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SPEECH

OF

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM,

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WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC MEETING,

HELD IN THE

CITY HALL, DAYTON, OHIO,

Monday Evening, Oct. 29, 1855.



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*Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis seecrere, sacra profanis.*—HORACE.

*Aternas spes esse Romanas nisi inter smet ipsi seditionibus sciant. Id unum re-
nonum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repectam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent.*
LIVY.

Then only both Commonwealth and Religion will at length, if ever, flourish in Christ-
endom, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious (religion and
politics;) or they only who so discern, shall be admitted to govern. Till then nothing
but troubles, persecutions, commotions, can be expected, the inward decay of true reli-
gion among ourselves, and the utter overthrow at last by a common enemy.—MILTON.

SPEECH.

The Present State of the Democratic Party in Ohio; and its Duty.

After some preliminary remarks explanatory of the object of the meeting, and the reasons why it was proper and expedient thus early to discuss before the people the great question which must make up the chief issue in the campaign of 1856, and to organize preparatory thereto—

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM said that he proposed as the text, or “rubric,” of what he had to say to-night, the following inquiries :—

WHY HAS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SUFFERED DEFEAT IN OHIO? WHY IS IT SO GREATLY DISORGANIZED? WHAT WILL RESTORE IT TO SOUND DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE, AND THEREFORE TO POWER AND USEFULNESS?

These, Mr. PRESIDENT, are grave questions. I propose to answer them plainly—boldly—not as a partizan, but as a patriot; and for the opinions which I shall this night avow, I alone am responsible. I speak not to please, but to instruct, to warn, to arouse, and if it be not presumption, to save, while to be saved is yet possible. The time for plain Anglo-Saxon out-speaking is come. Let us hear no more the lullaby of peace, when there is no peace; but rather the sharp clang of the trumpet stirring to battle; at least the alarm bell in the night when the house is on fire over our heads. Or, better still, give us warning while the incendiary is yet stealing “with whispering and most guilty diligence,” and flaming torch, toward our dwelling, that we may be ready and armed against his approach.

First then: The Democratic party of Ohio suffered defeat because it became disorganized; and it was disorganized because it held not, in all things, to sound doctrine, vigorous discipline, and to true and good

men. It began to tamper with heresy and with unsound men—to look after *policy*, falsely so called, and forget sometimes the TRUE and HONEST; not mindful, with Jackson, that the right is always expedient—at least that the wrong never is; and that an invigorating defeat is ever better than a triumph which leaves the victor weaker than the conquered. This is a law of nature, gentlemen, and we may claim no immunity from punishment for its infraction. I speak of the Democratic party of Ohio, because we are our own masters, and have a work of our own to perform. But the evil, in part, lies outside the State. It infects the whole party of the Union, as such. It ascends into high places, and sits down hard by the throne. But I affect the wise caution of Sallust, remembering that *concerning Carthage it is better to be silent, than speak too little*. Yet we as members must partake of the weakness and enervation of other parts of the system; and atrophy is quite as fatal, though it may not be so speedy, as corruption and gangrene.

The inquiries, gentlemen, which I have proposed, assume the truth of the facts which they imply. Are they not true? That we have been defeated is now become history. But defeat did not disorganize us. Had not discipline first been lost, we could not have been overpowered. I know, indeed, that some have affirmed that we, too, are an effete party, ready to be dissolved and pass away. It is not so. Dissolution and disorganization are wholly different things. The Democratic party is not a thing of shreds and patches, organized for a transient purpose and thrown hap-hazard together in undistinguishable mass, without form, consistency or proportion, by some sudden and temporary pressure, and passing away with the occasion which gave it being; or catching for a renewed but yet more ephemeral existence, at each flitting exigency as it arises in the State; moulding itself to the form of every popular humor, and seeking to fill its sails with every new wind of doctrine as it passes, either in zephyr or tempest, over the waves of public caprice; born and dying with the breath which made it. No, sir. The Democratic party is founded upon PRINCIPLES which never die: hence it is itself immortal. It may alter its forms; it must change its measures;—for as in principle it is essentially *conservative*, so in policy it is the party of *true progress*;—its individual members and its leading spirits, its representative men cannot remain the same. But wherever there is a people wholly or partially free, there will be a Democratic

party more or less developed and organized. But no party, gentlemen, is at all times equally pure and true to principle and its mission. And whenever the Democratic party forgets these, it loses its cementing and power-bestowing element; it waxes weak, is disorganized, is defeated :—till purging itself of its impurities, and falling back and rallying within its impregnable entrenchments of original and eternal principles, it returns like “eagle lately bathed,” with irresistible might and majesty to the conflict, full of hope and confident in victory. Sir, it is this recuperative power—this *vis medicatrix*—which distinguishes the Democratic party from every other ; and it owes this wholly to its *conservative element*, FIXED POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. I say *political* principles—principles dealing peculiarly with government—because it is a POLITICAL party, and must be judged according to its nature and constitution. Recognizing, in their fullest extent, the imperative obligations of personal religion and morality upon its members, and also that in its aggregate being it dare not violate the principles of either, it is yet neither a Church nor a Lyceum. It is no part of its mission to set itself up as an expounder of ethical or divine truth. Still less is it a mere philanthropic or eleemosynary institution. All these are great and noble, each within its peculiar province, but they form no part of the immediate business and end of the Democratic party. And it is because that party sometimes will forget that it is the first and highest duty of its mission to be the depositary of immutable political principles ; and steps aside after the dreams and visions of a false and fanatical progress ; sometimes political, commonly philanthropic or moral ; that it ceases to be powerful and victorious ; for God has ordained that truth shall ever in the end be vindicated, and error chastised.

Forgetting the true province of a political party, the Democracy of France and Germany has always failed, and ever must fail. It aims at too much. It invokes *government* to regenerate man, and set him free from the taint and the evils of sin and suffering. It seeks to control the domestic, social, individual, moral and spiritual relations of man. It ignores or usurps the place of the fireside, the church and the lyceum: and emulating thus the folly of Icarus, and spreading its wings for too lofty a flight into upper air, it has melted like wax before the sun. *Indirectly*, indeed, government will always, sir, affect more or less all these relations for good or evil. But departing from its appointed orbit, confusion, not less surely or disastrously, must follow, than from a

like departure by the heavenly bodies from their fixed laws of motion. And, indeed, the greater and by far the gravest part of the errors of Democracy everywhere, are to be traced directly to neglect or infraction of the fundamental principle of its constitution ; that man is to be considered and dealt with by government, strictly in reference to his relations as a *political being*.

These reflections, Mr. President, naturally lead me to the first inquiry.

Personal dissension :— a turning aside after mere temporary and mis-called expediency ; a faith in and following after weak, or uncertain, or selfish, or heretical men ; neglect of party tone and discipline, as essential to the *morale*, and hence the success of a party, as of an army, and just as legitimate ; these, and the like minor causes of disorganization and defeat, I pass over. They are incident to all parties, and although never to be too lightly estimated, yet rarely occasion lasting or very serious detriment. Commonly, indeed, sir, they are but the *diagnostic*, or visible developement of an evil which lies deeper—just as boils and blotches upon the surface of the body show that the system is tainted and distempered within. Neither do I pause, gentlemen, to consider how far the final inauguration of the grand scheme of domestic policy, which the Democratic party so many years struggled for, and the consequent prostration and dissolution of the Whig party, have contributed to the loss of vigilance and discipline ; since an organization healthy in all other things, must soon recover its wonted tone and soundness. Sir, the Democratic party has principle to fall back upon, and it has, too, a trust to execute not less sacred and almost as difficult as its first work. It is its business to preserve and keep pure and incorrupt that which it has established. And this, along with the new political questions which in the world's progress, from day to day spring up, will give us labor enough and sweat enough, without a wild foray into the province of the benevolent association, the lyceum or the church ; to return thence laden, not with the precious things, the incense and the vessels of silver and gold from off the altar, but the rubbish and the offal,—the bigotries, the intolerance, the hypocrisies, the persecuting spirit, and whatever else of unmixed evil has crept through corruption, into the outer or the inner courts of the sanctuary.

