeches in its defence. Mr. Hendricks had spoken against the adoption of the resolution, and taken the opportunity to add a denunciation of the administration. In the House, Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Randall had spoken against the resolution, the arguments of the latter being well answered by Thaddeus Stevens, who said :

When we all moulder in the dust he may have his epitaph written, if it be truly written, "Here rests the ablest and most pertinacious defender of slavery, and opponent of liberty"; and I will be satisfied if my epitaph shall be written thus: "Here lies one who never rose to any eminence, and who only courted the low ambition to have it said that he had striven to ameliorate the condition of the poor, the lowly, the down-trodden of every race and language and color."

The scene when the final vote was taken was one of intense interest and excitement. Members of the Supreme Court, Cabinet officers, and Senators were present in large numbers. The diplomatic gallery was filled with representatives from abroad, and a distinguished array of citizens and officers of the army filled the other galleries. At the end of the vote, Speaker Colfax announced that "the constitutional majority of two-thirds having voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution is adopted." The announcement was received with outbursts of cheering which lasted for several minutes, when Mr. Ingersoll of Illinois, on being recognized by the Speaker, said: "Mr. Speaker, in honor of this immortal and sublime event I move that the House do now adjourn." It may be said here, that the amendment received the vote of three fourths of the States and became a part of the Constitution of the United

States by a proclamation of the President on the 18th of December, 1865. The vote upon the resolution in the House was 119 for and 56 against. Every Republican without exception voted in the affirmative, together with sixteen Democrats. Among the affirmative votes we find the names of William B. Allison and John A. Kasson of Iowa, James G. Blaine of Maine, George S. Boutwell and Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, William Windom of Minnesota, and James A. Garfield of Ohio. Among the opposition we find the names of William S. Holman of Indiana, S. S. Cox, Alexander Long, whose treasonable words had been censured, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio, W. R. Morrison of Illinois, Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, and others who afterwards became leaders of the Democratic party.

While the resolution concerning the Thirteenth Amendment was being debated, attention was directed by both the President and Congress to the matter of reconstruction. In his annual message of December, 1863, and the Proclamation of Amnesty which accompanied it, Mr. Lincoln made clear his plan. A test was made in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. A constitution providing for immediate emancipation was adopted in Louisiana, State officers were elected, and provisions were made whereby the Legislature would have the power to grant suffrage to the negroes and educate their children. Arkansas adopted similar measures, and its constitution abolishing Slavery and prohibiting the payment of any debt incurred by the State in behalf of the rebellion received a vote of 11,953 for adoption to 226 against it. A Governor was elected, as were also three members of Congress and two United States Senators. On reaching Washington and presenting their credentials the Senators and Representatives were not admitted. The reasons therefor, will be found in the following resolution offered in the Senate by Mr. Sumner:

Resolved, That a State pretending to secede from the Union, and battling against the general government to maintain that position must be regarded as a rebel State, subject to military occupation, and without representation on this floor, until it has been re-admitted by a vote of both Houses of Congress; and the Senate will decline

to entertain any application from any such rebel State until after such a vote of both Houses.

It was upon this plan of re-admitting the States and their Representatives that almost the only important difference between Mr. Lincoln and his party occurred. The issue was, however, a simple one although irreconcilable. The bill for reconstruction which had been adopted in the closing hours of the session and laid before the President was neither signed nor vetoed, and failed to become a law. Mr. Sumner afterwards stated on the floor of the Senate that Mr. Lincoln had subsequently expressed his regret to him that he did not sign the bill.

During the year 1864 the relations between the President and members of Congress, and also one very prominent member of his Cabinet, were at times severely strained. Early in the year there was a movement of no little force to substitute another name for Mr. Lincoln's as the candidate of the Republican party for President. Secretary Chase had gone so far as to admit to Mr. Lincoln that he had consented to the use of his name for the Presidency. The name of Grant was frequently used, as was also that of John A. Dix, but there was no concerted movement, and as State after State announced for Mr. Lincoln long in advance of the convention, the movement to retire him soon fell through.

Mr. Chase resigned on the 29th of June. The most charitable explanation of the difference between the President and his Secretary of the Treasury might be, that they did not understand each other. Mr. William Pitt Fessenden of Maine succeeded Mr. Chase. The result of the vote in Ohio showed that no animosity had been harbored because of the difference between the President and Mr. Chase, and that Mr. Lincoln fully appreciated the ability and service of the Secretary is shown by his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court before the end of the year. It is quite possible that, had no difference arisen over an appointment of an Assistant Treasurer in New York City, Mr. Chase would have remained in the Cabinet. He had felt affronted at the decision of the President regarding the appointment and resigned his position in a fit of ill-nature.

Mr. Chase had been one of the greatest Secretaries of the Treasury the country had known, and at a most critical time, when his wisdom and diplomacy were tried to the utmost, yet there is no doubt that he overestimated the importance of his services, and feeling that they were indispensable was apt to belittle the efforts of the President and his fellow-members of the Cabinet.

Mr. Fessenden, who was chairman of the Senate Committee of Finance, accepted the appointment with a considerable reluctance and at no little sacrifice, but his fitness for the position, his experience, and judgment carried with it almost universal confidence and satisfaction.

On April 15, 1865, Vice-President Johnson received the following letter:

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., April 15, 1865.

SIR:

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was shot by an assassin last evening at Ford's Theatre, in this city, and died at the hour of twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock this morning.

About the same time at which the President was shot an assassin entered the sick-chamber of the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and stabbed him in several places—in the throat, neck, and face—severely if not mortally wounding him. Other members of the Secretary's family were dangerously wounded by the assassin while making his escape.

By the death of President Lincoln the office of President has devolved under the Constitution upon you. The emergency of the Government demands that you should immediately qualify according to the requirements of the Constitution, and enter upon the duties of President of the United States. If you will please make known your pleasure, such arrangements as you deem proper will be made.

Your obedient servants,

HUGH McCULLOCH, Sec. of the Treasury,
EDWIN M. STANTON, Sec. of War,
GIDEON WELLES, Sec. of the Navy,
W. DENNISON, Postmaster-General,
J. P. USHER, Sec. of the Interior,
JAMES SPEED, Attorney-General.

TO HON. ANDREW JOHNSON,
Vice-President of the United States.

At eleven o'clock of the same day Chief Justice Chase, in the presence of the Cabinet and members of Congress, administered the oath of office, upon which President Johnson said:

Gentlemen, I must be permitted to say that I have been almost overwhelmed by the announcement of the sad event which has so recently occurred. I feel incompetent to perform duties so important and responsible as those which have been so unexpectedly thrown upon me. As to an indication of any policy which may be pursued by me in the administration of the Government, I have to say that that must be left for development, as the administration progresses. The message or declaration must be made by the acts as they transpire. The only assurance that I can now give of the future, is by reference to the past. The course which I have taken in the past, in connection with this rebellion, must be regarded as a guaranty for the future. My past public life which has been long and laborious, has been founded, as I in good conscience believe, upon a great principle of right, which lies at the basis of all things. The best energies of my life have been spent in endeavoring to establish and perpetuate the blessings of free government; and I believe that the Government, in passing through its present trials, will settle down upon principles consonant with popular rights, more permanent and enduring than heretofore. I must be permitted to say, if I understand the feelings of my own heart, I have long labored to ameliorate and alleviate the condition of the great mass of the American people. Toil, and an honest advocacy of the great principles of free government, have been my lot. The duties have been mine—the consequences are God's. This has been the foundation of my political creed. I feel that in the end the Government will triumph, and that these great principles will be permanently established.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say that I want your encouragement and countenance. I shall ask, and rely, upon you and others, in carrying the Government through its present perils. I feel, in making this request, that it will be heartily responded to by you and all other patriots and lovers of the rights and interests of a free people.

Mr. Johnson made no changes in the Cabinet. Much interest was naturally awakened as to the views of the new President, and his plans for reconstruction. To various delegations

visiting him he spoke with more or less frankness, and exhibited a liberal spirit and a desire to follow practically in the steps outlined by Mr. Lincoln. The President had been a staunch Democrat, but from the first was loyal to the Union. He had done his utmost to prevent his State of Tennessee from joining the secession, and he had been Mr. Lincoln's own personal choice as a candidate upon the ticket for Vice-President. Mr. Lincoln had believed that the name of Mr. Johnson would take away all claim that the ticket was a sectional one, as had been the case in 1860. Moreover, he had believed that the name of Mr. Johnson would bring to the support of the Union ticket all loyal Democrats of the North. It was now to be seen how far the judgment of Mr. Lincoln would be vindicated. One of the first official proclamations of the new President was the following:

Whereas, it appears from evidence in the bureau of Military Justice, that the atrocious murder of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Cleary, and other rebels, and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada:

Now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise for the arrest of said persons or either of them within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards: \$100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, \$25,000 for the arrest of Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi, \$25,000 for the arrest of George N. Saunders, \$25,000 for the arrest of Beverly Tucker, and \$10,000 for the arrest of William C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay. The Provost Marshal General of the United States is directed to cause a description of said persons with notice of the above rewards to be published.

On May 29th the President issued a proclamation, giving the terms whereby the people of the Southern States could be restored to their civil rights as citizens of the United States.

It was soon seen that the President was inclined to be exceedingly lenient and liberal towards the States and citizens who had been in rebellion. There was little or no expressed opposition to the views of the President during the year 1865, as nothing of importance could be accomplished until the assembling of Congress. No political platforms made during the year expressed dissent or opposition to the measures of reconstruction. For the most part the platforms adopted by both political parties advocated early restoration of the States to the Union and citizenship to those lately in rebellion, demanding "equal and exact justice" for all. Not only was the emancipation of the slaves within their borders ratified by the respective Southern States, but measures were enacted securing to them the rights of property, personal freedom, and legal protection, the ordinances of secession were declared null and void, the State debts contracted to carry on the war repudiated, and finally the amendment to the Constitution respecting Slavery adopted.

In most of the State elections it was a contest between so-called Union and Democratic candidates. The Unionists and Republicans won in every State in every election of importance. The first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled at Washington on December 5, 1865. The Senate was called to order by the President *pro tem.*, Mr. Foster of Connecticut. In the House the members were called to order by the Clerk, Edward McPherson. Mr. Colfax was elected Speaker, receiving 139 votes to 36 cast for James Brooks of New York. The message of President Johnson was an extremely long paper, which might well have been condensed into one tenth its size. It was, however, received and read with no little interest, particularly those portions hinting at the policy to be pursued in the reconstruction. The message concluded as follows:

Where, in past history, does a parallel exist to the public happiness which is within the reach of the people of the United States? Where, in any part of the globe, can institutions be found so suited to their habits or so entitled to their love as their own free Constitution? Every one of them, then, in whatever part of the land he has his home, must wish its perpetuity. Who of them will not now

acknowledge, in the words of Washington, that "every step by which the people of the United States have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency"? Who will not join with me in the prayer, that the invisible Hand which has led us through the clouds that gloomed around our path, will so guide us onward to a perfect restoration of fraternal affection, that we of this day may be able to transmit our great inheritance of State governments in all their rights, of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, to our posterity, and they to theirs through countless generations?

ANDREW JOHNSON.

On the 12th of December the following resolution, offered by Mr. Cowan of Pennsylvania in the Senate on the preceding day, was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, requested to furnish to the Senate information of the state of that portion of the Union lately in rebellion; whether the rebellion has been suppressed and the United States put again in possession of the States in which it existed; whether the United States courts are restored, post-offices re-established, and the revenues collected; and also whether the people of those States have reorganized their State governments, and whether they are yielding obedience to the laws and Government of the United States.

On December 18th the President transmitted his reply, which was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 18, 1865.

To the Senate of the United States :

In reply to the resolution adopted by the Senate on the 12th instant, I have the honor to state that the rebellion waged by a portion of the people against the properly constituted authorities of the Government of the United States has been suppressed; that the United States are in possession of every State in which the insurrection existed; and that, as far as could be done, the courts of the United States have been restored, post-offices re-established, and steps taken to put into effective operation the revenue laws of the country.

