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Root - Speech - 1848

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FROM

Hon. J. L. Palfrey

SPEECH

OF

MR. JOSEPH M. ROOT, OF OHIO,

ON THE

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

TRANSMITTING

**DOCUMENTS IN RELATION TO THE RETURN OF SANTA ANNA
AND PAREDES TO MEXICO,**

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U. S., WEDNESDAY,

MARCH 15, 1848.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY J. & G. S. GIDEON.

1848.

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SPEECH.

The House having under consideration the Message of the President of the United States transmitting documents in relation to the return of Santa Anna and Paredes to Mexico, and refusing to communicate a copy of the instructions given to Mr. Slidell when minister to Mexico—

Mr. ROOT, of Ohio, said that, in the remarks which he was about to submit to the House, he should have very little to say of the past—not that it would not furnish topics of discourse worthy their attention, but there was more than enough in the present and the future to occupy all the time and thought he could command here. It was hardly necessary, if he were to allude to the war, to speak of the relation in which he had always stood towards it; and it seemed to him too late for one of the “fourteen” to be called upon to discuss the causes, the objects, or the paternity of this war. That question had been decided; the character of this war had been fixed; and, when the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. STANTON) yesterday invited them to enter into another discussion, he placed himself in the attitude of the retained counsel of the President moving for a new trial. This motion must be denied. The country, as well as this House, had passed upon that issue, and history had given her judgment, from which there could be no appeal. The war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. Still the remarks of that gentleman made it proper for him to allude to a matter of which he supposed the author at least was ashamed by this time, viz., the “aid and comfort” insinuation. The gentleman from Tennessee said he would not make use of that term; that he would not employ these words to express his idea. It was the *words* that constituted the offensive part of it. Who that had ever read the Constitution of the country, the definition of treason, did not know that these words were studiously selected and employed by the President to intimate, sneakingly to insinuate, a charge that he dare not openly make. He did not know whose idea it was to employ this language, but one would infer that the man who used these words had taken counsel before he published them. It was very much like a man who should sit down to write an article reflecting upon the character of another, and before he published it, should go to see his

attorney, and ask whether an action for libel would lie for it. Yes, there was counsel ready at hand for the President, and we might suppose him calling his Cabinet together, constituted almost entirely, perhaps entirely, of lawyers, and inquiring first of his Attorney General: "Clifford, now you know law; what say you to putting in 'aid and comfort' here? Can they take advantage of it?" "Well, I *guess* not." "Well, it is a little in your line, Mr. Secretary of War; you have been a judge, what say you to it?" "Why, they cannot do anything with it, unless they *patch* it." [Laughter.] Whoever advised to this, it was, he repeated, the precise technical words employed that constituted the offence—that constituted the littleness of the thing.

He did not object to the President of the United States, or any other man, uttering what he thinks. He was willing for him to speak out, as he meant to do himself; but while the President speaks on this subject, or any other, let him not speak in terms that seem to mean one thing, and yet allow him to pretend afterwards that he meant something else. The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. STANTON) disclaimed the use of these words, but says it is a fact, nevertheless, that the discussions taking place here do assist the Mexican cause. Well, here was a *cognovit*; here was a confession that the Mexican war was as bad as it had been represented to be by its most decided opponent. The gentleman did not say that there had been more than fair discussion here, and yet he asserted that these discussions were calculated to nerve the arms of the Mexicans. Now, what sort of a war must that be that cannot be spoken of here as it deserves, without its discussion aiding and comforting the enemy, and nerving the enemy's arm? Is it not so? Did the gentleman from Tennessee pretend that there had been any licentiousness in the discussions here? Will he charge that? Will he charge that there has been more than an honest utterance of opinion? I do not understand that he makes any such charge, and yet a statement of the causes for which the war was commenced, and the objects for which it has been prosecuted, he represents as calculated to nerve the arm of Mexico. Well, then, we had better keep out of wars and quarrels, if to speak the truth of them is to nerve the arm of the enemy. The character of this war, whether it is to be terminated by the treaty or not, has changed very much since it was commenced. It is now impossible to have an active war with Mexico. Mexico, in her national capacity, is completely subdued. She can make no more national, or, if I may be allowed the word, governmental, resistance. She has exhausted all her strength, and is now lying at our mercy. We may make what disposition of her we please, in spite of her government, or any government she may have. She can do nothing more under any national form of resistance. I know that we have technically recognised her national existence; at least it is said so. It is said that we have concluded a