I know, indeed, gentlemen, that every political party is more or less

directly affected, as by a sort of magnetism, by all great public movements upon any subject; and it is one of the peculiar evils of a democracy that every question of absorbing, though never so transient interest—moral, social, religious, scientific, no matter what—assumes, sooner or later, a political shape and hue, and enters into the election contests and legislation of the country. For many years, nevertheless, sir, questions not strictly political, exerted but small influence upon parties in the United States. The memorable controversies which preceded the American Revolution, and which developed and disciplined the great abilities of the giants of those days—founded, indeed, as all must be, upon abstract principles drawn from the nature of man considered in his relation to *government*—were yet strictly legal and political. The men of that day were not cold metaphysicians, nor wicked or mischievous enthusiasts—else we had been subjects of Great Britain to this day. Practical men, they dealt with the subject as a practical question; and deducing the right of *Revolution*; the right to institute, alter or abolish *government*, from “the inalienable rights of man,” the American Congress summed up a long catalogue of injuries and usurpations wholly *political*, as impelling to the separation, and struck out of the original draught of the Declaration of Independence, the eloquent, but then mistimed declamation of Jefferson against the African Slave Trade. Sir, it did not occur to even the Hancocks and the Adamses of the New England of that day, that the national *sins and immoralities* of Great Britain, could form the appropriate theme of a great state paper, and supply to a legislative assembly the most potent arguments wherewith to justify and defend before the world, a momentous political revolution. Discoveries such as these are, belong to the patriots and wise men—the Sewards, the Sumners, the Hales, and the Chases of a later and more enlightened age.

Our ancestors went to war, indeed, about a preamble and a principle: but these were political—the right of the British Parliament to tax America. And they did not stop to inquire whether war was humane and consistent with man’s notion of the gospel of peace. Their political rights were invaded, and they took up arms to repel the aggression. Nor did they, sir, in the temper and spirit of the pharisaic rabbins and sophisters of ’55, ask of each other whether morally or piously, the citizens of the several colonies were worthy of fellowship. They were resolved to form a POLITICAL UNION, so as to establish justice and to

secure domestic tranquility, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty to themselves and posterity : and the Catholic of Maryland and the Huguenot of Carolina ; the Puritan Roundhead of New England and the Cavalier of Virginia ; the slavery-hating, though sometimes slave-trading, saint of Boston and the slave-holding sinner of Savannah ; Washington and Adams, Rutledge and Sherman, Madison and Franklin, Pinckney and Ellsworth, all joined hands in holy brotherhood, to ordain a Constitution which, silent about *temperance*, forbade *religious tests and establishments*, and provided for the *extradition of fugitive slaves*.*

The questions which engaged the great minds of Washington and the men who composed his cabinets, were also purely political.—“*Whiskey*,” indeed, sir, played once an important part in the drama, threatening even civil war ; but it was as the creature of the tax-gatherer, not the theme of the philanthropist or the ecclesiastic. Even the *Alien and Sedition Laws* of the succeeding administration—renascent now by a sort of Pythagorean *metempsychosis*, in the form of a secret oath-bound conspiracy—were defended then solely on political grounds. “The principles of ’98,” which at that time convulsed the country in the struggle for their predominance, were, indeed, *abstractions*, though of infinite *practical* value—but they were constitutional and political abstractions. Equally is it true that all the capital measures in every Administration from ’98 to 1828, were of a kindred character—except, only, the *Missouri Question*; that “fire bell in the night,” which filled Jefferson with alarm and despair. But this was transient in itself; though it left its slumbering and treacherous ashes to kindle a flame not many years later, which threatens to consume this Union with fire unquenchable.

But within no period of our history, gentlemen, were so many and such grave political questions the subject of vehement and sometimes exasperated discussion, as during the administrations of Jackson and his successor, continuing down, many of them, to 1847. Among these I name Internal Improvements, the Protective System, the Public Lands, Nullification, the Removal of the Indians, the United States Bank, the Removal of the Deposites, Removals from Office, the French Indemnity, the Expunging Resolutions, the Specie Circular, Executive

*NOTE.—Both these provisions were carried unanimously, without debate and without vote.—3 Mad. Pap. 1366, 1447, 1456, 1468.

Patronage, the Independent Treasury, Distribution, the Veto Power, and their cognate subjects. Never were greater questions presented. Never was greater intellect or more abundant learning and ingenuity brought into the discussion of any subjects. And never, be it remembered, was the Democratic party so powerful. It was the power and majesty of principle and truth, working out their developement through machinery obedient to its constitution and nature. True, Andrew Jackson was then at the head of the party, and his name and his will, moving all things with a nod, were a tower of strength. But an hundred Jacksons could not have upheld a party one day which had been false to its mission.

Within this period, indeed, Anti-masonry rose, flourished and died ; the first in the United States, of a long line of *third* parties—the *tertium quid* of political sophisters—based upon but one tenet, and devoted to a single purpose. But even in this, the professed principle was solely political.

Following the great questions of the Jackson era, came the Annexation of Texas, the Oregon question, and the Mexican War ; during or succeeding which, that pestilent and execrable sectional controversy, *Reipublicæ portentum ac pæne funus*, was developed and nurtured to its present perilous magnitude.

Here, gentlemen, a new epoch begins in our political history. A new order of issues and new party mechanism are introduced. At this point, therefore, let us turn back and trace briefly the origin and history of those grievous departures from the ancient landmarks, which, filling the whole country with confusion and perplexity, have impaired, more or less seriously, the strength and discipline of the Democratic party.

In the State of Massachusetts—not barren of inventions—in the year 1811, at a meeting of an ecclesiastical council, a committee was appointed, whereof a reverend doctor of *Salem* was chairman, to draught a constitution for the first “Temperance Society” in the United States. The committee reported in 1813, and the society was established. It languished till 1826, and “languishing did live.” Nathan Dane was among its first presidents. In that year of grace, sir, at *Boston*, died this association ; and from its ashes sprang the “American Society for the promotion of Temperance ;” the parent of a numerous offspring. This association was in its turn, supplanted by the Washingtonian So-

cieties of 1841 ; and they again by the Sons of Temperance. The eldest of these organizations taught only *temperance* in the use of ardent spirits ; their successors forbade wholly all spirituous, but allowed vinous and fermented liquors. The Washingtonians enjoined *total abstinence* from every beverage which by possibility might intoxicate : and so also did the Sons of Temperance. But all these organizations, gentlemen, in the out-set at least, professed reliance solely upon “moral suasion,” and denied all political purpose or design in their action.—They were voluntary associations, formed to *persuade* men to be temperate. This was right ; was reasonable ; was great and noble ; and immense results for good, rewarded their labors. The public was interested every where. The cause became popular—became powerful. Designing men, not honest, were not slow to discover that it might be turned into a potent political engine for the advancement of personal or party interests. Weak men, very honest, were dazzled and deluded by the bright dream of intemperance expelled and man restored to his original purity, by the power of human legislation. And lo, in 1855, in this the freest country upon the globe, fourteen States, by statute bristling all over with fines, the jail and the penitentiary, have prescribed that neither strong drink nor the fruit of the vine, shall be the subject of contract, traffic or use within their limits. Temperance, which Paul preached and the Bible teaches as a religious duty, and leaves to the church or the voluntary association, is now become a controlling element at the polls and in legislation. Political parties are perverted into great temperance societies ; and the fitness of the citizen for office, gauged now by his capacity to remain dry. His palm may itch ; his whole head may be weak, and his whole heart corrupt ; but if his tongue be but parched, he is competent.

And now, sir, along with good came evil ; and when the good turned to evil, the plague abounded exceedingly. — I pass by that numerous host of lesser *isms* of the day, full all of them, of folly or fanaticism, and fit only to “uproar the universal peace, confound all unity on earth ;” which, nevertheless, have excited much public interest, numbered many followers, and flowing speedily into the stream of party politics, aided largely to pollute its already turbid and frothy waters. I come to that most recent fungous development of those departures from original and wholesome political principle : **KNOW-NOTHINGISM** ; as barbarous in name, as, in my judgment, it is dangerous in essence.