As the result of the measures instituted by the Executive, with the view of inducing a resumption of the functions of the States comprehended in the inquiry of the Senate, the people in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, have reorganized their respective State governments, and "are yielding obedience to the laws and Government of the United States," with more willingness and greater promptitude than under the circumstances could reasonably have been anticipated. The proposed amendment to the Constitution, providing for the abolition of Slavery forever within the limits of the country, has been ratified by each one of those States, with the exception of Mississippi, from which no official information has yet been received; and in nearly all of them measures have been adopted or are now pending, to confer upon freedmen rights and privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection, and security. In Florida and Texas the people are making commendable progress in restoring their State governments, and no doubt is entertained that they will at an early period be in a condition to resume all of their practical relations to the Federal Government.

In "that portion of the Union lately in rebellion," the aspect of affairs is more promising than, in view of all the circumstances, could well have been expected. The people throughout the entire South evince a laudable desire to renew their allegiance to the Government, and to repair the devastations of war by a prompt and cheerful return to peaceful pursuits. An abiding faith is entertained that their actions will conform to their professions, and that, in acknowledging the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, their loyalty will be unreservedly given to the Government, whose leniency they cannot fail to appreciate, and whose fostering care will soon restore them to a condition of prosperity.

It is true that in some of the States the demoralizing effects of war are to be seen in occasional disorders; but these are local in character, not frequent in occurrence, and are rapidly disappearing as the authority of civil law is extended and sustained. Perplexing questions were naturally to be expected from the great and sudden change in the relations between the two races; but systems are gradually developing themselves under which the freedman will receive the protection to which he is justly entitled, and by means of his labor make himself a useful and independent member of the community in which he has his home. From all the information in

my possession, and from that which I have recently derived from the most reliable authority, I am induced to cherish the belief that sectional animosity is surely and rapidly merging itself into a spirit of nationality, and that representation, connected with a properly adjusted system of taxation, will result in a harmonious restoration of the relations of the States to the national Union.

The report of Carl Schurz is herewith transmitted as requested by the Senate. No reports from Hon. John Covode have been received by the President. The attention of the Senate is invited to the accompanying report of Lieutenant-Gen. Grant, who recently made a tour of inspection through several of the States whose inhabitants participated in the rebellion. ANDREW JOHNSON.

The report of Lieutenant-General Grant, which accompanied the President's communication, contained the following paragraph which illustrates the sentiment of the entire report :

I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—Slavery and State rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal, arms, that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met, that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but that now, when the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in council.

General Grant in this report called attention to the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau with certain suggestions for future policy concerning this now most important feature of reconstruction.

Early during the war it became apparent that some action must be taken for the relief of those helpless negroes now freed, and without support or means of subsistence. Before the end of 1865 at least half a million of these impoverished and helpless blacks had thrown themselves upon the Government for support. Attempts to establish bureaus for their relief had failed both in 1863 and 1864, but on March 3, 1865,

was enacted the first Freedmen's Bureau bill. It established a "bureau of refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands" under the control of the War Department, to continue for one year after the close of the rebellion; it authorized the appointment of a chief commissioner, and gave authority to the President to set apart confiscated or abandoned lands in the South for the use of the bureau; it authorized the assignment to each refugee or freedman of not more than forty acres, and guaranteed the possession of such land for three years. General O. O. Howard was appointed by the President chief commissioner, who appointed his staff almost entirely from the officers of the regular army, and the first year's administration of the bureau was both economical and satisfactory.

On February 6, 1866, a supplementary bill was passed, continuing the bureau until otherwise provided by law, authorizing the issue of provisions, clothing, fuel, and other supplies to destitute refugees and freedmen, and made it a penal offence to attempt to deny or hinder the civil rights or immunities of freedmen. President Johnson vetoed the bill February 19th, claiming that it abolished trial by jury in the South, and substituted trial by court-martial; that this abolition was apparently permanent, not temporary; that the bureau was a costly system of poor-relief, and that Congress had no power to apply the public money for this purpose.

On July, 1866, a second Freedmen's Bureau bill was passed corresponding in general to the February bill, but continuing the bureau for two years only. It was vetoed on July 16th, and was passed the same day over the veto. The powers of the bureau were considerably enlarged, and the chief commissioner was authorized to use its funds at discretion, to apply the property of the Confederate States to the education of freedmen, to co-operate with private freedmen's aid societies, and to take military jurisdiction against the civil rights or immunities of freedmen.

The famous Civil Rights bill was passed by the Senate February 2, 1866, by a vote of 33 to 12, and by the House, March 13th, by a vote of 111 to 38. An abstract of its several sections is taken as follows from Lalor's *Cyclopedia* :

1. All persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, were hereby declared to be citizens of the United States, having the same right as white citizens in every state and territory to sue and to be sued, make and enforce contracts, take and convey property, and enjoy all civil rights whatever. 2. Any person who, under color of any state law, deprived any such citizen of any civil rights secured by this act was made guilty of a misdemeanor. 3. Cognizance of offenses against the act was entirely taken away from state courts and given to federal courts. 4. Officers of the United States courts or of the freedmen's bureau, and special executive agents, were charged with the execution of the act. 5. If such officers refused to execute the act, they were made subject to fine. 6. Resistance to the officers subjected the offender to fine and imprisonment. 7. This section related to fees. 8. The president was empowered to send officers to any district where offenses against the act were likely to be committed. 9. The president was authorized to use the services of special agents, of the army and navy, or of the militia, to enforce the act. 10. An appeal was permitted to the supreme court.

The bill was vetoed March 27th, and passed over the veto in the Senate April 6th, and in the House April 9th. Several attempts had been made to amend the Civil Rights bill for the purpose of overturning the Dred Scott decision. This was finally accomplished by the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed the Senate June 8, 1866, by a vote of 33 to 11, and the House June 13th, by a vote of 138 to 36. It was ratified by thirty-three of the thirty-seven States, and was declared in force July 28, 1868. The Amendment as added to the Constitution was as follows:

Article XIV., Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several

States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

The rupture between the President and Congress had widened with his two vetoes of the Freedmen's Bureau bill and the Civil Rights bill, and with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment Congress felt quite satisfied to leave the issue to the country at the coming fall elections. The session of Congress closed on July 28th, after the enactment of 318 laws and the passage of 108 resolutions. The issue between the President and Congress was now fairly made.

CHAPTER XVII.

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON—CONVENTIONS OF 1868 AND ELECTION OF GENERAL GRANT TO THE PRESIDENCY.

THE Republican party took sides with and gave its most emphatic approval to the course of its Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Republican State Conventions in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania declared against the President's policy, and affirmed that reconstruction must be effected by "the law-making power of the Government." In not a single State was the President's policy approved by the Republicans. The opportunity, however, was eagerly grasped by the Democrats, and the leaders of that party united with the president. Republican and war Democrat supporters called a national convention to meet at Philadelphia, August 14, 1866. The convention met, with John A. Dix of New York as temporary chairman; Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin as president, and Henry J. Raymond of New York, who was chairman of the Republican National Committee, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. The dramatic entrance of the delegates from Massachusetts and South Carolina gave the gathering the nickname of the "Arm-in-Arm Convention." The assemblage was nothing more nor less than a well-contrived political movement on the part of the friends of the President to bolster up his policy and offset the opposition of Congress. The movement, however, was unsuccessful, and resulted in the denouncement of Secretary Seward by almost every Republican platform, and

the expulsion of Mr. Raymond from the national committee. The short-lived movement, however, gave the President courage, and he boldly assumed the aggressive, abandoning all dignity, even to the making of speeches at various points in the country. An extract from one of his Cleveland speeches is given as showing the temper to which he had been reduced, and the low plane to which he now descended. Said the President:

I came here as I was passing along, and have been called upon for the purpose of exchanging views, and ascertaining, if we could, who was wrong. (Cries of "It's you.") Who can come and place his finger on one pledge I ever violated, or one principle I ever proved false to? (A voice, "How about New Orleans?" Another voice, "Hang Jeff. Davis.") Hang Jeff. Davis, he says. (Cries of "No," and "Down with him.") Hang Jeff. Davis, he says. (A voice, "Hang Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips.") Hang Jeff. Davis. Why don't you hang him? (Cries of "Give us the opportunity.") Have n't you got the court? Have n't you got the attorney-general? (A voice, "Who is your chief justice who has refused to sit upon the trial?") I am not the chief justice. I am not the prosecuting attorney. (Cheers.) I am not the jury. I will tell you what I did do. I called upon your Congress that is trying to break up the government—(cheers, mingled with oaths and hisses. Great confusion. "Don't get mad, Andy.") Well, I will tell you who is mad. "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." Did your Congress order any of them to be tried? (Three cheers for Congress.) . . . (A voice, "Traitor.") I wish I could see that man. I would bet you now, that, if the light fell on your face, cowardice and treachery would be seen in it. Show yourself. Come out here where I can see you. (Shouts of laughter.)

The result of the elections of 1866 left every State north of Mason and Dixon's line with a Republican Governor and a Republican legislative majority. Not only that, but the result was such that the next Senate would contain 42 Republicans to 11 Democrats, and the House 143 Republicans to 49 Democrats. Even had all the Southern States been represented by Democrats, the Republican majority in both

Senate and House would have been overwhelming. As it was, without Southern representation the Republican majority was more than sufficient to override the President's veto in every case, and it was seen that any course the President might take would be hopeless without the concurrence of Congress.

The second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress convened at Washington on December 3, 1866. The message of the President was quite temperate in tone and recorded the "profound regret" that Congress had failed to admit the Senators and Representatives from those States which had engaged in the rebellion. The subject was dwelt upon quite at length, and early measures were recommended for a solution of the perplexing problem. Numerous bills were now vetoed by him and again passed over his veto. Among these were bills for the admission of Nebraska, and acts requiring an elective franchise to be granted to all persons in the Territories without regard to color upon the admission of such Territories as States of the Union, and extending the franchise in the District of Columbia.

During March Congress adopted an entirely new system of measures relative to the States which had been in rebellion. The principle upon which these measures were passed can be seen from the following preamble to the first act:

Whereas, No legal State governments, or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; and *Whereas*, it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established; therefore, *Be it enacted*, etc.

After these States were divided into military districts, it was then provided that:

Until the people of the said rebel States shall by law be admitted to representation to the Congress of the United States, all civil governments that may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and shall be in all respects subject to the paramount authority of

the United States, at any time to abolish, modify, control, and supersede the same, and in all elections to any office under such provisional governments all persons shall be entitled to vote under the provisions of the fifth section of this act.

In spite of the President's vetoes of these acts they became laws, and the President adopted measures to execute them. By the act of March 2d, the ten States were divided into five military districts. The President appointed as commanders of these districts Major-General Schofield, Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, Major-General John Pope, Major-General E. O. C. Ord, and Major-General Philip H. Sheridan. An address to the Southern people entitled "The Policy of Congress in Reference to the Restoration of the Union" was soon after issued by the Union Republican congressional committee. As an explanation of the policy of Congress the following extract will be found interesting:

By the Acts of the 2d of March and the 23d of March, 1867, provision is made for the enjoyment of the right of voting by all male citizens of twenty-one years of age, except those who have been convicted of felony, and a small class of rebels who are excluded from office by the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The negroes of the South, by the measures of the Republican party, as expressed in these Acts of Congress, are elevated to the full and equal rights of the citizens of the States to which they belong, and of the country which hereafter will recognize no distinctions on account of race or color. The nation is indebted to the negro race for services rendered during the late war. The negro race is indebted to the country, controlled in its policy by the Republican party, for the emancipation of the race from Slavery, and now by these Acts of Congress, for its elevation to a position of equality. From these reciprocal services arise mutual obligations, and the nation can no longer hesitate. It will at once, and freely, concede to the colored race every political and public right that is enjoyed by any class of citizens. The negroes, on their side, cannot hesitate to support the party and principles by whose labors and influence their redemption has been accomplished. Thus, by this natural and necessary union of forces in the South, and throughout the whole country, peace, progress, and prosperity are secured.