treaty with her. But what kind of a treaty; and how has it been made? It is the strangest of all treaties, and the parties to it are the strangest of all parties. Why, our President has had the management of both sides. He has, by his agents, actually appointed a government for the enemy, and selected such men as they thought they could best treat with; and it is not denied, but admitted, that they have bribed the Mexican government so appointed by ours to do what they desire to have done. Well, it would really seem, then, that we ought to drive a pretty good bargain when we conduct it ourselves on one side, and appoint the agents to act for our adversary; more especially when we have not only selected the men to act for the Mexicans, but go with three millions of dollars in our hands with which to bribe those with whom we treat; and further still, when, to make it more secure on our part, we have an armed force ready at hand to awe the Mexican people into submission.

This peace, if there be a peace, or if a peace is to grow out of this treaty, has been managed much as the war has been. We not only appointed generals for our own army, but for the army of the enemy likewise. Yes, we imported them. This war, then, which the gentleman from Tennessee says is so glorious to us, ought at least to be successful when we conduct both sides of it; the peace, too, ought to be satisfactory when we have the management of both sides of the concern.

But there is another thing common to the commencement both of this war and this peace. The war was commenced by the President unnecessarily and unconstitutionally. He had no authority to commence hostilities; and the treaty of peace, about which we have heard so much, has, as it should seem, been negotiated by a man—oh, no, by a diplomatic minister,—after his authority had been revoked; and I must confess that it seems fitting that a war commenced by the President without authority, should be concluded by a peace negotiated by a minister after his authority has been revoked; and yet history is going to tell much to the advantage of this Administration, says the gentleman from Tennessee. If novelty in conducting a war, or procuring a peace, be any merit, this Administration can claim a great deal, and history will do it full justice, I hope, in this respect.

But, sir, it is understood here that there is great danger of this Mexican Government, which we have elected for the Mexican nation, and which we bribe with our money and sustain by our armed forces in Mexico, tumbling down when we let go of it. Indeed, it seems to me probable that the Mexican people, by whom it was not chosen, will repudiate it when we cease to overawe them with our army. Well, I have an idea of my own how that will be managed. There will not be found many members of that government in Mexico when our army shall have been withdrawn. And suppose the Mexi-

cans should repudiate their government the moment the treaty is ratified, they cannot get ahead of our President on that tack, for he has already repudiated Mr. Trist. He says Mr. Trist had no authority, and it is a mere question of expediency whether the treaty he has negotiated shall be considered good or bad diplomacy, binding or not on the United States. Was there ever such an affair on the face of the earth before? Did any body ever hear of the Government of a great nation putting itself in such a position before? Did any one ever hear of a nation boasting of being the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons—for we excuse and make a merit of our land robberies by saying we have Anglo-Saxon blood in our veins; our ancestors were land robbers, and we cannot help it—placing itself in a position to be at the mercy of the diplomacy of such men as Slidell and Trist, “Buck” and Polk? The Anglo-Saxon race resorting to such instrumentalities and to such disgraceful tricks! Who ever heard of such a thing before? The Anglo-Saxons did things in a different way; reckless of the rights of others they were certainly, but there was no skulking about them. What they took they took with the strong hand and the plain word. We have improved on the Anglo-Saxon blood, or we have less of it than we claim. It may turn out that there is something more in this diplomacy than we are informed of by the President. We have sent a commissioner, it appears, with the powers of a minister plenipotentiary, part of whose business, I suppose, will be to catch Trist and send him home. [Laughter.] I should like to see the first meeting between those two high functionaries. We may imagine our new minister, who is a frank fellow, in his easiest manner, coming up to Trist and saying, “Holloa, my old boy, what have you been about? You cannot answer “Buck’s” letters until you have more time, and the President must wait until you have disposed of some more important business, eh! You have been raising the very devil here, and I have come out to regulate things.” “Tut, tut, Sevier; no nonsense. Let’s take a drink.” [Laughter.] “But what else, says Mr. Trist?” Why, putting his hand in his pocket and taking out a paper, he says: “Look here; do you know that handwriting? These are my secret instructions; read them. Now don’t you feel foolish; you look so. The sooner you go home the better for all of us. [Laughter.] I have not been here without my papers. This is all understood between the President and me, and you have been humbugged.” “But eighteen thousand dollars don’t grow on every bush.” [Renewed laughter.]