The extraordinary success, gentlemen, which had attended political temperance and abolition, revealed a mine of wealth, richer than California placer, to the office-hunting demagogue. Ordinary political topics were become stale—certainly unprofitable. But he, it now appeared, who could call in the aid of moral or religious truths, touched an answering chord in the heart of this very pious and upright people; a people so keenly sensitive, too, each one to the moral or religious status of his neighbor.

Not ignorant, sir, of the corroding bitterness of religious strife; and mindful of the desolating persecutions for conscience sake, of which governments in times past had been the willing instruments, the founders of our federal Constitution forbade, in clear and positive language, all religious tests and establishments: and every state, in terms more or less emphatic, has ordained a similar prohibition. The Constitution of Ohio, declaring that all men have a *natural and indefeasible right* to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience, provides that "no preference shall be given by law to any religious society, nor shall *any interference* with the rights of conscience, be permitted; and no *religious test* shall be required as a *qualification for office.*"

By prohibitions, positive and stringent as these are, gentlemen, our fathers in their weakness, thought to stay the flood of religious intolerance. Vain hope! The high road to honor and emolument, lay through the "higher law" reforms of the day. Moral and religious issues alone were found available. The roll of the "drum ecclesiastic" could stir a fever in the public blood, when the thunders of the rostrum fell dull and droning upon the ears of the people. It needed but small sagacity, therefore, to foresee that the *prejudices* of race and sect, must prove a still more powerful and wieldy engine. The Pope of Pilgrim's Progress grinned still at the mouth of the cave full of dead men's bones, and Fox's Book of Martyrs lay shuddering yet with its hideous engravings, under every protestant roof. How easy, then, to revive, or rather, to fan into a flame, this secret but worse than goblin dread of Papacy and the Inquisition. Add to this that a majority of Catholics are foreigners, obnoxious, therefore, to the bigotry of race and birth also; add further, that silence, secrecy and circumspection are weapons potent in any hands: add still, that to be over-curious is a controlling element in the American character. Compound, now, all these with a

travesty upon the signs, grips and machinery of already existing organizations, and you have the elements and mechanism of a great and powerful, but assuredly not enduring party.

In the month of January, 1854, the telegraph on lightning wing, speeds through its magic meshes, the astounding intelligence that at the municipal election of the town of *Salem*, (not unknown in history,) in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, men not known to be candidates were, by an invisible and unknown agency, said to be a secret oath-bound society without even so much as a name, elected by heavy majorities over candidates openly proclaimed. In March and in April, similar announcements appear from other quarters. The mystery is perplexing: the country is on fire: and lo, in October, nine months after this Salem epiphany, from Maine to California, the mythic "SAM" has established his secret conclaves in every city, village, county and state in the Union.

And here again, sir, the protestant clergy forgetting, many of them; their divine warrant and holy mission—I speak it with profoundest sorrow and humiliation—have run headlong into this dangerous and demoralizing organization. They have even sought, in many places, to control it, and through it, the political affairs of the country: and, sad spectacle, are found but too often, foremost and loudest and most clamorous among political brawlers and hunters of place. I rejoice, sir, that there are many noble and holy exceptions—ministers mindful of their true province, and preaching only the pure precepts and doctrines of that Sacred Volume without which there is no religion, and no stability or virtue worth the name, in either church or state. Nevertheless, covertly or openly, the protestant clergy and church have but too much, lent countenance and encouragement to the order. And the truth must and shall be spoken both of church and of party.

In seizing upon the Temperance and other moral and religious movements, Party invaded the territory of the Church. The church has now avenged the aggression, and gone into party; not with the might and majesty of holiness; not to purify and elevate: but with distorted feature, breath polluted and wing dripping and droiling in mire and stench and rottenness, to destroy and pollute in the foul embrace, whatever of purity remained yet to either church or the hustings. The church has disorganized and perverted party; and in its turn, party has become to the church as "dead flies in the ointment of the apoth-

ecary." Church and State each abandoning its peculiar province, and meeting upon the common ground of fanaticism and proscription, have joined hands in polluting and incestuous wedlock. The constitution remains indeed unchanged in letter ; but this unholy union has rendered nugatory one among its wisest and most salutary enactments.

But, gentlemen, all these are in their nature and from circumstances essentially ephemeral. No powerful and controlling interests exist to cement and harden them into strength and durability. They are among the epidemic diseases which for a season, infect every body politic, leaving it, if sound in constitution and not distempered otherwise, purified and strengthened. In all these, too, the Democracy as a party, has stood firm and uncontaminate: although, indeed, individual members have in every state and county, been beguiled and led astray ; and thereby the aggregate power and influence of the party, greatly impaired.

Especially, sir, is the present order of " Know-Nothings " evanescent. Even now it totters to the earth. In the beginning, indeed, it was perhaps the purpose of its founders to hold it aloof from the great sectional controversy between the North and the South ; and to mould it into a permanent national party. But circumstances are stronger than men ; and already throughout the north, it has become thoroughly abolitionized. Hence it must speedily dissolve and pass away ; or remain but a yet more hateful adjunct of that one stronger and more durable organization in which every element of opposition to the Democratic party, must sooner or later, inevitably terminate—THE ABOLITION HORDE OF THE NORTH. For however tortuous may be its channel or remote its fountain, into this turbid and devouring flood, will every brook and rivulet find its way at last.

The consideration of this great question, Mr. President, I have naturally and appropriately reserved to the last. It is the gravest and most momentous, full of embarrassment and of danger to the country ; and in cowering before or tampering with it, the Democratic party of Ohio has given itself a disabling, though I trust not yet mortal wound.

I propose, then, sir, to trace fully the origin, developement and progress of this movement: and to explore and lay open at length, its relations, present and prospective, to the Democratic party and to the Union.

SLAVERY, gentlemen, older in other countries also, than the records of human society, existed in America at the date of its discovery. The first slaves of the European, were natives of the soil : and a Puritan governor of Massachusetts, founder of the family of Winthrop, bequeathed his soul to God, and his Indian slaves to the lawful heirs of his body. Negro slavery was introduced into Hispaniola in 1501 : more than a century before the colonization of America by the English. Massachusetts by express enactment in 1641, punishing "manstealing" with death :—and it is so punished to this day under the laws of the United States—legalized yet the enslaving of captives taken in war, and of such "strangers," *foreigners*, as should be acquired by purchase : while confederate New England two years later, providing for the equitable division of lands, goods and "*persons*," as equally a part of the "spoils" of war, enacted also the first fugitive slave law in America. White slaves—convicts and paupers some of them ; others at a later day, prisoners taken at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and of Sedgemoor—were at the first, employed in Virginia and the British West Indies. Bought in England by English dealers, among whom was the queen of James II, with many of his nobles and courtiers, some of them perhaps of the house of Sutherland ; they were imported and sold at auction to the highest bidder. In 1620, a Dutch man of war first landed a cargo of slaves upon the banks of James River. But the earliest slave ship belonging to English colonists, was fitted out in 1645, by a member of the Puritan church of Boston. Fostered still by English princes and nobles : confirmed and cherished by British legislation and judicial decisions, even against the wishes and in spite of the remonstrances of the Colonies, the traffic increased ; slaves multiplied, and on the Fourth of July, 1776, every colony was now become a slave state ; and the sun went down that day upon four hundred and fifty thousand of those who in the cant of eighty years later, are styled "human chattels," but who were not by the act of that day emancipated.

Eleven years afterwards, delegates assembling at Philadelphia, from every state except Rhode Island, ignoring the question of the sinfulness and immorality of slavery, as a subject with which they as the representatives of separate and independent states, had no concern, founded a union and framed a constitution, which leaving with each state the exclusive control and regulation of its own domestic institutions,

and providing for the taxation and representation of slaves, gave no right to Congress to debate or to legislate concerning slavery in the states or territories, except for the interdiction of the slave trade and the extradition of fugitive slaves. The Plan of Union proposed by Franklin in 1754, had contained no allusion even to slavery ; and the Articles of Confederation of 1778, but a simple recognition of its existence—so wholly was it regarded then, a domestic and local concern. In 1787 every State, except perhaps Massachusetts, tolerated slavery either absolutely or conditionally.—But the number of slaves north of Maryland, never great, was even yet comparatively small ; not exceeding forty thousand in a total slave population of six hundred thousand. In the North, chief carrier of slaves to others even as late as 1807, slavery never took firm root. Nature warred against it in that latitude ; otherwise every state in the Union, would have been a slaveholding state to this day. It was not profitable there ; and it died out—lingering indeed in New York till July 1827. It died out : but not so much by the manumission of slaves, as by their transportation and sale in the South : and thus New England, sir, turned an honest penny with her left hand, and with her right, modestly wrote herself down in history, as both generous and just.