Nor is there in these suggestions any food for hostility between the races. The wants of a black man and the wants of a white man are precisely the same. Their interests are the same. Especially is this true of the laboring classes. The laboring man, whether white or black, needs the protection of law; he needs the ballot as the means by which he secures equal laws and the just administration of them. By the ballot he rebukes or rejects unfaithful servants; by the ballot he arraigns and condemns corrupt or tyrannical judges; by the ballot he organizes and maintains schools for the education of his children, and inspires the police and magistrate with due respect for his personal and family rights. While the measures of Congress extend this great right to a new and numerous class of men, there is no invasion of the rights of others. The white people of the South, with a few exceptions comparatively, are to enjoy the same just and equal political rights and privileges. Freedom has given to the North unexampled prosperity and constantly increasing wealth and power; freedom and free institutions will secure for the South the same results. But there must be co-operation of the races, and there must be co-operation upon the principles which prevail in the North, and to which the Republican party is fully committed. For more than two hundred years the slaveholding aristocracy of the South originated its policy and controlled its destinies. The result is seen in its exhausted and barren fields; in the condition of its laboring people, white and black; in the relative poverty of the inhabitants of all classes; in the absence of public schools, of commerce, of manufacture, and of an enlightened system of agriculture. We then earnestly invite and implore the people of the South, of all classes, first, to accept the plan of universal suffrage as the basis of political, educational, and industrial prosperity and power. The black man will soon prove that he is more to the State as a citizen than he was as a slave.

Under an act passed at the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress it was provided that the first session of the Fortieth Congress should convene immediately on March 4, 1867, at the expiration of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Congress assembled as provided, the Senate being called to order by the president *pro tem.*, Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, who had been elected at the close of the previous session. Mr. Colfax was elected Speaker of the House for the third time, receiving

127 votes against 30 cast for Mr. Samuel L. Marshall of Illinois. Among the new members found in both the Senate and House were the following: In the Senate, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, John Sherman of Ohio, and Justin S. Morrill of Vermont. In the House for the first time we find John A. Logan of Illinois, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, Granville M. Dodge of Iowa, William H. Robertson of New York, and Luke P. Poland of Vermont.

At the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. James M. Ashley, a Republican Representative from Ohio, rising to a question of privilege in the House of Representatives, moved the following resolution:

I do impeach Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors, I charge him with a usurpation of power and violation of law, in that he has corruptly used the appointing power; in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power; in that he has corruptly used the veto power; in that he has corruptly disposed of the public property of the United States; in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors.

Thereupon the Judiciary Committee, obeying a resolution which had been adopted by a vote of 107 to 39, made a thorough investigation of the matter, occupying a period of several months. On the 25th of November their report, or, as it appeared, three reports, were submitted, the majority proposing the following:

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The vote upon this resolution was as follows: In favor of impeachment, 57, all Republicans; opposed, 108, of whom 67 were Republicans and 48 Democrats; absent or not voting, 22, of whom 18 were Republicans and 4 Democrats. The matter was then dropped and for several months little was said or thought about impeachment.

On March 2, 1867, during the closing hours of the Thirty-ninth Congress the so-called "Tenure of Office act" was passed over the President's veto. It provided that no officer subject to confirmation by the Senate should be removed without the consent of that body; but during a recess of the Senate any such officer might be removed by the President and a successor appointed, who should act until the end of the next session of the Senate. The message of the President, accompanying his veto of this act, was particularly offensive to members of Congress. At the opening of the new Congress the matter of impeachment was discussed, and it was soon found that the sentiment was now largely in favor of bringing the President to trial, though there was a difference of opinion as to what should be the principal charge for which he should be impeached. An opportunity was soon made by the President himself, which afforded the House of Representatives exactly the opportunity desired. The President had for some time shown a decided animosity towards his Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, and now, by the "Tenure of Office act" not being able to dismiss him from office, he requested the Secretary to resign. The following correspondence is of so interesting a character, as preliminary to the only trial of a President in our history, that it is given in full:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Aug. 5, 1867.

SIR:

Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted.

Very respectfully,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

TO HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Aug. 5, 1867.

SIR:

Your note of this day has been received, stating that public considerations of a high character constrain you to say that my resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted.

In reply, I have the honor to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the

head of this Department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

To the President.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Aug. 12, 1867.

SIR:

By virtue of the power and authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to exercise any and all functions pertaining to the same. You will at once transfer to General Ulysses S. Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

Very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

To HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Aug. 12, 1867.

SIR:

The Honorable Edwin M. Stanton having been this day suspended as Secretary of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will at once enter upon the discharge of the duties of that office. The Secretary of War has been instructed to transfer to you all records, books, papers, and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

To GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 12, 1867.

SIR:

Enclosed herewith, I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of letter just received from the President of the United States, notifying me of my assignment as Acting Secretary of War, and directing me to assume those duties at once.

In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriot-

ism, firmness, and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of Secretary of War.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, General.

To HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON CITY, Aug. 12, 1867.

SIR:

Your note of this date has been received, informing me that, by virtue of the power and authority vested in you as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, I am suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to exercise any and all functions pertaining to the same, and also directing me at once to transfer to General U. S. Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in my custody and charge. Under a sense of public duty I am compelled to deny your right, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, without the advice and consent of the Senate, and without legal cause, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or the exercise of any or all functions pertaining to the same, or without such advice and consent to compel me to transfer to any person the records, books, papers, and public property in my custody as Secretary. But inasmuch as the General commanding the armies of the United States has been appointed *ad interim*, and has notified me that he has accepted the appointment, I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to superior force.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

To the President.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON CITY, Aug. 12, 1867.

GENERAL:

Your note of this date, accompanied by a copy of a letter addressed to you, August 12th, by the President, appointing you Secretary of War *ad interim*, and informing me of your acceptance of the appointment, has been received. Under a sense of public duty I am compelled to deny the President's right under the Constitution and laws of the United States, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or to authorize any other person to enter upon

the discharge of the duties of that office, or to require me to transfer to you or any other person the records, books, papers, and other property in my official custody and charge as Secretary of War. But, inasmuch as the President has assumed to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, and you have notified me of your acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of War *ad interim* I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to the superior force of the President. You will please accept my acknowledgment of the kind terms in which you have notified me of your acceptance of the President's appointment, and my cordial reciprocation of the sentiments expressed.

I am, with sincere regard, truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

On the 13th of January, 1868, the Senate took up the matter, and a resolution was passed, 35 to 6 (party vote), that the Senate did not concur in Mr. Stanton's suspension.

Then ensued the following correspondence:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 14, 1868.

SIR:

I have the honor to inclose herewith copy of official notice received by me last evening of the action of the Senate of the United States in the case of the suspension of Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War. According to the provisions of section two of "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," my functions as Secretary of War *ad interim* ceased from the moment of the receipt of the within notice. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, General.

HIS EXCELLENCY A. JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 21, 1868.

To the Senate of the United States:

On the 12th day of August, 1867, by virtue of the power and authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, I suspended Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War. In further exercise of the power and author-

ity so vested in the President, I have this day removed Mr. Stanton from the office, and designated the Adjutant General of the army as Secretary of War *ad interim*. Copies of the communications upon this subject, addressed to Mr. Stanton and the Adjutant General, are herewith transmitted for the information of the Senate.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

On the 21st of February (the day the above communication was received), the Senate, 28 to 6 (party vote, 20 not voting), adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That under the Constitution and laws of the United States, the President has no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office *ad interim*.

On the 21st of February, General Thomas accepted the *ad interim* appointment by this letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, February 21, 1868.

HIS EXCELLENCY ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

SIR:

I have the honor to report that I have delivered the communication addressed by you to the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, removing him from the office of Secretary of the War Department, and also to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date authorizing and empowering me to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*. I accept this appointment with gratitude for the confidence reposed in me, and will endeavor to discharge the duties to the best of my ability.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS, Adjutant General.

Secretary Stanton remained in possession of the War Office till after the vote in the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, on the 26th of May, on which day he addressed this communication to President Johnson:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, May 26, 1868.

SIR:

The resolution of the Senate of the United States, of the 21st of February last, declaring that the President "has no power to re-

move the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office *ad interim*," having this day failed to be supported by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting on the articles of impeachment preferred against you by the House of Representatives. I have relinquished charge of the War Department, and have left the same, and the books, archives, papers, and property belonging to my custody as Secretary of War, in care of Brewer Major General Townsend, the senior Assistant Adjutant General, subject to your direction.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

To the President of the United States.

Secretary Stanton's order to General Townsend was as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21, 1867.

General:

You will take charge of the War Department, and the books and papers, archives and public property, belonging to the same, subject to the disposal and direction of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

BREWER M. GEN. E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

In the House of Representatives on February 20d, the following resolution was referred without debate to the Committee on Reconstruction:

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.

On the same day the committee after a thorough examination into the different correspondence and papers in the case, recommended in the House the adoption of the above resolution. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who was the chairman of the committee, defended the resolution, and a most spirited debate took place, during which letters were read from different portions of the country, the tenor of which can be seen from the following:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., February 22, 1868.

The usurpations of Andrew Johnson have created a profound sensation in the State. His last act is the act of a traitor. His treason must be checked. The duty of Congress seems plain. The people of Illinois attached to the Union, I firmly believe, will demand his impeachment, and will heartily sustain such action by our Congress. The peace of the country is not to be trifled with by that presumptuous demagogue. We know the national Congress will proceed wisely and cautiously, but let it proceed. Millions of loyal hearts are panting to stand by the Stars and Stripes. Have no fear; all will be well. Liberty and order will again triumph.

R. J. OGLESBY, Governor.

The following was sent on the same day from the Governor of Pennsylvania:

HON. SIMON CAMERON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The news to-day has created a profound sensation in Pennsylvania. The spirit of 1861 seems again to pervade the Keystone State. Troops are rapidly tendering their services to sustain the laws. Let Congress stand firm.

JOHN W. GEARY.

The matter finally came to a vote on February 24th, and the resolution providing for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson was adopted by a vote of 128 to 47, being a strictly party vote, as every Republican voted in the affirmative and every Democrat in the negative. At the conclusion of the vote a committee of two was appointed to notify the Senate, and a committee of seven to prepare and report articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, with power to send for persons, papers, and reports, and to take testimony under oath. On February 25th, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens and Mr. John A. Bingham appeared at the bar of the Senate and delivered the following message:

Mr. President:

By order of the House of Representatives, we appear at the bar of the Senate, and in the name of the House of Representatives,

and of all the people of the United States, we do impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office; and we do further inform the Senate that the House of Representatives will in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same; and in their name we do demand that the Senate take order for the appearance of the said Andrew Johnson to answer to said impeachment.

The articles of impeachment were completed on March 2d, and numbered nine, to which two more were added on the following day. These articles were voted upon separately by the House, the vote in the affirmative being generally about 125, while the vote in the negative was around 40, there being some 20 who were absent or did not vote. John A. Bingham, George S. Boutwell, James F. Wilson, Benjamin F. Butler, Thomas Williams, John A. Logan, and Thaddeus Stevens were elected managers to conduct the impeachment. On March 4th the articles were read to the Senate by the managers: On March 5th Chief Justice Chase took the chair, Associate Justice Nelson having administered the oath. After a few weeks' delay the trial began on the 30th of March. The counsel of the President consisted of Henry Stanbery, Benjamin R. Curtis, William S. Groesbeck, William M. Evarts, and Thomas A. R. Nelson. The trial proceeded until May 16th, when it was ordered that the question on the 11th article be taken first. The vote was "Guilty," 35, "Not guilty," 19, and was as follows:

Guilty—Messrs. Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Cole, Conkling, Conness, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Morgan, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Patterson of New Hampshire, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, Yates—35.

Not Guilty—Messrs. Bayard, Buckalew, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, McCreery, Norton, Patterson of Tennessee, Ross, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Vickers—19.

May 26.—The second and third articles were voted upon,

with the same result as on the eleventh: "Guilty," 35, "Not Guilty," 19.