Now he (Mr. R.) would not suspect this of some Administrations that we have had, but it was very much like some things done by the present one. The House would remember that Captain Gillespie was sent out to Lieut. Col. Fremont, and he, too, had secret instructions about the course to be pursued

to revolutionize California long before the war commenced. He need say no more on that head.

Of the treaty he knew nothing, except what was or might be known by every other member of the House. But it seemed to be no secret. All the Administration papers were publishing it in whole or in part. The *New York Herald* was out with the treaty, giving all its details and the proceedings upon it in Executive session of the Senate—whether correct or not, he did not know. But, from what the *Union* said, and what was said by Democratic members here, they might have a pretty good idea of what it was. Well, what is it? Why, it is just what Mr. Polk wishes to have it, of course, and what his party will assent to. I can make nothing of it but a piece of land jobbing, and a poor speculation at that, notwithstanding Mr. Polk had the arrangement of both sides of the bargain. Fifteen millions of dollars and the Mexican claims into the bargain—making some twenty millions of dollars in all, was to be paid to our Mexican Government, besides the three millions of dollars pocket-money given to Mr. Trist. Twenty-three millions of dollars in round numbers, subject to some deduction on account of what we may save by screwing down Mexican claims. Some of those claims certainly were objectionable. There was the one for porter; he objected to that. [Laughter.] And the brandy, that was too strong for him. [Renewed laughter.] Then there was the one of the man who lost so much by not getting land under his contract with Mexico, which he thought a little *queer*. For all these things there should be deductions made. But when would this Government pay the *bona fide* Mexican claims? About the same time it paid those for French spoiliations. These Mexican claim-holders have been among the most noisy of the advocates of the war, and now that their claims were done for he wished them joy. [Laughter.] They will have to wait until we get appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors. [Laughter.] Something handsome may be saved on these claims yet; and what were we to have for all this money? First and foremost, we are to have Texas made about three times as large as she was when admitted into the Union. This was the great and almost the sole consideration; for, as to the barren mountains and arid plains, rattlesnakes and Comanches, which constitute the greater part of the residue of our new acquisitions, he could not believe the President would give much for them. If they did not set high value on the additions to Texas, they would get a small return for their twenty millions of dollars. But it might be asked why, if the President could make just such a treaty as he desired, he should take this territory, which was of so little value, and pay so high a price for it? The Mexican officers are sharp at a bargain, and, though they can no longer resist our arms, the President could not make them treat except on their own terms. They ex-

acted a great deal of money for any kind of a treaty; and in that they did well, for they would have to expatriate themselves as soon as the business was concluded. They knew Mexico would be too hot for them as soon as the American army was withdrawn.

[Here a message was received from the President by the hands of Mr. Walker, his private secretary.]

Mr. Root resumed. He was saying that the reason why so much money had to be paid was that before they had bribed these Mexicans to their satisfaction they could not obtain a treaty at all. We could not get them to treat unless we paid them such a price as would be a sufficient consideration for abandoning their homes and friends forever, and flying from their country. But is there not some good land in this large extent of territory? Oh, yes; but we get none of it. All the land of any value in the territory to be ceded, if it was represented truly to Mr. R. by those who ought to know, has been granted away years and years ago; and if we respect national law or private rights, we shall not get the right of soil to any of it. Dominion over it we may have, but our land office will have nothing to do with it. Sir, I repeat, it is a mere naked dominion over the country and the people that occupy it that we shall get. Why, then, take it at all? Why, because the President knows perfectly well that, after all the expenditure of blood and treasure that he has put the country to, he must have something to show for it, if he concludes a peace. And, sir, he must conclude a peace if possible, for he knows that he cannot carry on the war on tick much longer, and that the country would not submit to be taxed now to carry it on. But why not take the whole territory of Mexico? We might as easily get the whole as part. I will tell you why. He did not want the Mexican people. He wanted as few of them as he could get, and for this reason, this President of ours is especially devoted to the interests and the peculiar institutions of a section of this country; and he knows he could not extend slavery over the whole of Mexico at once. There was another reason still. It was that, from the moment he took a part, the ultimate acquisition of the whole will be inevitable. Yes, take a part and the fate of Mexico is sealed. You will have the whole whenever it shall be expedient for the slaveholders to take it; for we can have a new quarrel at any time we desire it. The President takes only part now, I repeat, because at this time he does not want the Mexican people; for, though national resistance is no longer practicable on the part of Mexico, I do not say that you have reduced the people to acquiescence in your dominion. The Mexican people will not submit to your dominion; they hate us, and we shall hate them when we thoroughly know them. We are now to take all the desert country that borders their country and ours, and we thus bring the slaves of the South in contact with the debased people of

Mexico, and new wars would be the consequence, as surely as they were with the Cherokees and Seminoles. It cannot be avoided, and this is well understood by the Administration. Look at the treaty, and they would see it contemplated the renewal of hostilities, and provision was made for the emergency.