In the South, gentlemen, all this was precisely reversed. The earliest and most resolute enemies to slavery, were southern men. But climate had fastened the institution upon them ; and they found no way to strike it down. From the beginning indeed, the Southern colonies especially had resisted the introduction of African slaves ; and at the very outset of the revolution, Virginia and North Carolina interdicted the slave trade. The Continental Congress soon after, on the sixth of April, 1776, three months earlier than the Declaration of Independence, resolved that no more slaves ought be imported into the thirteen colonies. Jefferson in his draught of the Declaration, had denounced the king of England alike for encouraging the slave trade, and for fomenting servile insurrection in the provinces. Ten years later, he boldly attacked slavery in his “Notes on Virginia :” and in the Congress of the Confederation, *prior to the adoption of the Constitution, with its solemn compacts and compromises upon the subject of slavery*, proposed to exclude it from the territory northwest the river Ohio. Col. Mason of Virginia, vehemently condemned it, in the Convention of 1787. Nevertheless it had already become manifest that slavery must soon die

away in the North, but in the South continue and harden into perhaps a permanent, uneradicable system. Hostile interests and jealousies sprang up, therefore, in bitterness even in the Convention. But the blood of the patriot brothers of Carolina and Massachusetts, smoked yet upon the battle fields of the Revolution. The recollection of their kindred language and common dangers and sufferings, burned still fresh in their hearts. Patriotism proved more powerful than jealousy, and good sense stronger than fanaticism. There were no Sewards, no Hales, no Sumners, no Greeleys, no Parkers, no Chase, in that Convention. There was a *Wilson*; but he rejoiced not in the name of *Henry*; and he was a Scotchman. There was a clergyman—no, not in the Convention of '87, but in the Congress of '76: but it was the devout, the learned, the pious, the patriotic Witherspoon; of foreign birth also, a native of Scotland, too. The men of that day and generation, sir, were content to leave the question of slavery just where it belonged. It did not occur to them, that each one among them was accountable for "the sin of slaveholding" in his fellow; and that to ease his tender conscience of the burden, all the fruits of revolutionary privation and blood and treasure; all the recollections of the past; all the hopes of the future: nay the Union, and with it, domestic tranquility and national independence, ought to be offered up as a sacrifice. They were content to deal with political questions; and to leave cases of conscience to the church and the schools, or to the individual man. And accordingly to this Union and Constitution, based upon these compromises—execrated now as "covenants with death and leagues with hell"—every state acceded: and upon these foundations, thus broad, and deep and stable, a political superstructure has, as if by magic arisen, which in symmetry and proportion; and, if we would but be true to our trust, in strength and durability, finds no parallel in the world's history.

Patriotic sentiments, sir, such as marked the era of '89, continued to guide the statesmen and people of the country, for more than thirty years, full of prosperity: till in a dead political calm, consequent upon temporary extinguishment of the ancient party lines and issues, the MISSOURI QUESTION, resounding through the land with the hollow moan of the earthquake, shook the pillars of the Republic even to their deep foundations.

Within these thirty years, gentlemen, slavery as a system, had been

abolished by law or disuse, quietly and without agitation, in every state north of Mason and Dixon's line—in many of them, lingering, indeed, in individual cases, so late as the census of 1840. But except in half a score of instances, the question had not been obtruded upon Congress. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, had been passed without opposition and without a division, in the Senate; and by a vote of forty-eight to seven, in the House. The slave trade had been declared piracy punishable with death. Respectful petitions from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and others, upon the slavery question, were referred to a committee, and a report made thereon, which laid the matter at rest. Other petitions afterwards were quietly rejected, and in one instance, returned to the petitioner. Louisiana and Florida, both slave holding countries, had without agitation, been added to our territory. Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, slave states each one of them, had been admitted into the Union, without a murmur. No Missouri Restriction, no Wilmot Proviso had as yet reared its discordant front to terrify and confound. NON INTERVENTION was then both the practice and the doctrine of the statesmen and people of that period: though as yet, no hollow platform enunciated it as an article of faith, from which, nevertheless, obedience might be withheld, and the platform "spit upon," provided the tender conscience of the recusant did not forbid him to support the candidate and help to secure the "spoils."

Once only, sir, was there a deliberate purpose shown, by a formal assault upon the compromises of the Constitution, to array the prejudices of geographical sections upon the question of slavery. But originating within the secret counsels of the Hartford Convention, it partook of the odium which touched everything connected with that reasonable assembly; till set on fire by a live coal from the altar of jealousy and fanaticism, it burst into a conflagration six years later. And now, sir, for the first time in our history under the Constitution, a strenuous and most embittered struggle ensued, on part of the North—the *Federalists* of the North—to prevent the admission of a State into the Union; really because the North—the Federalists of the North—strove for the mastery and to secure the balance of power in her own hands; but ostensibly because slave-holding, which the Missouri constitution sanctioned, was affirmed to be immoral and irreligious. In this first fearful strife, this earliest departure from the Constitution and the ancient sound pol-

icy of the country, *the North*—for the truth of history shall be vindicated—**THE NORTH** was the aggressor : and that, too, without the slightest provocation. Vermont in New England ; Ohio, Indiana and Illinois out of territory, once the property of slave-holding Virginia, had been admitted into the Union ; and Michigan organized into a territorial government, without one hostile vote from the South, given upon the ground that slavery was interdicted within their limits. Even Maine had been permitted by vote of Congress, to slough off from Massachusetts, and become a separate state. But now Missouri knocked for admission, with a constitution not introducing, but continuing slavery which had existed in her midst from the beginning ; and four several times at the first, she was rejected by the North. The South resisted ; and the storm raged. Jefferson, professing to hate slavery, but living and dying himself a slave-holder, or in the delicate slang of to-day, a “ slave breeder,” loving yet his country with all the fervid patriotism of his early manhood five and forty years before, heard in it “ the knell of the Union ;” and mourned that he must “ die now in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, was to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons :” consoling himself, the only solace of the patriot of fourscore years, that *he* should not live to weep over the blessings thrown thus recklessly away for “ an abstract principle ;” and the folly and madness of this “ act of suicide and of treason against the hopes of the world.”

But the incantations of hate and fanaticism had evoked the hideous spectre ; and it ought to have been quelled never to re-appear. The appalling question was now stirred ; and it should have been met and resettled forever, by the men of that day, on the original basis of the Constitution :—not left as a legacy of discord, a Pandora’s box full of all evil, of mischief and pestilence, to the next generation. They were not true to themselves : they were not true to us. They cowered before the goblin ; and laid before it peace offerings and a wave offering, and sent us their children to pass through the fire in the valley of Hinnom. Setting aside the compromises of the Constitution, and usurping power not granted to Congress, they undertook to compromise about that which had already been definitely and permanently settled by that instrument. This was the beginning, sir, of that line of paltry and halting compromises ; of fat-brained, mole-eyed, unmanlike expe-

pedients which put the evil day off, only to return laden with aggravated mischief. They hushed the terrible question for a moment; and the election machinery moved on, and the spoils of the Presidency were divided as before. But it was “*a reprieve only, not a final sentence.*” The “*geographical line*” thus once conceived for the first time, and held up to the angry passions of men, was as Jefferson had foretold, never obliterated, but rather by every irritation, marked deeper and deeper. And after fifteen years truce, it re-appeared in a new and far more dangerous form: and enduring already for more than half the average life-time of man, has attained a position and magnitude which neither demands nor will hearken to any further compromise.— Nevertheless, sir, but for the insolent intermeddling of the British government and British emissaries—continued to this day, with the super-addition now of Napoleon the Third—it might have slumbered for many years longer.