A motion that the court do now adjourn *sine die* was then carried—yeas, 34, nays, 16, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Cole, Conkling, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Howard, Morgan, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Patterson of New Hampshire, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Van Winkle, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, Yates—34.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Buckalew, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fowler, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, McCreery, Norton, Patterson of Tennessee, Ross, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Vickers—16.

Not Voting—Conness, Fessenden, Grimes, Howe—4.

Judgment of acquittal was then entered by the Chief Justice on the three articles voted upon, and the Senate sitting as a court for the trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, upon the Articles of Impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives, was declared adjourned without day.

All of the thirty-five voting "Guilty" were Republicans. Of those voting "Not guilty," besides all the Democrats, were the following Republicans: Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Ross, Trumbull, and Van Winkle. Had a single one of these Republicans who voted "Not guilty," voted "Guilty," the President would have been convicted, as a two-thirds vote was necessary for this purpose.

The Senate immediately confirmed the appointment of Major-General John M. Schofield to succeed Mr. Stanton. In the first Reconstruction act passed by Congress it was provided that the constitutions to be submitted to the people of the Southern States for their approval should be adopted by a majority of the registered voters. As it became evident that no such majority could ever be obtained, a supplemental act was passed by Congress during the session of 1867-68, that a majority of the votes cast should be sufficient for the adoption

of such constitutions. Under this act the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina ratified the constitutions respectively recommended by their conventions. Acts were then passed recognizing these States as members of the Union. The States of Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia failed to complete their reorganization during the year 1868 and were excluded from a vote in the presidential election of that year.

The continually increasing popularity of General Grant pointed unmistakably to his nomination as the Republican candidate for President. Although Mr. Grant had been a Democrat and never voted the Republican ticket, yet public sentiment was so thoroughly in favor of the successful soldier that nothing could prevent his nomination. He was a man of very few words, and by his quiet demeanor and his conservative utterances, both by correspondence and in private conversation, he gained the confidence of public men, and few questioned that he could be trusted with the affairs of State. Long in advance of the national convention both State and district gatherings had pronounced in favor of the General, and the interest in the convention centred for the most part upon the candidate for the second place.

While there was considerable indignation expressed over the action of those Senators who had voted for acquittal at the impeachment trial, yet the feeling gradually died down, and many who had been foremost in their expressions of hostility against the President acquiesced in the result of the trial, and some went even so far as to concede that it was better that a President of the United States had not been found guilty upon impeachment. The feeling was for the most part a united one against Andrew Johnson the man rather than against Andrew Johnson the President. From the day of his inauguration as Vice-President, when he appeared as the presiding officer of the Senate in an intoxicated condition, through the years when at different times he made a disgraceful exhibition of himself on public platforms, and because of the messages and State papers in which he spoke with most unbecoming disrespect of the National Congress, all added to his

obstinacy and lack of tact and wisdom, the man became a just subject of condemnation. It is possible that he may have been within his constitutional rights as President, or he may not. He immediately transgressed his rights of citizenship and manhood in many instances. He had not even the love and respect of the Democrats, who flocked to his support in the hopes of gaining political capital.

Marcus L. Ward of New Jersey was now chairman of the National Republican Committee, and John D. Defrees of Indiana was secretary. On Wednesday, May 20, 1868, a call was issued for the National Union Republican Convention to be held at Chicago on the 20th of May. At that time Governor Ward called the convention to order and spoke as follows:

Delegates to the National Convention of the Union Republican Party:

You have assembled at the call of the National Committee to nominate its standard-bearer for the ensuing campaign; to declare your unswerving attachment to union and liberty; and to pledge that you will take no step backward in the work of reconstructing the rebel States and re-establishing the Union.

You are here to bear witness that the war, so gallantly and so gloriously waged for the life of the nation, was not a failure. You are here to point to a Republic boundless in extent and resources, guarded and protected by one common flag, and upheld by a patriotic and loyal people.

An emancipated race has been lifted from the debasement of slavery, and, to-day, with the Union men of the South, re-organizes, in the name of liberty, the Governments and institutions of the rebellious States. The history of the Republican party is a record of the true progress of the nation. It has successively met and conquered all those hostile parties represented by the effete ideas and perishing institutions of the past, and it must now determine to vindicate anew its measures and its policy, by the wisdom and courage which plan, and the determination and labor which organize, victory. In this spirit you are here assembled to perform the responsible duties assigned you, and I doubt not your action will meet the approval of the vast constituency you represent. The nation understands that neither armed treason nor political treachery can arrest the triumph of our cause and the success of our candidates.

If, as indicated by the unanimity of feeling which prevails, you

shall designate as our leader the great captain of the age, whose brilliant achievements in the field have been equalled by the wisdom in the Cabinet, the nation will greet it as the precursor of victory to our cause and of peace to the Republic.

After prayer had been offered by Bishop Matthew Simpson, the chairman announced that by the direction of the national committee he nominated for temporary chairman of the convention Carl Schurz of Missouri. The nomination being unanimously accepted, Mr. Tremain of New York and Mr. Thompson of Indiana escorted General Schurz to the chair. After thanking the convention for the honor conferred upon him, Mr. Schurz said:

This is the fourth National Convention of the Republican party. The short career of this party has been marked by events to which coming generations will point with pride, admiration and gratitude. The Republican party was born a giant. In its very infancy it grappled with the prejudice of race, which, until then, seemed to be omnipotent with the masses of the American people. Our second onset broke through it, and carried the immortal Abraham Lincoln into the Executive Chair of the Republic as the great champion of the anti-slavery cause.

Then came the slaveholders' rebellion, and, under Republican leadership, the loyal people of this country displayed a noble heroism and self-sacrificing devotion and perseverance, under obstacles and defeat, which may well serve as a glorious example to all nations of the earth.

The result of the struggle corresponds with the great effort. The life of the nation has been saved; the dark blot of slavery has been wiped from our national escutcheon; four millions of bondsmen have been raised from the dust and from their ancient degradation; the outraged dignity of human nature has been gloriously vindicated; and this day, those States, the peculiar condition of which was but recently a disgrace to the American name, return to us under the national banner, which, now, at last, is to them what it ought ever to have been—the great emblem of impartial justice, of universal liberty, and of equal rights.

All these things have been accomplished under Republican auspices, and without indulging in vain self-glorification, it may be

truly said that the history of the Republican party is closely identified with the noblest achievements of this century.

But there are new problems equally great before us; we have to secure the results of the great struggle against the dangers of reaction; we have to adapt the laws and institutions of this country to the new order of things.

The solution of that problem will require no less enthusiasm, no less devotion, no less perseverance, than the struggles which lie behind us.

It will require more. It will require that calm statesmanship which consists in a clear appreciation of the objects to be attained, and a thorough knowledge of the means by which they can be accomplished.

When the Republican party was about to enter upon the creative part of its mission, it was, by one of the most atrocious crimes ever recorded in history, deprived of the man whose highest virtue as a ruler consisted in his always acting upon the noblest impulses of the popular heart. Abraham Lincoln was struck down in the fulness of his glory, and we are left now to measure the greatness of our loss by what he left behind him in his place.

Then began, for us, the time of disappointments and of unexpected trials. Our policy was thwarted by the very man, who, in an unfortunate hour, we had put upon the road to power. The legislative and executive departments of the Government were pitted against one another in a fierce struggle. New dangers were looming up where there ought to have been a quiet and peaceable development.

We have had our hours of painful experience, but what of that? Are we the men to be disturbed by the mere appearance of danger? Are not the principles which we advocate just as great as they ever were? Is not the necessity of their realization just as apparent as ever? Is not justice still justice, right still right, and truth still truth? Are we not defenders of justice, right, and truth, to-day, as we were yesterday? What, then, is there to frighten the most pusillanimous?

Victory will be true to the Republican party as long as the Republican party is true to itself.

Let us faithfully strive to restore the honor of the Government, to crush corruption wherever we find it, inside of the party, just as well as outside of it, and to place the public service of the country in the hands of honest, true and capable men. Let us, with un-

shaken purpose, work out the manifest logic of the results already gained for liberty and equal rights; let us fearlessly acknowledge that the career of the Republican party will not be ended till the great trusts proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, in the fullest meaning of the term, have become a living reality on every inch of American soil.

Yet, let us be true to our history, true to ourselves, and fear nothing. No step backward. Onward is the charm-word of victory. Let us see again the banner of progress, of liberty, of equal rights, of national faith, nailed to the very top of the mast. And I spurn the idea that the American people could ever so far forget themselves as to throw their destiny into the hands of men who, but yesterday, strove to destroy the Republic, and who, to-day, stand ready to dishonor it.

A very animated discussion followed over the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, and Resolutions. At the evening session the Committee on Permanent Organization reported the name of Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut for permanent president of the convention. The report was adopted and ex-Governor Salomon of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Brown of Georgia, were named as a committee to conduct ex-Governor Hawley to the chair. Three cheers were then given for Governor Hawley, for Governor Brown, and for the retiring chairman, General Schurz. Upon being introduced, Mr. Hawley spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention :

I tender you my most grateful thanks for the high honor you have conferred upon me. Deeply impressed by a sense of the responsibilities of the position, I earnestly solicit your indulgence and your aid. We come together, charged with the momentous duty of selecting the chief rulers of the great nation which leads the world in the promotion of freedom and equal rights. The indications of your purpose and spirit already given, assure us that you will maintain the noble character of the Republican party.

We unavoidably recall the Convention of 1860, with its profound anxieties, its fresh, pure, and glowing devotion to liberty, and its enthusiastic acceptance of the wager of battle tendered by slavery and secession. It now seems clear to us that God ruled our councils.

He made our declaration of principles manly and sincere. He gave us Abraham Lincoln for President. May He send us like wisdom and success to-day.

He tested us in a manner, and to an extent, which the liveliest imagination could not have anticipated. Posterity, we hope, will decide that we met that test with the spirit worthy of a free people. Countless treasure, and three hundred thousand lives freely offered, are the evidences that we were solemnly in earnest. We offered our lives and our property; but it was not enough. We laid our prejudices of race and class upon the altar, and the consciousness that we at last deserved success redoubled our strength. The same high resolves rule to-day, and the Union men of this country are ready for equal and even greater sacrifices, if they be indispensable to the dedication of this Continent to liberty and equal rights.

We learned the first lesson when we found that we must make all men free, and call all men to the battle-field. We learned the second lesson when we found that we must still move on and give impartially to all men a share in the Government we were endeavoring to restore.

With a clear and fearless expression of the essential and important questions at issue—which the people will understand, and no ingenious device, no words can obscure or avoid—passing by all personal and temporary controversies, working in perfect confidence that the American people mean to do right, and will do it in the end, we may feel sure of triumph. The power of a nation of forty millions must be behind the just claim of the poorest workingman, of whatever race, to recover even and just wages. Its majesty must be felt wherever the humblest loyal man appeals against personal violence and oppression. For every dollar of the national debt, the blood of a soldier is pledged. Every bond, in letter and in spirit, must be as sacred as a soldier's grave. We must win, gentlemen, and we shall win. It is the old fight of liberty, equality and fraternity, against oppression, caste and aristocracy. It is the old fight to make the world better, with "malice toward none, and charity for all."

We may halt for a moment, or change direction, but the good cause always goes steadily forward. It is related—and, whether it be true or not, the incident is well invented—that, on the evening of that awful battle of the Wilderness, when the legions of the Union army had fought all day, rather by faith than by sight, in the wild woods and tangled brush, someone asked General Grant to step

backward a little, and re-organize, and that he replied, "We have done very well, gentlemen! At half-past three in the morning we move forward!" We accept his spirit and his words.

Perhaps I am not anticipating in saying that we shall accept him in person again as our leader.

Thanking you, again, gentlemen, very heartily for the honor conferred, I await the pleasure of the Convention.