He looked upon this as but the beginning of this land-robbing. He was opposed to the acquisition of any territory. He believed we should, in one form or another, certainly get a portion of it now; but he should resist as long as resistance was practicable. This, however, he would say, if you take as much as is provided for by this treaty, you had better go on, and take the whole at once, and have done with it, for the whole of Mexico is not worth one war. If you are determined to turn robbers, take the gain as well as the guilt of robbery. If we are to sacrifice our fair fame among the nations of the earth, do not let us do it for nothing. I submit to gentlemen on all sides, if it is not better, since we are ultimately to have the whole, to take it all now, while our hand is in, and thus obtain, by leaving nothing to quarrel about, "indemnity for the past and security for the future." That was the professed object of the President, of which we have heard so much. "Indemnity for the past?" Where are we to get indemnity for the hundred millions of dollars squandered in this accursed war? Where are we to get indemnity for the thousands of lives of our citizens which have been sacrificed in this war? Will this new acquisition of territory indemnify us for all this? It may be satisfactory to Mr. Polk—it may be satisfactory to a majority on this floor; but where shall the widow look for her indemnity? Where shall the mother, made childless by this war, look for her indemnity? Where shall the orphan children, whose fathers have fallen in battle, or by disease in that distant land, look for their indemnity? Can any of these new acquisitions under this treaty indemnify them? Oh, sir, these are things of which our Government seems to lose sight. "Indemnity for the past!" What kind of indemnity can be obtained for the past? It does seem to me, sir, that, in all this bloody business, the men who have been the most active in it have only regarded this war in relation to the effect it is likely to have on future elections; and they have not once thought how it will be regarded by the Judge of all. And, when I think of these things, I thank my God, humbly thank him, that he gave me the nerve and the firmness to stand up here in my place, and say "no" first, "no" last, and "no" at all times, on every measure designed for the prosecution of this accursed war. And, sir, I rejoice that, when I approach the last agony of earth, whatever other guilt may press me down, none of the victims of this war can meet me, and say—

"Let my fate sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow."

Sir, what will Congress have to do with this territory when we shall have acquired it? Some sort of government must be provided for it, of course; but the difficulty will be to determine what sort of a government it shall be. Old-fashioned statesmen would think the Constitution settled that question, but they are green. [Laughter.] They are not up to the progressive spirit of the day. It was not settled whether the government should be civil or military. There were a good many arguments in favor of a military government. In old times law-givers required previous training and experience—some knowledge of what was called the science of government; they had been sent to school in their youth, and had been diligent in study in maturer years, and even in their old age. Even then there might be found some who confessed to some doubts, and distrusted their own judgment. But not so with your military ruler. All that is wanted in his case is to clap epaulets on his shoulders and moustache on his lip, and you have a Lycurgus, a Solon, in full uniform. [Laughter.] And the way they manage affairs is a caution. Why, they will legislate for a whole province in one evening, over the bottle; and then, as to the judicature, they will settle that over a pipe in the morning. The way they dispose of their criminal docket—and I believe they have no other in their courts—is truly admirable. From the highest crime—from high treason against the United States in Mexico, down to killing a Mexican babe, complaint, trial, and execution, all is done in one day. Error is impossible with them; doubts never embarrass them. They act with a promptitude that ought to excite more attention here at home than it appeared to do. But if we are to have a civil government, then, in that case, we here may have something to say about it; then we might interfere.