In England, gentlemen, the form of personal bondage disappeared even to its last traces, from her own soil, about the beginning of the seventeenth century: its legal existence continued till 1661: its worst realities remain to this day; for although in that very humane and most enlightened Island, there be no involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime, yet in England, poverty is a crime, punishable with the worst form of slavery or by starvation and death.— Three hundred years ago she began the traffic in negro slaves. Queen Elizabeth was a sharer in its gains. A hundred and fifty years later, at the peace of Utrecht, England undertook by compact with Spain, to import into the West Indies, within the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, demanding, and with exactest care securing, a monopoly of the traffic. Queen Anne reserved one quarter of the stock of the slave trading company to herself, and one half to her subjects: to the king of Spain, the other quarter being conceded. Even so late as 1750, Parliament busied itself in devising plans to make the slave trade still more effectual: while in 1775, the very year of the Revolution, a noble earl wrote to a colonial agent, these memorable words: “We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation.” Between that date and the period of first importation, England had stolen from the coast of Africa, and imported into the new world, or buried in the sea on the passage thither, not less than three and a quarter millions

of negroes—more by half a million than the entire population of the Colonies. In April 1776, the American Congress resolved against the importation of any more slaves. But England continued the traffic, with all its accumulated horrors, till 1808 ; for so deeply had it struck its roots into the commercial interests of that country, that not all the efforts of an organized and powerful society ; not the influence of her ministers ; not the eloquence of all her most renowned orators, availed to strike it down for more than forty years after this its earliest interdiction in any country, by a rebel congress. Nevertheless, sir, slavery in the English West Indies, continued twenty-seven years longer. But the loss of her American colonies and the prohibition of the slave trade, had left small interest to Great Britain in negro slavery. Her philanthropy found room now to develope and expand in all its wonderful proportions. And accordingly, in 1834, England—England, drunk with the blood of the martyrs, stoning the prophets and rejecting the apostles of political liberty in her own midst—robbed by act of Parliament, one hundred millions of dollars from the wronged and beggared peasantry of Ireland ; from the enslaved and oppressed millions of India, from the starving, overwrought, mendicant carcasses of the white slaves of her own soil, to pay to her impoverished colonists plundered without voice and without vote in her legislature, the stipulated price of human rights ; and with these the wages of iniquity, in the outraged name of God and humanity, mocked the handful of her black bondsmen in the West Indies, with the false and deluding shadow of liberty. Exeter Hall resounded with acclamation : bonfires and illuminations proclaimed the exultant joy of an aristocracy fat with the pride and lust of domination. But in that self same hour—in that self same hour, from the furnaces of Sheffield and the manufactories of Birmingham : from the wretched hovels of Ireland, full of famishing and pestilence : from ten thousand work-houses crowded with leperous and perishing paupers, the abodes of abominable cruelties, which not even the pen of a Dickens has availed to portray in the full measure of their enormity ; and from the mouths of a thousand pits and mines, deep under earth, horrid in darkness, and reeking with noisome vapor, the stupendous charnel houses of the living dead men of England, there went up, and ascends yet up to heaven, the piercing wail of desolation and despair.

But England became now the great apostle of African liberty. Ignor-

ing, sir, or putting under at the point of the bayonet, the political rights of millions of her own white subjects, she yet prepared to convict the world of the sinfulness of negro slavery. Exeter Hall sent out its emissaries, full of zeal and greedy for martyrdom. The British government took up the crusade;—not from motives of religion or philanthropy. Let no man be deceived. No, sir. Since the days of Peter the Hermit and Richard the Lion-hearted, England, forgetting the Holy Sepulchre, had learned many lessons: and none know better now their true province and mission, than English statesmen. But the American experiment of free government had not failed. America had grown great—had grown populous and powerful. Her proud example towering up every day higher and illuminating every land, was penetrating the hearts of the people and threatening to shake the thrones of every monarchy in Europe. Force against such a nation, would be the wildest of follies. But to be odious is to be weak: and internal dissension had wasted Greece and opened even Thermopylæ to the Barbarian of Macedon. The Missouri Question had revealed the weak point of the American Confederacy. Achilles was found vulnerable in the heel. *In spem ventum erat, INTERSTINA DISCORDIA dissolvi rem Romanam posse.*

The machinery which had effected emancipation in the British West India Islands, of use no longer in England, was transferred to America. Aided by British gold; encouraged by British sympathy, the agitation began here in 1835: and so complete was it in all its appointments, so thorough the organization and discipline, so perfect the electric current, that within six months, the whole Union was convulsed. Affiliated societies were established in every Northern State, and in almost every county: lecturers were paid and sent forth into every city and village: a powerful and well supported press, fed from the treasuries and working up the cast off rags of the British societies, poured forth a multitude of incendiary prints and publications, which were distributed by mail throughout the Union: but chiefly in the Southern States and among the slaves. Fierce excitement in the South followed. And so great became the public feeling and interest, that President Jackson, so early as the annual message of 1835, pressed earnestly upon Congress, the duty of prohibiting the use of the mail for transmitting incendiary publications to the South. But prior to the sitting of Congress, the Abolition Societies, treading again in the footsteps of the

emancipationists in England, had prepared, and now poured in a flood of petitions, praying Congress to take action upon the subject of slavery. The purpose was to obtain a foothold, a fulcrum, in the Capitol ; for without this, the South could not be effectually embroiled, and little could be accomplished even in the North. — But no appliances were left untried. Agitators, their breath was agitation : quiescence would have been a sentence of obscurity and dissolution. And accordingly, in May 1835, the American Anti-slavery Society was established in New York ; its object being the immediate and unconditional abolition of negro slavery in the United States. It was a permanent organization, to be dissolved only upon the consummation of its purpose. The object of attack was the South : the seat of war the North. Public sentiment was to be stirred up here against slavery because it was a moral evil, and a sin in the sight of the Most High, for the continuance of which one day, the men of the North were accountable before heaven. Slaveholders were to be made odious in the eyes of northern men and foreign nations, as cruel tyrants and taskmasters ; as kidnappers, murderers and pirates, whose existence was a reproach to the North, and whom it were just to hunt down and exterminate as so many beasts of prey to whom even the laws of the chase extended no indulgence. To hold fellowship and union with slaveholders, was to partake of all their sins and enormities : it was to be “ in league with death and covenant with hell.” The Constitution and Union were themselves sinful ; and as such they ought forthwith to be abrogated and dissolved. And thus, sir, the earlier abolitionists, who were zealots, began just where their successors of to-day who are traitors, have ended.

A separate political organization was not, at the first, proposed ; and each man was left to his ancient party allegiance. The revolution was to be a moral and religious revolution ; and its principles, propagated by petitions, lectures, societies and the press, in the North, were through these instrumentalities, to penetrate Congress and the legislatures of the South ; and if not hearkened to there, then to effect a dismemberment of the Union, by secession of the North, or secession forced upon the South.

Slavery, gentlemen, had before this, been the subject of earnest and sometimes angry controversy in Congress and elsewhere. But a powerful and permanent organization, founded for such a purpose and working by such appliances, had never yet existed. Coming thus in

such a questionable shape, even the North started back aghast as at "a goblin damned:" and it was denounced as treason and madness from the first. Its presses were destroyed, its assemblies broken up, its publications burned, and its lecturers mobbed everywhere, and more than one among them murdered in the midst of popular tumult and indignation. The churches, the school houses, the court houses and the public halls, were alike closed against them. Misguided men, fanatics, emissaries of England, traitors; these were among the mildest of epithets which in every place and almost from every tongue, saluted their ears. The very name of "Abolitionist" became a bye-word and a hissing. Not an advocate, and scarce even an apologist for the men or their course, was found in either hall of Congress. Members presented their petitions with great reluctance; and as late as the twenty-eighth of December, 1837, Mr. Calhoun rejoiced that "every senator without exception," had confessed himself opposed to the agitation. A bill to punish by severe penalties, any post-master who should knowingly put into the mail, any incendiary publication directed to the South, had by the casting vote of Vice President *Van Buren*, been ordered to a third reading. The Senate declined to refer or in any way act upon the numerous petitions presented, while the House refusing to read, print or refer, laid them forthwith upon the table. In January, 1838, the Senate by a majority of four to one, adopted a series of resolutions denouncing the Abolition movement "on whatever ground or pretext urged forward, political, moral or religious," as insulting to the South and dangerous to her domestic peace and tranquility: and further, condemning all efforts toward the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, as a breach of good faith; a just cause of serious alarm to the states in which slavery exists; and of most mischievous tendency. At the following session, the House of Representatives by a majority of more than one hundred and fifty, passed resolutions stronger if possible than these; and some time later, censured and almost expelled John Quincy Adams, for presenting an abolition petition looking to a dissolution of the Union.