Governor Brown was, after a short discussion, invited to address the convention, which he did in a most stirring speech, explaining how he had been converted from an original secessionist, born in Mr. Calhoun's district in the State of South Carolina. He said:

The Hamiltonian and Websterian construction of the Constitution has been established by the sword. I have acquiesced in that, and, as I find the Republican party on that platform to-day, my oath has bound me to abandon the doctrine which the Democratic party stood upon, and that naturally leads me, as I think, into the Republican party. I know this is a very unpopular doctrine in the South, but I believe it is the true doctrine. But let me tell you, Mr. President and gentlemen, that there are many white men in the South, there are large numbers of original Democrats in the South, there are large numbers of original secessionists in the South, who, to-day, stand as firmly by the Republican party, and will support the great Captain of the age, General Grant, as well as you will.

Before the adjournment at the close of the first day's proceedings Mr. Van Zandt of Rhode Island said:

Another amendment; I desire, Mr. President, to move to strike out the words the "National Union" party, and substitute in their stead "National Republican" party. We fought, sir, under that flag for many years. Our brothers, and our sons and our fathers have died under it; we have achieved victory under it; we elected Abraham Lincoln under it, and we buried him under it; and I hope, sir, that we will not call this a National Union party. It means nothing at all. The Union is restored. The Union is entire, and our party is, to-day, the National Republican party, and I trust the Convention will allow me, although I represent one of the smallest States in the Union, and one of a very limited number of electoral votes, to pro-

pose this, to me, very important and desirable amendment—one, sir, in which I believe all the New England States, by the side of the great ocean, will concur, heart and soul, and one in which I sincerely hope the great and almost boundless West and South will join. I move that those rules be amended by striking out the word "Union" from the "National Union party," and substituting therefor the word "Republican," and I hope it will be done by acclamation, and that no one will dissent.

Mr. Logan then moved to amend the motion of Mr. Van Zandt, so that instead of striking out the word "Union," the word "Republican" should be inserted before the word "Party," so as to stand the "National Union Republican" party. Mr. Van Zandt then said:

I accept the amendment, Mr. President. I would accept any amendment that the gentleman offers, even if he wanted to change my name. I want the word "Republican" in here.

And the motion was adopted. Although there were repeated calls for General Logan and others, the convention adjourned.

On the second day, after a debate over the reception of resolutions adopted by the National Council of the Union League of America, Mr. F. Hassaurek of Ohio, in response to an invitation of the convention, made an address of considerable length, but which was listened to with the utmost interest. He was followed by General John M. Palmer of Illinois, who concluded as follows:

And let me implore you, Gentlemen of the Convention—we mean to make Ulysses S. Grant President of the United States in 1868, as you did Abraham Lincoln in '64—and let me beg of you not to offer a continued, perpetual reward to the hands of the assassin, that his life may be taken. Let me beg that of you. Don't make a man Vice-President whose character will offer a temptation for the assassination of Grant. Don't do that. We want him to live out the four years, and, if the country demand his services, we desire his re-election. If the country shall then prefer some other public man, we wish that he may retire, and live to an old age in the enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his countrymen. And if the Baltimore Convention had not made a mistake in '64, Abraham

Lincoln would, to-day, have been at Washington, ready, on the 4th of March, to extend the hand of welcome to Ulysses S. Grant. That hand is at rest forever! Let us take warning by the past; let us place the flag in the hands of none but true, well-tried men.

After a brief period of waiting, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following platform:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1868.

The National Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago, on the twenty-first day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those institutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.
2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.
3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.
4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.
5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.
6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is so to improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more special honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people,—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to

the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this republic,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

13. We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

The eleventh and twelfth sections of the platform included above were subsequently submitted by Mr. Schurz, and accepted by the committee and convention.

The president announcing that the convention was ready to proceed to nominations for a candidate for President, Mr. Logan of Illinois said:

In the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers, and sailors of this great Republic of the United States of America; in the name of loyalty, of liberty, of humanity, of justice; in the name of the National Union Republican party; I nominate, as candidate for the Chief Magistracy of this nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

This was followed by a great outburst of enthusiasm, and with cheers for the nominee and general applause lasting for several minutes. The roll of States was then called, when the chairman announced as follows: "Gentlemen of the Convention, you have six hundred and fifty votes. You have given six hundred and fifty votes for Ulysses S. Grant." The cheering was now renewed, and the whole convention joined in the song "The Battle-Cry of Freedom," led by the band.

Chaplain Lozier, Chaplain McCabe and Major H. G. Lombard then sang a song written for the occasion by Mr. Geo. F. Root, entitled, "We 'll Fight it Out Here, on the Old Union Line," which was received with applause.

Nominations for Vice-President were then made, Mr. Pierce of Virginia nominating Henry Wilson, Mr. Claflin of Massachusetts seconding the nomination. Mr. Lane of Indiana then nominated Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, which was seconded by Mr. Parker of New Jersey. Mr. Cutcheon and Mr. Hassaurek of Ohio then nominated Benjamin F. Wade of that State, the nomination being seconded by Mr. Schurz of Missouri, Mr. Spalding of Ohio, and Mr. Jones of North Carolina. Mr. Tremain of New York then nominated Reuben E. Fenton of that State, and the nomination was seconded by Mr. Storrs of Illinois, Mr. Logan of Illinois, and Mr. Warmouth of Louisiana. Mr. Wood of Kentucky then nominated James Speed of that State, which nomination was seconded by Mr. Taylor of Kentucky. Mr. Sands of Maryland then nominated J. A. J. Cresswell of that State. Mr. McClure of Pennsylvania was delegated by Mr. Forney, the chairman of the State delegation of Pennsylvania, to nominate A. G. Curtin of that State. Mr. Williamson of Iowa then nominated James Harlan of that State, while Mr. Whitmore of South Carolina seconded the nomination of Henry Wilson. Mr. Kelfer of Alabama nominated William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, Mr. Seymour of Wisconsin declared his personal preference for Mr. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, while Mr. Shepley of Maine formally nominated Mr. Hamlin for the Maine delegation. Mr. Souther of Pennsylvania spoke in favor of Mr. Curtin, while Mr. Humphrey of Alabama gave his personal preference for Henry Wilson. Mr. Raster of Illinois spoke for eleven delegates of his State of Illinois in favor of Hannibal Hamlin. The nominations were finally completed by the nomination of Senator Pomeroy of Kansas by Mr. Martin of that State, and the endorsement of Mr. Fenton by General Sickles of New York. The several ballots resulted as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th
Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio	147	170	178	206	38
Reuben E. Fenton, New York.	126	144	139	144	69
Henry Wilson, Massachusetts	119	114	101	87	
Schuyler Colfax, Indiana.	115	145	165	186	541
Andrew G. Curtin, Pennsylvania.	51	45	40		
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine	28	30	25	25	
James Speed, Kentucky.	22				
James Harlan, Iowa.	16				
John A. J. Creswell, Maryland	14				
Samuel C. Pomeroy, Kansas.	6				
William D. Kelley, Pennsylvania.	4				

The nomination of Mr. Colfax was then made unanimous and the new national committee was announced, with William Claflin of Massachusetts as Chairman.

The convention adjourned subject to the call of the national executive committee. At Washington, the 29th of May, General Grant forwarded the following letter of acceptance :

TO GENERAL J. R. HAWLEY,

President National Union Republican Convention :

In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed. The proceedings of the Convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and I believe express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I endorse the resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere.

In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will and always shall.

Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1868.

The letter of acceptance from Mr. Colfax concluded as follows:

I do not need to extend this reply by further comment on a platform which has elicited such hearty approval throughout the land. The debt of gratitude it acknowledges to the brave men who saved the Union from destruction, the frank approval of amnesty based on repentance and loyalty, the demand for the most thorough economy and honesty in government, the sympathy of the party of liberty with all throughout the world who long for the liberty we here enjoy, and the recognition of the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of the organization on whose banners they are to be written in the coming contest. Its past record cannot be blotted out or forgotten. If there had been no Republican party, Slavery would to-day cast its baneful shadow over the Republic. If there had been no Republican party, a free press and free speech would be as unknown from the Potomac to the Rio Grande as ten years ago. If the Republican party could have been stricken from existence when the banner of rebellion was unfurled, and when the response of "No coercion" was heard at the North, we would have had no nation to-day. But for the Republican party daring to risk the odium of tax and draft laws our flag could not have been kept flying on the field until the long-hoped-for victory came. Without a Republican party the Civil Rights bill—the guaranty of equality under the law to the humble and the defenceless, as well as to the strong—would not be to-day upon our national statute book.

With such inspiration from the past, and following the example of the founders of the Republic, who called the victorious General of the Republic to preside over the land his triumphs had saved from its enemies, I cannot doubt that our labors will be crowned with success. And it will be a success that will bring restored hope, confidence, prosperity and progress, South as well as North,

West as well as East, and, above all, the blessings, under Providence, of national concord and peace.

Very truly yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

The Democratic National Convention of 1868 was called to meet at Tammany Hall, New York, on Saturday the 4th of July. Henry S. Palmer of Wisconsin was made temporary chairman, while Horatio Seymour of New York was chosen as permanent president. The two-thirds rule was adopted. The platform was reported on Tuesday, and was devoted largely to the alleged shortcomings of the Republican party; to a denouncement of Congress, and an endorsement of President Johnson. Resolutions were passed thanking Chief Justice Chase "for the justice, dignity and impartiality with which he presided over the Court of Impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson." Twenty-two ballots were taken before a candidate for the Presidency was selected. Until the sixteenth ballot George H. Pendleton of Ohio led. On the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first, General Winfield S. Hancock led, while the vote of Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana showed increased strength. On the twenty-second ballot a few votes were given to Horatio Seymour, the president of the convention. Mr. Seymour protested at once, and refused to be considered a candidate, but a stampede took place during which Mr. Seymour withdrew from the chair. Before the balloting was over he had received 317 votes, the full vote of the convention. General Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri was unanimously nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot. Although Mr. Blair had been a staunch Republican from the foundation of the party, and a loyal Unionist during the war, yet his bitterness to General Grant, as displayed in a letter written just before the convention to Colonel J. O. Brodhead, made him acceptable.

The campaign was devoid of great excitement, due to the universal feeling that the Republican ticket would be successful. So influential a paper as the *New York World* called for the retirement of General Blair, whose speeches had given

great offence to the conservative Democrats. Governor Seymour, however, held the ticket together, and perhaps polled as large a vote as any other man who could have been selected. It was largely through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden that Mr. Seymour had been nominated. It had been thought before the convention by prominent Democrats, that the nomination of Mr. Chase would prove exceedingly popular, and no doubt the plank in the Democratic platform approving of the manner in which he presided over the Impeachment Court was inserted with a view to giving him strength before the convention, but Mr. Tilden's animosity against Mr. Chase was such, that he would not consent to his nomination under any circumstances, neither would he have either Pendleton or Hendricks, but insisted upon a New York man. Mr. Seymour had not been thought of before the convention was held, and he himself had no idea whatever, till his name was voted upon in the twenty-second ballot, that he would be nominated. He was perhaps the ablest man the Democratic party possessed in 1868, but the majority of the North wanted no such man for President. He had been the friend and supporter of Vallandigham, and his acts and his position had not been forgotten. The popular and electoral vote is given on the next page.