The time had been when we had something to say on the question whether we would or would not have territory; and if that question could now be submitted to the people, he really believed they would say: "Let Mexico and the Mexicans alone—avoid that leprosy." But they have given the control over the subject to you; and you, sir, have surrendered it to the Executive, and even now are granting him all the money he asks to carry out his plans, not yours. The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. STANTON) yesterday taunted members on this floor with being professedly opposed to the war and the conquest of Mexican territory, and yet giving the President every thing he asked to carry on the war. Thank God, that shot did not hit me at all—I vote as I talk. But to proceed. The President might soon communicate to them the fact of the acquisition of this new territory, and then they might refer it to the Committee on Territories to report a plan for a territorial government over it. Now, whatever form of government shall be decided upon, there is one little extract from the old ordinance of 1787—one little proviso, which certain of us

wish to put into it, just to please our constituents and ourselves—something to exclude slavery from that territory as it was excluded from the old Northwest Territory—and, what is more, we mean to have it in, if we can put it there. There can be no surprise, no unfairness, in this; there has been no concealment of our purpose. More than eighteen months since we told you that we were opposed to any acquisition of territory; that we would do all we could to keep it out, and some of you promised to help us, as you well remember; but we also told you that if you did bring in territory, we would do our best to restrain slavery from entering it. You know that we have entreated, implored you, as you loved the Union, to let this cup pass from us; but you would not listen—you thought we were not in earnest. We have never interfered with slavery in the States; but when you make it a national affair, when it becomes one of your national enterprises to carry slavery into territory now free, then we have something to say about it, and I trust we will show you that we have something to do with it. We say this in all good humor, but be assured we say it in earnest. You manage your side very well, and you have the right to do so. I hope we of the North shall learn to act as wisely as you Southern gentlemen do. We make no complaint of your doing your best to accomplish that which you consider to be your right, and we do not suspect you of thinking that we are doing more than we believe to be right to defeat you. If you do, we cannot help it. This acquisition of Mexican territory in one form or another is inevitable, and so is the strife between slavery and anti-slavery—free States and slave States—North and South. It cannot be avoided; it must come: aye, it has come. The note of alarm has been sounded at the North; and, unless I mistake the Pilgrim stock, you will find Northern obstinacy full a match for your Southern chivalry. You have got into the field first; you come better arrayed; but Jonathan can wake up, only give him time, and when he does he will give you a lively tune, sir. We have no time to waste in discussion. Our minds are made up, and we are prepared for hard words, such as fanatics, incendiaries, hypocrites, &c. So sort your vocabulary to suit yourselves, and we will take all in perfect good nature. We shall keep aloof from all personal animosity; and when all is over, and we have learned who is right and who wrong, and where the error commenced, we will come together, if you please, like brethren, as we were before.

Sir, the business of President-making is one that I do not engage in. I have no more authority to do so than any other citizen of my Congressional district; but I am very free to give you my opinions on this question, and how it will affect the politics of the free States, and how that may incidentally affect the Presidential election. The South, I have no doubt, will not vote for any man who is in favor of the anti-slavery proviso. That we understand; they have

told us so frankly and in a good spirit, without any apparent disposition to quarrel with us. They have told us what we have to expect from them; and that, sir, is right. I mean to do the same by the South; I mean to give them my opinions, and they may judge of their value. We will vote for no man who is not in favor of that proviso. Any man who doubts the constitutional right to put in such a proviso, or doubts the expediency of it, cannot have the vote of the North. I do not know but the Locofocos may give their votes for such a man; but the men of the South may rest assured that no Whig can get the vote of a single free State, unless he will acknowledge himself to be in favor of the proviso at this time; and all your old funky politicians who have been here for the last three months talking about reconciling existing differences and figuring out majorities for candidates who are to run, uncommitted or committed against the proviso, deceive you as they deceive themselves. I have done all I could to avoid this issue. I have stood by the "no territory" issue as long as there was any chance of success, but it is an obsolete idea now. I know, my friends here tell me they are opposed to the acquisition of territory. I have no doubt they are opposed to the war too, but they vote for appropriations to carry it on, while they know it is prosecuted for nothing, and can end in nothing, but the acquisition of territory, whether the treaty be ratified or not.

Sir, we have no idea of being humbugged on this question, and I would advise southern gentlemen to be particularly careful that they are not. I know this is their affair, and not mine; but my kindness and respect for those gentlemen induces me to make a single suggestion to them.