Outside of Congress also, sir, Abolition received up to this period, just as little countenance or support. By both of the great political parties it was utterly and indignantly repudiated; while from none of the political and scarce any of even the religious journals and periodicals of the day, did it find either aid or comfort. Especially, sir, was the De-

mocratic party then sound on this question. General Jackson had already denounced in strong language officially, the "wicked and unconstitutional attempts of the misguided men, and especially the emissaries from foreign parts" who had originated the Abolition movement. President Van Buren in his inaugural address, had volunteered a pledge to veto any bill looking to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Benton, Buchanan, Wright, Allen, all concurred; and voted also for the resolutions which passed the Senate. In Ohio, the Democratic State Convention of January 8, 1840, planted itself firmly upon the rock of the Constitution, and taking high and patriotic ground, condemned the efforts then being made for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, "by organizing societies in the free states, as *hostile to the spirit of the Constitution and destructive of the harmony of the Union:*" and resolving that "we as citizens of a free state, had *no right* to interfere" with slavery *elsewhere*, denounced the Abolition movement and Abolition societies, declaring that while they "ought to be discountenanced by every lover of peace and concord, *no sound democrat* would have any part or lot with them." It was also further resolved, as if in the very spirit of prophecy, that "political abolitionism was but *ancient Federalism* under a new guise, and only a new device for the overthrow of Democracy."

These resolutions, sir, were adopted with but *three* dissenting voices, in a more numerous assemblage of delegates than ever before had met in the State.

GEORGE W. ELLS, Esq., one of the old Liberty (abolition) guard, here interrupting, said that historical statements ought to be correct: that he had been a member from Licking county, of the convention referred to; and that he knew that the resolutions quoted had never passed; but were smuggled into the proceedings, in order to be circulated through the South, to aid Mr. Van Buren.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM. Sir, I have before me the *official record* of the proceedings of that convention, signed by the late lamented THOMAS L. HAMER, president of the convention; a man too candid, too brave and too true to lend himself to so base and detestable a fraud for any such purpose. You libel the gallant dead: and it is quite too late in the day after the lapse of *fifteen years*, for you, sir, by your own parol testimony, to seek to impeach the absolute verity of the record. And I repeat now again, and desire you to hear and understand it, that these resolutions *did* pass that convention, and pass, too, with but three dissenting voices in that the largest State Convention ever before as-

sembled in Ohio. And if you, sir, happened to be one of the *three* who voted against these resolutions, I can only say that you had the misfortune to find yourself in a very small and most inglorious minority. I assert further, that three weeks after that convention, BENJAMIN TAPPAN, then a senator in Congress from Ohio, quoting these same resolutions and affirming the statement which I have just made, concluded a speech of remarkable precision and clearness, by declining even to present a petition from citizens of the state, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

A few months later—mark you, Mr. President, Ohio then took the lead in denouncing the treason and fanaticisms of Abolition—the Democracy of the Union, assembled in general convention at Baltimore, passed without a dissenting vote, that memorable resolution, penned by that pure and incorruptible patriot, SILAS WRIGHT; and which penetrated then the heart also and not the ear only, of every democrat, to the full and utmost significancy of every word and letter, repudiating “incipient steps” even, by Congress in relation to “questions of slavery” of every sort, as calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and such as ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Such, Mr. President, was Abolition in the North, fifteen years ago.—*Such it is not now.*—To the philosophic historian who in a future age, shall sit amid the ruins of my country, to write her decline and fall, I leave the sad but instructive office of tracing its progress and exploring the causes which step by step, have lead to its present portentous developement. I propose but a brief and hasty summary.

Slowly emerging from obscurity and odium, Abolition began to fix attention, not as hitherto, by its sound and fury, but, losing none of these, rather now by its increasing numbers and influence. Designing men soon foresaw that of all the movements of the day, none promised so abundant and perhaps durable a harvest to him who should organize and discipline its wild crusading forces into a regular political party. Fanaticism and a false religious zeal, conjoined with that pestilent but ever potent spirit which is so sorely offended at the mote that is in our brother's eye, and which makes each man jealous over his neighbor's conscience, could easily be arrayed under the banner of sectional hate and bigotry: and thus a distinct political faction be compounded out of these elements. Such a party, sir, united by these the

strongest though not most durable ties, was soon shuffled together ; and not long after, supplanted the system of affiliated societies. It formed separate tickets, and in 1844, supported a candidate for the presidency. But prior to 1848, it attained as a party, comparatively small weight in elections. The vehement contests and grave political questions which convulsed the two great parties of the country, overshadowed all interest in the feeble but still earnest and active Abolition band. But that band meantime, was steadily increasing by accessions now and then from the Democrats, but chiefly from the Whigs ; some honest men and the discontented and rejected spirits of each, naturally dropping off and falling into its ranks. Abolitionists—many of them styling themselves at this period in their history, the “ Liberty Party ”—gained now in some counties, the balance of power ; and hence became there an object of courtship to the other parties. In New England yet earlier, but all over the North in 1844, the Whig party began to trim and falter upon the question. The defeat of Clay and the Annexation of Texas gave a new impetus to Abolition, and many more, upon these pretexts, fell into its ranks. Meantime the steady, persistent, never wearying labors of its orators and press, full of grossly false and exaggerated portraitures of slavery, and libels upon southern society, working by day and by night, in the church, the schools and the lecture room ; at the public meeting, the fire-side and the sick bed, fomenting thus hate and jealousy of the South everywhere, and that, too, for the most part, without counteracting influence from any quarter, had poured the leperous distilment deep into every vein and artery of the northern body politic.

Just at this point, sir, in the history of the Abolition movement, came the Oregon controversy, and after that the Mexican war, embroiled by the now terrible question of the acquisition of a very large tract of Mexican territory. Pride or vanity wounded by the settlement of the the Oregon boundary at Forty-Nine : ambition disappointed of office : the nomination of Generals Cass and Taylor in 1848 ; and the manifestly approaching dissolution of the Whig party, all contributed to throw a large portion of that party in the North, and not a few from the Democratic host, into the ranks of the Abolitionists ; who swelled now by such great ascessions, threw off wholly the odious name of Abolition, and organizing into one body under a new title, at Buffalo, announced Martin Van Buren as their candidate for the Presidency. In the midst

of all this chaos in the political elements, arose that pernicious bubble, the "Wilmot Proviso," which convulsing the country for more than four years, in its various forms, had well nigh precipitated us headlong into the bottomless gulf of Disunion.

Assuming now the specious name of "Free Soil," and disguising its odious principles and its true purposes, under the false pretence of No Extension of Slavery, the Abolition party addressed itself to minds full now of hate towards the South and her institutions, and ready alike to forget the true mission of a political party, and the limitations of the Constitution. But the united patriotism, talent and worth of the North and South, rallied to the rescue of this the last grand experiment of free government, from the thick darkness of failure and of ruin by the parricidal hands of its own children. The Compromise of 1850 followed; intended and believed to be a final adjustment of this appalling controversy. It was designed to be a covenant of peace forever:—sealed and attested by the self-sacrifice of WEBSTER, CLAY and CALHOUN, the most illustrious triumvirate of great men and patriots, in any age or any country. But to no purpose: the yawning gulf did not close over them. The origin of the evil lay deeper; and it was not reached. No great question of a like nature and magnitude, was ever adjusted by a legislative compromise, in a popular government. The evil lay in that great and most pernicious error which pervaded and penetrated so large a portion of the Northern mind, that the men of the North, if not under the Constitution, yet by some "higher law" of conscience had a right, and as they would escape that fire which is not quenched, were bound to intermeddle and in some way to legislate for the abolition of the "accursed system." No act of Congress, no number of acts, could heal a malady like this, rooted in presumptuous self-righteous, and aggravated by the corroding poison of sectional jealousy and hate. For such, sir, there is no sweet oblivious antidote in legislation. Set on fire by these passions, applied now to that case which coming highest home, appealed most plausibly and most strongly to their impulses and their prejudices, a large part of the North resolved to render nugatory the chief slavery compromise of the Constitution, by trampling under foot and resisting or obstructing the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. And three years later, reinforced now by many recruits from the Democratic ranks, and by almost the entire Whig force of the North, disbanded finally by the overthrow of 1852, but reorganized in

part under the banner of Know-Nothingism, the Abolition handful of 1835, swelled now to a mighty host, rallied in defence of the Missouri Restriction, and shook the whole land with a rocking tempest of popular commotion, more dangerous than even the storm of 1850.