It will be seen that Governor Seymour carried but one Northeastern State besides his own, New Jersey. New York itself, while it did not change the election, was nevertheless carried by frauds of the grossest character. The "Tweed Ring" was at the height of its power in New York, and could count the vote of the State about as it pleased. It will be noticed that the majority given to Mr. Seymour is exactly ten thousand, a result which was probably brought about with a view to saving certain bets which the Democrats had made upon their majority. The counting of the electoral votes took place on the 10th of February. The vote of Georgia was objected to, and a most acrimonious discussion followed, led by General Butler of Massachusetts. The president of the Senate, Mr. Wade, however, counted the vote and declared that Grant and Colfax were duly elected President and Vice-President of the United States.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE		ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois	Horatio Seymour, New York	Grant and Colfax	Seymour and Blair
Alabama.....	76,366	72,086	8	
Arkansas.....	22,152	19,078	5	
California.....	54,592	54,078	5	
Connecticut.....	50,641	47,600	6	
Delaware.....	7,623	10,980		3
Florida.....			3 ¹	
Georgia.....	57,134	102,822		9
Illinois.....	250,293	199,143	16	
Indiana.....	176,552	166,980	13	
Iowa.....	120,399	74,040	8	
Kansas.....	31,049	14,019	3	
Kentucky.....	39,566	115,889		11
Louisiana.....	33,263	80,225		7
Maine.....	70,426	42,396	7	
Maryland.....	30,438	62,357		7
Massachusetts.....	136,477	59,408	12	
Michigan.....	128,550	97,069	8	
Minnesota.....	43,542	28,072	4	
Mississippi.....	— ₂			
Missouri.....	85,671	59,788	11	
Nebraska.....	9,729	5,439	3	
Nevada.....	6,480	5,218	3	
New Hampshire.....	38,191	31,224	5	
New Jersey.....	80,121	83,001		7
New York.....	419,883	429,883		33
North Carolina.....	96,226	84,090	9	
Ohio.....	280,128	238,700	21	
Oregon.....	10,961	11,125		3
Pennsylvania.....	342,280	313,382	26	
Rhode Island.....	12,993	6,548	4	
South Carolina.....	62,301	45,237	6	
Tennessee.....	56,757	26,311	10	
Texas.....	— ₂			
Vermont.....	44,167	12,045	5	
Virginia.....	— ₂			
West Virginia.....	29,025	20,306	5	
Wisconsin.....	108,857	84,710	8	
Total.....	3,012,833	2,703,249	214	80

¹ Electors appointed by legislature.² No vote in the State.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMNESTY PROCLAMATIONS—THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT— ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS—THE GENEVA AWARD—REPUB- LICAN PRINCIPLES AND ACCOMPLISHMENT.

TWO amnesty proclamations were issued by President Johnson during the year. By the first, all persons were pardoned except those under presentment or indictment in any court of the United States having competent jurisdiction.

The second proclamation, issued on December 25th, declared, unconditionally and without reservation, a full pardon and amnesty to all and every person who participated in the late insurrection, etc. Omitting the preamble the proclamation was as follows:

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, *Andrew Johnson*, President of the United States, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the Constitution, and in the name of the sovereign people of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare unconditionally and without reservation, to all and to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the late insurrection or rebellion, a full pardon and amnesty for the offence of treason against the United States, or of adhering to their enemies during the late civil war, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution and the laws which have been made in pursuance thereof.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was reported from a committee of conference, February 26, 1869, and its passage recommended. The vote in the Senate was: Yeas,

39, all Republicans; nays, 13, all Democrats, except Fowler of Tennessee. In the House the vote was: Yeas, 144, all Republicans; nays, 44, all Democrats, except Hawkins of Tennessee, Loughridge of Iowa, and Mallory of Oregon. Thirty-five members did not vote, of whom about thirty were Republicans. The Amendment was afterwards declared in force March 30, 1870. The text of the Fifteenth Amendment is as follows:

Art. 15, Sec. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

After the completion of the canvass of the votes of the States for President and Vice-President by Congress, a committee, consisting of Senator Morton of Indiana and Representatives Pruyn of New York and Wilson of Iowa, waited upon General Grant to present to him the certificate of his election as President of the United States. General Grant was inaugurated on March 4, 1869, at which time the Fortieth Congress adjourned, and the Forty-first Congress began its first session.

The President selected his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, E. B. Washburne of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, A. T. Stewart of New York; Secretary of the Interior, J. D. Cox of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, John M. Schofield of Illinois; Postmaster-General, J. A. J. Creswell of Maryland, and Attorney-General, E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts. Although these nominations were immediately confirmed by the Senate, objections were subsequently advanced against the legality of the appointment of A. T. Stewart as Secretary of the Treasury. By an act of Congress of 1789 it was provided, that no person should hold the office of the Secretary of the Treasury who was engaged in trade or commerce. The President asked Congress under the circumstances to exempt Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Sherman of Ohio presented a bill in the Senate for repealing the act referred to. In the meantime,

however, Mr. Stewart declined the office, and the vacancy was filled by the nomination of George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. Mr. Washburne, the newly appointed Secretary of State, having been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France, Mr. Hamilton Fish of New York was appointed in his place. At the same time General Schofield retired from the office of Secretary of War, and was succeeded by John A. Rawlins of Illinois. Mr. Rawlins died on September 6th, and was succeeded by William W. Belknap of Iowa. Mr. Borie retired from the office of Secretary of the Navy, and was succeeded by George M. Robeson of New Jersey.

The Senate of the Forty-first Congress, which began on March 4, 1869, was composed of 55 Republicans and 10 Democrats, with one vacancy, and four States not represented. The House consisted of 129 Republicans and 63 Democrats, though changes were made in the seating of members subsequently. In the Senate Schuyler Colfax, the newly elected Vice-President, took the chair as presiding officer. In the House James G. Blaine was chosen Speaker, having received 135 votes against 57 votes cast for Michael C. Kerr of Indiana. In the House the following resolution offered by Mr. Banks of Massachusetts was adopted April 9th, the rules being suspended by a vote of 98 to 25:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That the people of the United States sympathize with the people of Cuba in their patriotic efforts to secure their independence and establish a republican form of government, guaranteeing the personal liberty and the equal political rights of all the people; and the House of Representatives will give its constitutional support to the President of the United States whenever, in his opinion, a republican government shall have been in fact established, and he may deem it expedient to recognize the independence and sovereignty of such republican government.

In the Senate, on the withdrawal of the Vice-President, Mr. Anthony of Rhode Island was chosen president *pro tem*. This first session of the Forty-first Congress closed on April 10th.

On May 19, 1869, President Grant issued the following, respecting wages of labor:

Whereas, The act of Congress, approved June 25, 1868, constituted on and after that date eight hours a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States, and repealed all acts and parts of acts inconsistent therewith:

Now, therefore, I, *Ulysses S. Grant*, President of the United States, do hereby direct that, from and after this date, no reduction shall be made in the wages paid by the Government by the day to such laborers, workmen, and mechanics, on account of such reduction of the hours of labor.

In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 19th day of May, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, and of the independence of the United States the ninety-third.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President:

HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

By an opinion of Attorney-General Evarts, it was afterwards declared that a corresponding reduction of wages was not inconsistent with the act.

The second session of the Forty-first Congress commenced at Washington on December 6, 1869. On December 16th, Mr. Garfield of Ohio offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the proposition, direct or indirect, to repudiate any portion of the debt of the United States is unworthy of the honor and good name of the Nation, and that this House, without distinction of party, hereby sets its seal of condemnation upon any and all such propositions.

It was adopted with only one dissenting vote.

On February 28, 1870, Mr. Shanks of Indiana offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the interests of the country require such tariff for revenue upon foreign imports as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the lowest burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

It was adopted by a vote of 109 to 47, a party division, the Republicans voting in the affirmative and the Democrats in the negative.

The Reconstruction acts occupied most of the time of this session of Congress. On March 30, 1870, the President transmitted a message to both Houses of Congress, notifying them of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. A bill was at once introduced and passed to secure the freedom of suffrage to the male colored people of each State. On the evening of the first ratification of the Amendment the President and other distinguished advocates of the measure were serenaded at Washington. On the appearance of the President, Mr. John W. Forney addressed him as follows:

Mr. President: On the part of the Republicans of the District of Columbia I am here to-night to return to you, in their name, the expression of their profound gratitude for the second proclamation which seals the great work of the war, in the overthrow of which you were the chief instrument. The first proclamation of your illustrious predecessor, which declared the downfall of Slavery, was essential to that great moral victory which succeeded the triumph of the arms. Mr. President, it is impossible to speak the feelings of the race liberated, first, by Mr. Lincoln, and second, enfranchised by yourself, on this interesting occasion. Those of us who have enjoyed the rights of citizenship for so long a time cannot express the emotions which swell their hearts this evening; and you, sir, may well conceive how they appreciate the great work which has been so splendidly consummated by yourself—the words of counsel, the words of cheer, the words of encouragement you have bestowed upon them—and, therefore, on this inclement night, they have come to tender you their heartfelt thanks for again proving yourself their liberator and their friend.

President Grant replied as follows:

Sir: I can assure those present that there has been no event since the close of the war in which I have felt so deep an interest as that of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution by three-fourths of the States of the Union. I have felt the greatest

anxiety ever since I have been in this house to know that that was to be secured. It looked to me as the realization of the Declaration of Independence. I cannot say near so much on this subject as I would like to, not being accustomed to public speaking, but I thank you very much for your presence this evening.

Vice-President Colfax was then called for, and responded in the following words:

Fellow-Citizens : My heart rejoices with yours in that proclamation which declares to the people of this Republic and to the people of the world ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It is, indeed, a fortunate coincidence that the same voice that proclaimed the downfall of the rebellion and the salvation intact of this imperilled Union proclaimed afterward, as the Chief Magistrate of the land which by his valor and that of his fellow-soldiers was saved from disruption, that, as this country has made all free, the same country has determined that every one should have in his hands the ballot to protect that country. Opposed, as it has been, in its progress to this final culmination, it will live in all history as the Magna Charta of this Republic of the United States.

On June 20th, the Attorney-General, E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts, resigned, and was succeeded by Amos T. Akerman of Georgia. J. D. Cox of Ohio resigned as Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. Columbus Delano of Ohio was appointed as his successor. The admission of Senators and Representatives from Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi now completed the work of reconstruction, and the two Houses of Congress turned their attention to questions of finance, Tariff, and taxation. On the 15th of July 1870, the second session of the Forty-first Congress adjourned.

The third session convened at Washington on December 5, 1870. On December 13th the Attorney-General, A. T. Akerman of Georgia, resigned, and Senator George H. Williams of Oregon was appointed his successor. The attention of this session of Congress was largely devoted to the discussion of a measure to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 4th of May, 1871, the President issued the following proclamation:

Enforcement of Fourteenth Amendment 517

The act of Congress entitled "An act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and for other purposes," approved April 20th, A.D. 1871, being a law of extraordinary public importance, I consider it to be my duty to issue this my proclamation, calling the attention of the people of the United States thereto; enjoining upon all good citizens, and especially upon public officers, to be zealous in the enforcement thereof; and warning all persons to abstain from committing any of the acts thereby prohibited. The law of Congress applies to all parts of the United States, and will be enforced everywhere to the extent of the powers vested in the Executive.

But, inasmuch as the necessity therefor is well known to have been caused chiefly by persistent violations of the rights of citizens of the United States by combinations of lawless and disaffected persons in certain localities lately the theatre of insurrection and military conflict, I do particularly exhort the people of those parts of the country to suppress all such combinations by their own voluntary efforts through the agency of local laws, and to maintain the rights of all citizens of the United States, and to secure to all such citizens the equal protection of the laws. Fully sensible of the responsibility imposed upon the Executive by the act of Congress to which public opinion is now called, and reluctant to call into exercise any of the extraordinary powers thereby conferred upon me except in cases of imperative necessity, I do nevertheless deem it my duty to make known that I will not hesitate to exhaust the power thus vested in the Executive whenever and wherever it shall become necessary to do so for the purpose of securing to all citizens of the United States the peaceful enjoyment of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws. It is my earnest wish that peace and cheerful obedience to the law may prevail throughout the land, and that all traces of our late unhappy civil strife may be speedily removed. These ends can be easily reached by acquiescence in the results of the conflict now written in our Constitution, and by the due and proper enforcement of equal, just, and impartial laws in every part of our country. The failure of local communities to furnish such means for the attainment of results so earnestly desired, imposes upon the national Government the duty of putting forth all its energies for the protection of its citizens of every race and color, and for the restoration of peace and order throughout the entire country.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this third day of May, (L. s.) in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one; and of the independence of the United States the ninety-fifth.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President:

HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

This was followed by other proclamations during the year concerning the same subject.

On March 3d an act of Congress provided as follows:

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as will best promote the efficiency thereof; and to ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose the President is authorized to employ suitable persons to conduct said inquiries, to prescribe their duties, and to establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service.