It is well known that there are a set of northern dough-faces aspiring to the Presidency, who are in the market, bidding for Southern votes by repudiating the proviso. There is not one of these, so far as I know, but has at some time professed opposition to the extension of slavery. Some of them on the Missouri question, and others still more recently. One lately officiated as engrossing clerk of the proviso in his own State, as charged in the newspapers, and not contradicted, so far as I have seen. However that may be, it will not be denied that he has within the last two years professed to be in favor of the proviso to the two million bill as it passed the House at the first session of the last Congress. Now, sir, I can respect a man who was born and educated and resides in the midst of slavery, though he be in favor of extending that institution into our newly acquired territory; and when he claims that it is the right of the slaveholders to carry and hold their slaves there, though I differ with him in opinion, I can believe him sincere and honest. But for a man born, educated, and residing in a free State, and professing anti-slavery sentiments, to chop about on the eve of an election, and pander to the slave power in the miserable hope of political advancement, is to deserve the name by which he should ever

after be known, *dough-face*. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with such a man, because, when he had reflected on the enormity of his crime, he had the grace to go out and hang himself. I confess I think these dough-faces are also committing suicide, but they deserve no credit for it, because they do not intend it. They think they are taking the political balsam of life.

Since we cannot avoid this sectional strife, let us carry it on like gentlemen. Let us bring out gentlemen for our candidates, who will fairly represent our respective principles. Let us have nothing to do with traitors but to punish them on either side. It would not only deprive you of your self-respect, but it would be bad policy for you to take up a dough-face for your candidate. If you were to elect such a man, he would cheat you before you were done with him. Be sure of that. You can put no trust in the dogs. They have been telling the northern people all along that they were opposed to the extension of slavery, and it is just as likely that they told the truth then as that they do now. But you cannot elect one of these men half as easily as you can one of your own, who is a gentleman. If you do not believe this, try the experiment. Set up a dough-face for your candidate, and if the northern voters do not whip the dust out of his jacket, I will confess my error. I have so high an opinion of your people as to believe that you cannot unite them on any candidate but a gentleman, and if this be so they certainly will not unite on a dough-face.

We shall try hard to unite at the North, and I believe we shall be able to effect a union of all but the dough-faces, and them we will not have with us. They belong to you, and you may brand them and take them away as soon as you please.

We have a great many discordant materials at the North, I know, but you are fast teaching us to drop our differences until this question is decided. For myself, I freely declare that, although I am and have ever been a Whig of the strictest sect, yet, while this question is pending, any gentleman of good private character, intelligence, and honesty, and who is out and out for the anti-slavery proviso, will do for my candidate. After this issue is disposed of, we will go back to the old ones.

And now, sir, I have a few words for different classes of men in my own district, and in the free States generally.

The old Whig guard are all ready. Those of the tribes of Hurons and Eries are taking the war-path, and the Medinas and Lorain Sweepers have been out a year. Let them all trust in God and keep their powder dry.

Now is a good time for the Liberty men to show whether they are sincere in their professions. We want them to look after the "chivalry" in particular, for they are brethren, and ought to know each other better. Both are in favor of extending the area of freedom. One goes for making the Mexicans free

against their will; the other for carrying liberty to all the sons of the South, of every shade of color, by every constitutional means. Each thinks the National Government has something to do with slavery; each can find in the Constitution authority to do just what they desire to have done, and no more; and each distrusts every thing on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line.