Here then, gentlemen, let me pause to survey the true nature and full extent of the perils which thus encompass us: and to enquire, What remains to be done, that they may be averted.

In January, 1838, Mr. Calhoun spoke with alarm, then derided as visionary, of the danger which to him seemed already as certain as it would be disastrous, from the continued, persevering, uncounteracted efforts of the Abolitionists, imbuing the rising generation at the North, with the belief that the institutions of the South were sinful and immoral; and that it would be doing God's service to abolish them, even should it involve the destruction of half her inhabitants as murderers and pirates at best. Sir, what was then prophecy, is now history. More than half the present generation in the North, have ceased to look upon Southern men as brethren. Taught to hate first the institutions of the South, they have very many of them, by easy gradations, transferred that hatred to her citizens. Learning to abhor what they are told is murder, they have found no principle either in nature or in morals, which impels them to love the murderer with fraternal affection. Organized bands exist in every northern State, with branches in Canada, which make slave stealing a business and a boast: and that outrage which if any foreign state, or any state of this Union even, in any thing else, were to encourage or permit in any of her citizens, would by the whole country with one voice, be regarded as a just cause of instant war or reprisals, is every day consummated without rebuke, or by connivance, or the direct sanction of many of the members of this Confederacy. By school books and in school houses; in the academies, colleges and universities; in the schools of divinity, medicine and law, these same sad lessons of hate and jealousy, are every day inculcated. Even the name and the fame of a slaveholding Washington have ceased to cause a throb in many a northern heart. The entire press of the North, in journals, newspapers, periodicals, prints and books, with not many manly and patriotic exceptions, has either been silent or lent countenance and support knowingly or carelessly, to the systematic and treasonable efforts of those who are resolved to pull down the fabric of this Union. Literature and the arts are put under

scription for the same wicked purpose. Not a northern poet from Longfellow and Bryant down to Lowell, but has sought inspiration from the black Helicon of Abolition: and the poison from a hundred thousand copies of false and canting libels in the form of works of fiction, is licked up from every hearthstone. While the "Tribune" of Greeley, one among ten thousand "sold to do evil," at once the tool and the compeer of Seward in his traitorous purpose to make himself a name in history—the antithesis of Washington—by the subversion of this Republic; gathering up with persevering and most devilish diligence, every murder, every crime, every outrage, every act of cruelty, rapine or lust, upon white or upon black, real or forged, throughout the South, sends it forth winged with venom and malice, as a faithful witness of the true and general state of southern society, and the legitimate fruit of slaveholding. In the public lecture and anniversary address; at the concert hall and upon the boards of the theatre; nay even at the festivals of our ancient charitable orders, this same dark spirit of mischief is ever present dropping pestilence from his wings. Even history is corrupted and figures marshalled into a huge lie, to compass the same treacherous end.

Here, again, too, the clergy and the church, gentlemen, mindful less than ever of their true province and vocation, have one by one joined in the crusade; till nineteen-twentieths of northern pulpits, resound every sabbath, in sermon or prayer, with imprecation upon slaveholders. Already has disunion and consequent strife, ensued in all the chief religious sects, three only excepted. Outside of these, and sometimes within them too, the religion of the Bible is but too often superseded by the gospel of Abolition; and the way of salvation taught to lie through sympathy with that distant portion of the African race which is held in bondage south of Mason's and Dixon's line. Thus the spirit of persecution is superadded to the jealousies of sectional position, and the furnace of hate heated seven times hotter than is wont.

They who would not turn a deaf ear to the express requirements of the Constitution, are beguiled and drawn astray by the hollow pretence of Opposition to the Extension of Slavery—a pretence alike false and unmanly, and opposed to the spirit of the constitutional compact, and the principle which forbids to intermeddle with slavery in the states.

Others, sir, who may care nothing for the sinfulness or immorality of slaveholding, are wrought to jealousy by the false and impudent outcry

against the "aggressions of the slave power;" "the grasping spirit of the South," "southern bluster and bravado:" and many an arrant coward hires himself to be written down a hero, for his wondrous courage in lending the eye a terrible aspect on his own hustings, at the mention of a "fire eater" from the Carolinas, or repelling indignantly six weeks after the offence, on the floor of Congress, the insolence of some "slave dealing" member from Virginia who is perhaps at the moment, a hundred miles from the Capitol. — Thus the claim of the South to participation in the common territory purchased by the common blood and treasure of the Union: nay even her demand that the solemn compact of the constitution be fulfilled and her fugitives restored to her, are denounced alike as arrogant "slave driving" assaults and aggressions upon the rights of the North.

Others again are persuaded that the South is weak, is unwilling and dare not resist: is afraid of insurrection, and dependent for safety and bread and existence, upon the proverbial fertility and magnanimity of New England. As if no Henry, no Lee, no Jefferson, no Pinckney, no Sumpter, no Hayne, no Laurens, no Carroll, no GEORGE WASHINGTON had ever lived: as if the spirit of Marion's men lingered not yet upon the banks of Santee; and the fierce courage of the Butler who rose pale and corpse-like from the bed of death, to lead the Palmetto regiment to battle at Cherubusco, foremost in the ranks and "nearest the flashing of the guns," was already become extinct.

The political parties also, at the North, gentlemen, have faltered and some of them fallen before Abolition. The Whig party, bargaining with, courting and seeking to absorb it into its own ranks, has itself at last been swallowed up and lost. Political Temperance and Know-nothingism are rapidly drifting into the same vortex. The spirit of Anti-masonry transmigrated some years ago, into the opaque body of Abolitionism. Fourierism, Anti-rentism, the party devoted to Women's Rights, and all the other *isms* of the day, born of the same generating principle, are already fully assimilated to their common parent: for all these *isms*, sir, like the nerves of sense, run in pairs. Even the Democratic party, never losing its identity, never ceasing to be national, and even now the sole hope of the country, if it will but return to its ancient mission and discipline; the only organized body round which all true conservatives and friends of the Constitution and Union may

rally, has nevertheless in whole or in part, at some period or another, in every state, covered before or tampered with this dark spectre.

Just such, too, as public feeling in the North is, so is its legislation. Vermont has passed a law repealing in effect, within her limits, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and abrogating so much of the Constitution as requires the rendition of fugitives from service. Connecticut, enacting a similar statute, has gone a step farther, and outraged every dictate of justice, in the effort to make it effectual. Massachusetts, the "model commonwealth" of the times, improving yet upon the work of her sister states, provides also that whatsoever member of her bar shall dare appear in behalf of the claimant of a fugitive slave, shall ignominiously be stricken from her court rolls, and forbidden to practice within her limits. Legislation of a kindred character, exists, sir, in other states also; and New England will doubtless yet find humble imitators even in the West. Already, indeed, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, has deliberately released from her penitentiary upon habeas corpus, a prisoner convicted on indictment before a United States court, of resisting the laws and officers of the United States, in a slave case. Judges elsewhere have held that no citizen of the United States living south, may dare set his foot with a slave, upon the north-west shore of the Ohio at low water mark even, without by that act, though but for a moment and from necessity, working instant emancipation of the slave. Not many months ago, a mingled mob of negroes white and black, at Salem in Ohio, entered a railroad train, and by violence tore from the family of a slaveholder passing through the state from necessity and at forty miles an hour, the nurse of his infant child. A Massachusetts legislature has demanded of her Executive, the removal of an able, meritorious and upright judge, for the conscientious discharge within her limits, of the duties of an office which he held under authority of the United States: and a Massachusetts ecclesiastical conclave, three hundred in number, rose as one man on the announcement of the outrage, and shouted till the house rang again with their plaudits. And a Massachusetts University rejected also the same judge for the same cause, when proposed for a professorship in the institution.