Under this provision the following Civil Service Commissioners were appointed by the President: George William Curtis, Alexander G. Cattell, Joseph Medill, Davidson A. Walker, E. B. Ellicott, Joseph H. Blackfan, and David C. Cox. The President in a message to Congress on December 19th transmitted the report of the Commissioners, and concludes as follows:

We propose also that in this country the places in the public service shall be restored to those who are found to be fitted for them, and, if any one is disposed to think that an abuse of forty years is a law of the republican system, a little reflection will show him his error. If he believes a reform to be impossible, he merely shows that he is the victim of the abuse, and forgets that in America every reform is possible. The enforcement of the rules that we submit

for approval depends, of course, upon the pleasure of the President; yet, should they receive the sanction of Congress in the form of law, their enforcement would become, until repealed, not only the pleasure but the duty of the President. That sanction, whether to the rules now submitted, or to any scheme, will more surely promote that purity and efficiency of the civil service which the country most earnestly desires. If that sanction should be delayed, the rules adopted for his action by the President could not bind his successor; but, unless we are wholly mistaken, the reform would so vindicate itself to the good sense of the country that the people themselves would reject any party and any candidate that proposed to relapse into the present practice. The improvement of the civil service is emphatically the people's cause, the people's reform, and the Administration which vigorously begins it will acquire a glory only less than that of the salvation of a free Union.

On the 22d of April a public reception was given to President Grant at Indianapolis, where Senator Morton of Indiana gave utterance to the following sentiment:

The Republican party cannot afford to run off upon any one issue, to the abandonment of others; it is national, and its policy must embrace the good of the whole country; it cannot afford to make a distinct issue on the tariff, civil-service reform, or any other individual measure; it must take its stand on these assertions; the Democrats, if they return to power, will either take away the pensions of loyal soldiers, or else will pension Confederate soldiers also; will, when they have a majority in Congress, quietly allow the Southern States to secede in peace; will tax national bonds, and unsettle everything generally. The next Republican candidate must, then, declare that Mr. Boutwell's policy, as Secretary of the Treasury, has been for the best interests of the country, inasmuch as it has already paid one-twelfth of the national debt; that the Kullux act, so called, is constitutional and necessary; and that the United States Government must enforce the observance of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which everywhere in the South the Democrats disregard.

This was taken to voice the intention of the President to be a candidate for a second term, and had perhaps the effect to

accelerate the sentiment of dissatisfaction which was already manifested, particularly in Missouri.

Among the bills which were passed at the third session of the Forty-first Congress, which adjourned on March 4, 1871, was an act providing for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of American independence by holding an international exhibition in Philadelphia in the year 1876.

The first session of the Forty-second Congress commenced on March 4, 1871, immediately after the adjournment of the preceding session. Mr. Blaine was again chosen Speaker by a majority of 35 votes, the Democratic vote in the House having been increased to over 100. The Senate stood 57 Republicans to 17 Democrats, the Democratic membership of both Senate and House having been increased by the admission of the reconstructed States. The session was for the most part unimportant and adjourned on April 20, 1871.

The second session of the Forty-second Congress convened at Washington on December 4, 1871, and terminated on the 10th of June, 1872. The attention of both Senate and House was taken up for the most part with discussions concerning the reconstructed States, the enforcement of the recent amendments, the condition and future of the colored race, and amending and correcting any act which interfered with restoring to the Southern States and citizens the fullest possible privileges and enjoyments. It was the first Congress since the war in which all the States of the Union were represented by their Senators and Representatives, while ten Territories were also represented by delegates.

During the war the United States was the only commercial nation not committed to the abolition of privateering. The Declaration of Paris, adopted April 16, 1856, when the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, and Turkey adopted the abolishment of privateering and made other agreements concerning neutrality and blockades, was not assented to by the United States.

After the outbreak of the war, Secretary Seward applied to the Powers which had made the Declaration of Paris for permission to accede to it without qualification. Great Britain,

acting with France, consented on the condition that the engagement should not "have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States." As this condition seemed to imply that the Southern Confederacy could keep privateers, the United States declined to accept it. In the meantime the Queen had proclaimed neutrality as between the United States and the Confederate States. And yet the neutrality was enforced only against Federal vessels, while Confederate privateers found it easy to evade the rules, particularly in the ports of British colonies. But that was not the extent of the aggravation. It was soon found that Confederate cruisers were built in England, and some of them were even equipped in the ports of that nation. Our Minister, Charles Francis Adams, repeatedly protested, and claimed that the United States had a fair claim for compensation for the damage done to its commerce. Among the cruisers which were built or equipped in England was the *Alabama*, whose name was given to the claims which arose from the damage done by all such vessels on the commerce of the United States.

Till after the close of the war the dispute remained unsettled; but on January 12, 1866, Secretary Seward offered to submit the whole controversy to arbitration. Great Britain in turn offered to accept an arbitration limited to the depredations of the *Alabama* and similar vessels, but this was declined by the United States, because it involved a waiver of the position claimed by the United States: that, following the Queen's proclamation of 1861 according belligerent rights to insurgents against the authority of the United States, she was not justified in any act of wrongful intervention. The matter went along until January 14, 1869, when Reverdy Johnson, our Minister to England, arranged a treaty providing for the submission to arbitration of all claims of either country against the other since February 8, 1853, but the treaty was not ratified, and negotiations ceased until January 26, 1871, when the British Government proposed the appointment of a joint commission to sit at Washington in settlement of the various disputes which existed between the two Governments. To this

the United States consented with the proviso that the *Alabama* claims should be disposed of by the Commission. The Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims by five Representatives to be appointed by the President of the United States, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil. These rulers named as arbitrators Charles Francis Adams, Lord Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn, Count Federigo Sclopis, Mr. Jacques Staempfli, and Baron Itajuba. The Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis and Lord Tenterden represented Great Britain and the United States as agents. The tribunal met at Geneva, Switzerland, on December 15, 1871, and on the 14th of September, 1872, the tribunal "awarded to the United States a sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States as the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal." One dissenting vote was cast by the English representative, but Great Britain accepted the decision and paid the award within a year.

Besides the adjudication of the *Alabama* claims, the Treaty of Washington provided for a commission to be appointed and to sit at Washington to decide on certain claims of Great Britain against the United States for injuries to the persons and property of British subjects by the forces of the United States during the Civil War. It readmitted American fishermen to certain rights in British waters, and the compensation to be paid for this privilege was referred to a joint commission which was to sit at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The dispute as to the Northwestern Boundary line between Vancouver's Island and the mainland was submitted to the Emperor of Germany. The treaty was ratified by a vote of 50 to 12 in the United States Senate, and was ratified at once by Great Britain, and proclaimed to be in force by President Grant on July 4, 1871. It was an important event in the history of international disputes, and received the unqualified approbation of the peace-loving people of both countries.

The settlement of the Geneva award may be called the last controversial act of the War of the Rebellion and the consum-

mation of the transposition of the United States from the grasp of the Slave Power to a reconstructed nation of unfettered freemen. It is a fit place to suspend our chronological history, and, taking a backward survey, sum up what the Republican party has accomplished up to this time, and to give a *résumé* of the laws enacted by Republican Congresses and the work of Republican administrations. For the most part the important acts concerning the carrying on of the war, the various reconstruction measures and amendments to the Constitution, have been given in chronological order as they were proposed, debated, and enacted. There were, however, many minor acts of legislation, some of them of hardly less importance than those already mentioned, which it is now proposed to summarize under their respective heads.

President Lincoln and the Republican party inherited from President Buchanan and the Democratic party not only a bankrupt treasury, but a nation with impaired credit. Fifteen years of Free Trade had not only resulted in national bankruptcy, but in a general prostration of industry and individual commercial ruin. Although at a time of peace, the deficit during the four years preceding June 30, 1861, amounted to about \$63,000,000, and the only method adopted for meeting this deficit was the issuing of treasury notes.

In December, 1860, Howell Cobb, Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report stated that "the necessities of the Treasury demand prompt action," and within a week he resigned his place because "his duty to Georgia required it." Philip F. Thomas, his successor, on December 28, 1860, invited bids for \$5,000,000 of six per cent. treasury notes. Only half of even that small sum was offered, and that, too, at a rate of discount from seven to thirty-six per cent. Mr. Thomas was succeeded in January, 1861, by John A. Dix of New York, when the discount ran from eight and a half to fifteen per cent. By the middle of February, \$8,000,000 more were sold, and the average discount was about ten per cent. Then the Buchanan administration flickered out and gave place to the first administration of the Republican party.

Besides the financial load imposed upon the new administra-

tion in only a few weeks came the great War of the Rebellion with its extraordinary expenses and the necessity for extraordinary measures to meet them. By June 30, 1861, the national debt amounted to \$87,000,000; on June 30, 1862, it had increased to \$505,000,000; on June 30, 1863, it had increased still further to \$1,111,000,000; On June 30, 1864, it was \$1,709,000,000, and on June 30, 1865, it had reached \$2,675,000,000, reaching the maximum on August 31, 1865, when it was \$2,756,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, under Republican administration and financiering, this great debt had been reduced one half, and the annual interest account, which amounted to \$151,000,000 in August, 1865, had been reduced to \$47,000,000 in 1885.

In spite of the extraordinary demands of the war, it may be said that our credit was better during every month of that great conflict than it had been during the peaceful years preceding. The reason can be given in a single sentence. Secretary Chase announced that the payment of every debt should be provided for when the debt was contracted, and that "if the exacting emergencies of war constrained to temporary departure from the principle of adequate taxation, the first moments of returning tranquillity should be devoted to its re-establishment in full supremacy over the financial administration of affairs." In the first place, taxation was imposed to meet ordinary expenditures, the interest on the national debt, and for a sinking fund for the gradual liquidation of the principal. Fortunately a Protective Tariff law was on our statute books and in operation before the outbreak of the war. The Morrill Tariff law, although signed by President Buchanan, was a Republican measure. It was followed, as necessity demanded, by increased rates of customs, and by a system of internal-revenue taxation, which in twenty-five years produced over three and one half billion dollars. The people readily responded to this system of taxes, and never was there any serious embarrassment, even when our expenses amounted to the enormous sum of two million dollars a day. With this most successful system of taxation there were established measures for giving the people a stable currency. Previous to 1861

about sixteen hundred private corporations throughout the country were issuing the bank-note circulation which caused the severest fluctuations and great losses in discount and exchanges. These corporations were, early in 1863, brought into a national system, and, it being obligatory to deposit United States bonds as security for their circulation, it not only made a great demand for our bonds, but gave a security and stability behind the circulating medium.

The Tariff duties, which had averaged about \$46,000,000 a year for the four years preceding the war, in the next five years averaged about \$97,000,000 a year, while the internal revenue taxes levied during the war period amounted to over \$666,000,000, giving to the Treasury a cash gain for the five years of over \$800,000,000, and forming a basis for the nation's credit, which remained unimpaired.

While these measures of Congress and recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury during those years to meet the unusual and extraordinary financial necessity were enacted by the Republican party, it was done in spite of the constant opposition and obstruction of the Democrats. The means for raising both men and money were adopted by the Republicans, and in every instance bitterly opposed by the Democrats, particularly in the House of Representatives. When the war was over, and it was found that both Tariff duties and internal revenue taxation could be reduced, the Republican party from year to year reduced it sufficiently to lighten the burden of the people, but at the same time retained enough to meet not only the yearly requirements of the Government, but to reduce annually in a large measure the national debt.

It was not yet time to return to specie payments, but when the time came the Republican party was equal to the requirement. This will be fully elucidated in subsequent pages of this work. It was thought at the outbreak of the rebellion, that the conflict would be short, and that specie payments need not be suspended, but the early Union reverses brought a different result, and on the 31st of December, 1861, after the banks suspended, the Government was obliged to follow. This suspension lasted until January 1, 1879, a period of eighteen

years. By July, 1864, a greenback dollar, of which 431,000,000 were in circulation, was worth in gold but 38.7 cents, and yet the Republican party insisted and legislated to the end that every dollar was subsequently redeemable in gold on a basis of one hundred cents to the dollar.