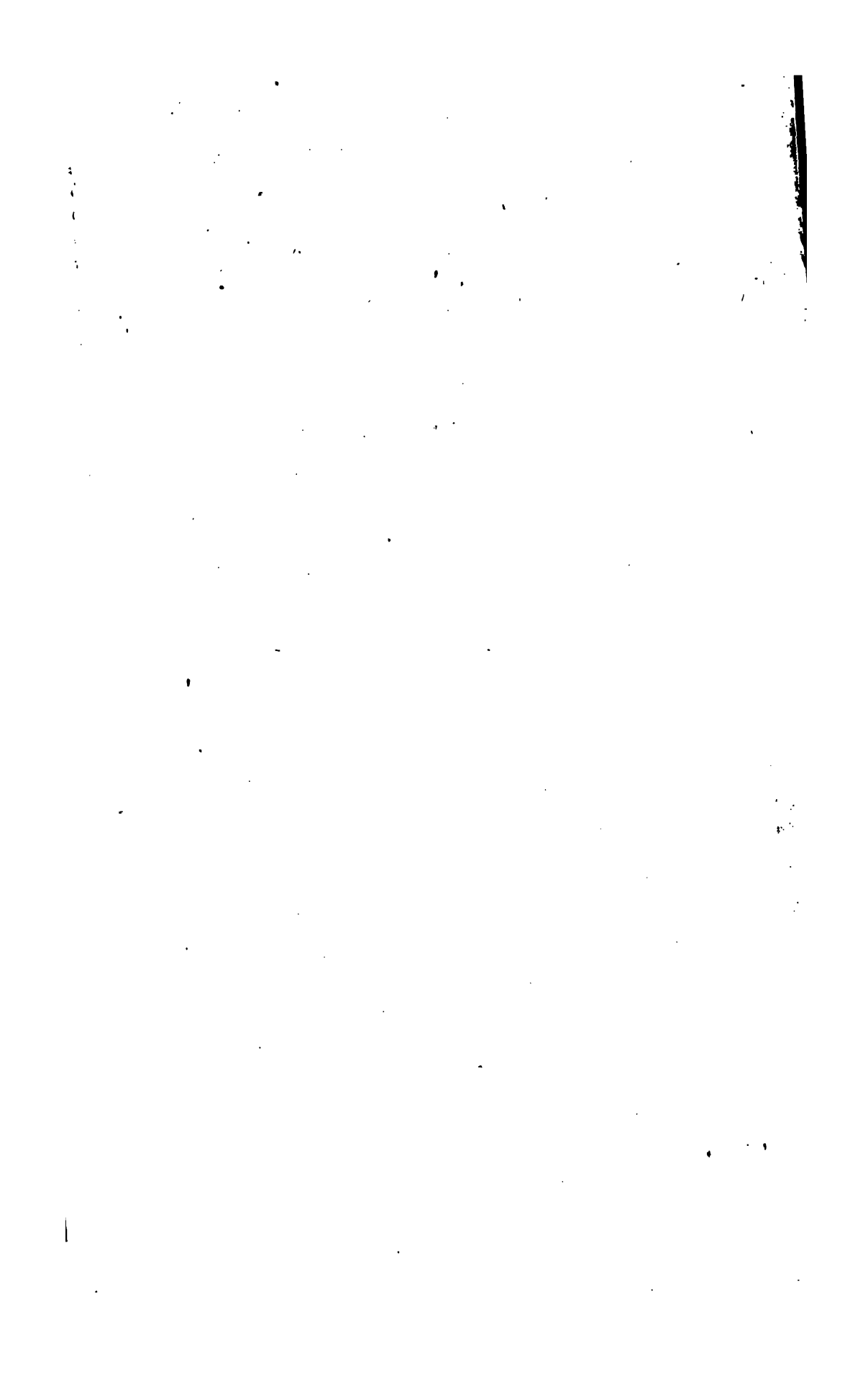
I know these Liberty men pretty well. I represent more of them perhaps than any gentleman here. There are many good men among them, though as politicians I have little reason to love them, for they all vote against me. I am too *pro-slavery* for them, for on some questions I vote on the same side with some slaveholders.

And now for the Barnburners or Locofoco anti-slavery men. You have all the time been keen for this war, and professed to be keen for the proviso. You know that you have contributed to make Texas three times as large as she was when she was annexed, and you know that every acre thus added was free, and by your assistance has been made slave territory, and that the proviso can never touch it; and let me tell you that other folks know this just as well as you do, and you have got to make speedy atonement for this sin, or be cast into the pit with the dough-faces. Resolutions at your conventions and speeches by John Van Buren and other leaders alone will not do, though very good in their way; you must vote for the proviso also.

Aside from political organizations in the free States, there are several classes of men who we expect will help to resist the aggressions of the slave power. First, the men of wealth, education, and leisure, who understand perfectly well the unfairness of allowing representation for slaves, and, though they will adhere to the Constitution, will never consent to extend this inequality any further than it requires. Second, there are the philanthropists, real and professed. The philanthropist by profession you will find an ugly customer. He is always a reformer; but in this business he will work with a will, for he will be reforming your sins and not his own.

And last, though certainly not least, there are the laboring men of the North—the hardy sons of toil, who know that it is to labor they must look for every earthly thing of value; and that therefore it is their policy, and they believe it to be their duty, to elevate labor by every means in their power. They cannot fail to see that slavery tends to degrade their calling, and that the more slavery is extended the stronger will be that tendency.

I have only time to add that, if my voice could reach them, I would say, Freemen of the North, to the rescue!



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