Closely allied to the financial measures during and immediately following the war were the Tariff measures and system of internal revenue. Numerous Tariff laws were enacted, increasing the duties upon the imports both with a view to the revenue to be obtained and to the protection of our labor and industries. On August 5, 1861, was enacted the first of the so-called War Tariffs, largely increasing the duties on imports. On December 24th of the same year duties were increased on sugar, tea, and coffee. A new law went into effect on August 2, 1862, still further increasing the rates of duties; on March 3, 1863, April 20, 1864, June 30, 1864, March 5, 1865, March 15, 1866, and July 26, 1866, bills were passed generally increasing duties and changing to some extent all former bills. On March 2, 1867, a very comprehensive act was enacted, increasing the Tariff on wool and woollens to the great benefit of those industries. February 24, 1869, the rates were increased on copper. General changes took place on July 14 and December 20, 1870, largely reducing the free list, and imposing a duty of \$28 per ton on steel rails, soon after which that industry became firmly established to the end that prices were constantly reduced as well as importations. On May 1, 1872, tea and coffee were made free, while on August 1, 1872, there was a general reduction of ten per cent., accompanied by an increased free list.

The act known as the Internal Revenue law was passed July 1, 1862, and inaugurated perhaps the most comprehensive system of taxation ever attempted. Although taxes were imposed upon every possible commodity, yet the burden was borne ungrudgingly, and for the most part was endured in a loyal spirit. From 1861 to 1867 more than twenty-five such laws were enacted. The burden bore most heavily, however, upon luxuries, and particularly upon liquors and tobacco. The collections from internal revenue, which in 1863 amounted

to \$143,000,000, rose to the large sum of \$310,000,000 in 1866. Upon the close of the war a reduction of this internal taxation was soon effected. Between September 1, 1865, and July 1, 1869, taxes to the amount of \$200,000,000 per annum were abated in compliance with the recommendations of the Revenue Commissioner. In March, 1865, at the recommendation of Mr. Fessenden, the Secretary of the Treasury, a commission was appointed, consisting of David A. Wells, Stephen Colwell, and S. S. Hayes, for the purpose of devising a reconstruction of the method both of taxation and collection. This commission made a report in 1865 and 1866, in which latter year the office of a Special Commissioner of the Revenue was created to continue the work of the commission, and Mr. David A. Wells was appointed to the office. It was discontinued in 1870. In March, 1868, a law was enacted taking off the taxes from all manufactures of the country other than distilled spirits and fermented liquors and tobacco. In June, 1872, further important reductions were made by repealing the taxes on incomes and abolishing all stamp taxes, except that of two cents on bank checks, drafts, or orders.

Next to the financial measures adopted during the war, and the Emancipation Proclamation, followed by the amendments to the Constitution, perhaps the establishment and maintenance of the Freedmen's Bureau were the most important acts of legislation. The enactment of these laws has already been referred to, and their operation up to June, 1868. At that time the Bureau was continued by law for one year in the unreconstructed States. On August 3, 1868, a bill was passed over the President's veto, providing that General Howard should not be displaced from the commissionership, but that he should withdraw the Bureau from the various States January 1, 1869, except as to its educational work, which did not stop until July 1, 1870. The collection of pay and bounties for colored soldiers and sailors was continued until 1872 by the Bureau, when its functions were assumed by the usual channels of the War Department. From March, 1865, until August 30, 1870, over \$15,000,000 were disbursed to meet the expenses of the Freedmen's Bureau.

To the Republican party is due the entire credit for the adoption and prosecution of the Homestead laws. Allusion has already been made to the many attempts of Galusha A. Grow, beginning with the Thirty-fifth Congress, to introduce and have passed a bill which should give the settler a preference over the speculator. Failing to get his measure through both Houses of Congress, or, when it had passed both Houses, to be signed by the President, Mr. Grow kept persistently at it until, in February, 1862, a law was passed and placed upon the statute book substantially as it remains to this day.

The National Republican Convention of 1860 had included a plank in its platform endorsing the measure which had been before Congress, and this was repeated in the platforms of 1864 and 1868. It was most essentially a Republican measure, the Democrats fighting it at every stage, being silent upon the subject in their national platforms, and voting almost solidly against it in both Houses of Congress.

The practice of pensioning our disabled soldiers, and the widows and orphans of those killed in war or dying from the effects of wounds received in battle, was in vogue to a very limited extent previous to the War of the Rebellion. On June 30, 1861, the number of pensioners on the rolls was 9752. The Pension law of July 14, 1862, was the foundation of our present law with the amendments which have been added from time to time. Upon this matter of pensions the record of the Republican party was consistent from the first. Since the act of July 14, 1862, laws were passed on July 4, 1864, March 3, 1865, June 6, 1866, July 25, 1866, July 27, 1866, July 7, 1870, and July 8, 1870, while innumerable private laws have been enacted, the whole granting most generous allowance to those who gave their services for their country, or to their widows and orphans. The subsequent operations of the various pension laws, with the increasing number of pensioners and amounts disbursed, will be considered in subsequent chapters. By 1872 the number of pensioners on the roll was 232,299, requiring over \$30,000,000 a year for disbursements.

The operation of the army during the war has been given. On May 1, 1865, the Army of the United States consisted of

1,034,064 men. The act of disbanding the volunteer troops was begun at once and continued during the year 1866. On January 9, 1866 the army, both regular and volunteer, comprised 152,611 officers and men, while at the close of the year but 11,043 were left. In eighteen months from the end of the great war over a million men had been disbanded and transported to their homes. On July 28, 1866, the long-debated Army bill became a law. It provided for 10 regiments or 120 companies of cavalry, 5 regiments or 60 companies of artillery, and 45 regiments or 450 companies of infantry, making the maximum strength, when all the companies should be full, as follows: artillery, 7000; cavalry, 14,000; infantry, 55,000 — a total of 76,000. The immediate strength of companies, however, was fixed at 64 privates for artillery, infantry, and cavalry, and 122 privates for light artillery, making an aggregate strength of 54,202 men.

On March 4, 1869, General Grant was inaugurated President of the United States. He was succeeded in command by Lieutenant-General William T. Sherman, who was promoted to the rank of General. In accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress, July 15, 1870, the army was reduced to a peace-footing of only 30,000 men. The seventy-four national cemeteries in 1870 covered an area of 1800 acres and contained 317,950 graves. The expenditures of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1872, was \$35,372,157. The labor upon coast defences and fortifications, as well as river and harbor works, was being carried on with much vigor, while plans were made for the manufacturing of arms and heavy ordnance.

At the beginning of the war there were in commission but forty-two ships in the United States Navy, built of wood and carrying smooth-bore cannon. In the words of Secretary Welles:

These vessels had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7600 men, and nearly all of them were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of twelve vessels, carrying 187 guns and about 2000 men. Of this squadron only four small vessels, carrying 25 guns and about 280 men, were in Northern ports.

A Democratic President and a Democratic Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey, who had been in effect a traitor, so managed—or mismanaged—our navy as to make it practically of no use at the time when it was most needed. A Republican administration was, however, equal to the emergency, with the result, that in 1862 the progress made, according to Mr. Welles, was as follows:

The result is that we have at this time afloat or progressing to rapid completion a naval force consisting of 427 vessels, there having been added to those of the old navy enumerated in my report of July, 1861, exclusive of those that were lost, 353 vessels armed in the aggregate with 1577 guns, and of the capacity of 240,028 tons.

The annals of the world do not show so great an increase in so brief a period of the naval power of any country.

On December 4, 1865, Mr. Welles was able to say:

From 7600 men in the service at the commencement of the rebellion, the number was increased to 51,500 at its close. In addition to these the aggregate of artisans and laborers employed in the navy yards was 16,880, instead of 3844 previously in the pay of the Government. This is exclusive of those employed in private shipyards and establishments, under contracts, constituting an almost equal aggregate number. Two hundred and eight (208) vessels have been commenced and most of them fitted for service during this period. A few of the larger ones will require still further time for completion. Only steamers, the propellers also having sailing power, have been built by the Government during my administration of the Department. Since the 4th of March, 1861, 418 vessels have been purchased, of which 313 were steamers, at a cost of \$18,366,681.83, and of these there have been sold 340 vessels, for which the Government has received \$5,621,800.27.

Allusion has already been made to the genius of and construction by Captain John Ericsson of the first ironclad built in America, namely, the little *Monitor*, which so ably defeated the *Merrimac* in the famous battle between those vessels. Under the dates mentioned, the thanks of Congress were given to the following naval officers for valor and achievements during the war:

February 22, 1862, to Captain Samuel F. Dupont for the decisive and splendid victory at Fort Royal; March 19 and July 16, 1862, to Captain A. H. Foote for gallantry in the attacks upon Forts Henry and Donelson and Island No. 10, and for opening the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers; July 11, 1862, and February 3, 1863, to Lieutenant J. L. Worden for skill and gallantry in the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*; July 11, 1862, to Captain, and February 16, 1866, to Vice-Admiral, David G. Farragut for the capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip and the city of New Orleans, and unsurpassed gallantry and skill in the engagement in Mobile Bay; July 11, 1862, to Captain Louis M. Goldsborough for the brilliant and decisive victory at Roanoke Island; February 7, 1863, to Commodore Charles Henry Davis for services at Fort Pillow and Memphis and in the Mississippi River, to Captain Stephen C. Rowan for distinguished services in the waters of North Carolina and in the capture of Newbern, and to Rear-Admiral Silas H. Stringham for the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark; December 23, 1863, to Captain John Rodgers for capturing the *Atlanta* with the *Weehawken*; February 7, 1863, to Commander, and April 19, 1864, and January 24, 1865, to Admiral, David D. Porter for the capture of Arkansas Post, for opening the Mississippi River, and for capturing Fort Fisher; December 20, 1864, to Captain John A. Winslow for the brilliant action between the *Kearsarge* and the piratical craft *Alabama*, and to Lieutenant William B. Cushing for the destruction of the *Albatross*.

These commendations of Congress included the subordinate officers as well as the seamen and marines who had aided so gallantly their superior officers. After the close of the war the naval record of the administration of President Johnson consisted mostly in selling the vessels of the national fleet, and reducing the forces as far as possible. With the beginning of President Grant's administration, in 1869, however, a new order of things began for the American Navy. He announced himself as opposed "to the repairing and refitting of our old ships." A revolution had taken place in the character of naval construction and naval warfare, and a new era was inaugurated for the American Navy, destined in less than a generation to take high rank among the navies of the world.

Much more than can be here chronicled was accomplished by the Republican Party prior to the year 1872, and the total results were indeed mighty achievements for a party less than twenty years old and with complete legislative and executive power extending only a little beyond a single decade. Said Senator Hoar in 1874:

Certainly no political party in history, not even that to which was committed the great function of inaugurating the Constitution, ever in so brief a space accomplished so much that was important and beneficent as the Republican party in the fourteen years in which it has held legislative and executive power.

It was formed for the sole purpose of preventing the extension of slavery into the Territories. The providence of God imposed upon it far larger duties.

In fourteen years it enacted a Protective Tariff, which made the United States the greatest manufacturing nation on earth; it enlisted, organized, and sent back to civil life a vast army; it created a great navy, constructed on principles not invented when it came into power; it put down a gigantic rebellion; it made freemen and citizens of four million slaves; it contrived the national banking system; it created a currency which circulates throughout the world on an equality with gold; it incurred a vast debt, and made provision for its payment; it made the credit of the country the best in the world; it restored specie payment; it devised and inaugurated the beneficent Homestead system; it built the Pacific railroads; it compelled France to depart from Mexico; it exacted apology and reparation from Great Britain; it overthrew the doctrine of perpetual allegiance, and required the great powers of Europe hereafter to let our adopted citizens alone; it made honorable provision for invalid soldiers and sailors.

To no one of these things did the Democratic party contribute. Most of them encountered its bitter and strenuous opposition.