Thus, sir, within little more than two years from the death of her noblest son, whose whole life and whose dying labors were exhausted in defending the Union and holding the commonwealth of his adoption, up to the full measure of her revolutionary patriotism and greatness,

has the star of Massachusetts been seen to fall from heaven and begin to plunge into the utter blackness of disunion. In vain now, sir, from the grave of the statesman of Marshfield, there comes up the warning cry : “ Let her shrink back ; let her hold others back, if she can ; at any rate let her keep herself back from this gulf full at once of fire and of blackness : full, as far as human foresight can scan, or human imagination fathom, of the fire and the blood of civil war, and of the thick darkness of general political disgrace, ignominy and ruin.” No : she is fallen. Sumner has supplanted Winthrop ; and a Wilson crawled up into the seat which Webster once adorned.

And add now to all this, gentlemen, that already that portentous and most perilous evil, against which the Father of his country so solemnly and earnestly warned his countrymen, a party bounded by geographical lines—a Northern Party, standing upon a northern platform, doing battle for northern issues, and relying solely for success, upon appeals to northern prejudices and northern jealousies, is now for the first time in our history, fully organized and consolidated in our midst. Add further, that to the Thirty-Fourth Congress, fourteen Senators and a majority of Representatives have been chosen, who in name or in fact, are Abolitionists ; Ohio contributing to this dark host, her entire delegation in House and Senate, one only excepted : and thus for the first time also, since the organization of our government, the House of Representatives been converted into a vast Abolition conventicle, full of men picked out for their hatred of the South, and who cannot be true to the Constitution and the Union, without treachery to the expectations and the purposes of those who elected them. And then reflect yet further, that this vast and terrible magazine of explosive elements, is gathered together just upon the eve of a presidential election with all its multiplied and convulsing interests ; and that soon Kansas will knock for admission into the Union, thus surely precipitating the crisis : and who, tell me I pray you, may foresee what shall be the history of this Republic at the end of two years from to-day.

All this, gentlemen, the spirit of Abolition has accomplished in twenty years of continued and exhausting labors of every sort. But in all that time, not one convert has it made in the South : not one slave emancipated, except by larceny and in fraud of the solemn compacts of the Constitution. Meantime public opinion has wholly, radically changed in the South. The South has ceased to denounce, ceased to

condemn slavery ; ceased even to palliate and begun now almost as one man, to defend it as a great moral, social and political blessing. The bitter and proscriptive warfare of twenty years, has brought forth its natural and legitimate fruit in the South. Exasperation, hate and revenge are every day ripening into fullest maturity and strength : and throughout her entire extent, she awaits now but the action of the North, to unite in solemn league and covenant to resist aggression even unto blood.

But the South, sir, has forborne a little. I say she has forborne a little. She has not yet associated and formed political parties to put down Masonry and Odd Fellowship in the free states and in the territories, upon the pretext that these institutions are sinful and immoral. She has not yet organized societies, and fostered and protected them by her legislation, to steal that which our law recognizes as property ; and refused restitution on the pretext that by the "higher law" of conscience, no right of property exists in the thing stolen. Neither, sir, has any southern State ; no, not even "fire-eating" South Carolina, sought as yet to compensate herself for the fugitives which we have abducted, by enacting laws to encourage the slave trade, by punishing with fine and imprisonment in her penitentiary for years, any one of her citizens who should aid in enforcing the laws of the United States against the traffic ; striking from her court rolls, any attorney within her limits, who should appear in behalf of the prosecution, and excluding all who hold the office of United States Commissioner or Judge, from any office or appointment under her authority.—How long before all this shall have been done, is known to Him only whose omniscient eye penetrates and illumines the clouds and thick darkness of the future.

Thus, then, Mr. President, by little and little at first, but now as with a flood, fraternal affection is wasted away : hate and jealousy and discord, nourished and educated into maturest developement ; and one by one, the real and strong cords which bind us together as a confederacy, snapped asunder, or stretched to their utmost tension. It needs no spirit of prophecy, not even a human sagacity above the ordinary level, to foretell just how long the habits, forms and paper parchments of a union can last, when its life-giving principle, and nourishing and sustaining virtue, are wasted and gone. Sir, he is yet but in the swaddling bands of infancy, who does not already see that there is wanting but

some strong convulsion, or even but some sudden jar in the system, to hurl us headlong down into the abyss of disunion.

I know, gentlemen, that to many, all this is as "a twice told tale vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." They hearkened not to the voice of Webster, Clay and Calhoun, while yet among the living: neither would they believe, though these three men rose from the dead. Being dead, they yet speak. The dead of all ages speak. All history lifts up its warning voice. Livy and Tacitus are full of saddest and most instructive teachings. But let us not deceive ourselves. It is not in their pages that we are to read the lessons of that danger which threatens us with destruction. There has been to us, no slow and gradual progression of five hundred years, to the full growth and stature of a great nation: neither is it in reserve for us to pass through the mellowing and softening gradations of luxury, vice, corruption and enervation for five hundred years more, to our final fall as an empire. No. The history of Greece, is the true study for the American statesman. There he will find the chiefest lessons of political wisdom adapted to our peculiar exigencies. He will learn there how internal dissension and discord, may prostrate a state in the full vigor of its manhood: and indeed that it is only in the manhood of a confederacy, that there is strength enough and energy enough in the members to rend each other in pieces: and that in the decadence of a state; in decay and atony, it is a Cæsar within, or a Macedonian phalanx or Roman legion from without, which overwhelms the State. In Thucydides, he may learn how a thirty years civil war exhausted Greece, and prepared her first for the haughty domination of the conquering member of the confederacy; and finally for that yoke of foreign despots, which galls and burns into her neck to this day.

Let us improve these lessons. It is not yet too late to be saved. The current may still be turned back, and the Union restored to its former sound and healthy condition; though many a gaping scar shall attest the wounds she has received from the hands of her own children.

WHAT THEN REMAINS TO BE DONE?—I answer this momentous question, Mr. President, by declaring first, what will not heal the sick man of America.

First then: closing our eyes and our ears to the truth and laughing all danger to scorn, will not do it. The scoffs and derision of the dilu-

vian world, did not stay the fountains of the great deep, nor seal up the windows of heaven.

Professions and resolutions of love for the Union and Constitution, whether hypocritical or sincere, will not do it, while at the same moment we strike the blow which destroys both. Nor will legislative compromises and finalities : nor yet national conventions and presidential elections. None of these.

Least of all, sir, will platforms of themselves, avail anything. Time was when they had a meaning, and when the partisan who repudiated or doubted even, an abstract principle, was stricken down by a surer and heavier blow of popular wrath, than he who "bolted" a nomination. But that day is past. The best of platforms is now too often but a spider's snare : the weak and unsuspecting house fly is caught and devoured ; the stout, blue bottle, carrion insect breaks through its meshes. A sound system of faith is indeed still proclaimed ; but mental reservation is now tolerated. The Thirty-Nine Articles are subscribed ; but a wide margin and much space between the lines, allowed for liberal interpretation. Obedience is no longer expected or required, to the platform, if the professor will but support the candidate. And thus, sir, the aged worshiper, who lingers yet around the altar, and the simple-minded convert of yesterday, whose burning faith receives the creed as an enunciation of eternal principles, the sacred canon of political scripture, are alike amazed to learn from the organ of the ecumenical council, interpreting by authority, that it is only the gospel according to Judas, whereby a general amnesty is proclaimed to all rebels and deserters :—a cumbrous but convenient piece of machinery whereby apostates may be restored, if not to favor, at least to position and office in the party. Witness the bold and impudent fraud of the platform promulgated by the Grand Council of Know-Nothings at Philadelphia ; which yet a subordinate State Council of the same order, assembled at Cleveland, and bound by the most stringent oaths, to obedience, had assumed in advance to repudiate. And need I but allude to that State Democratic Convention of Ohio, which resolving to adhere to and support the Baltimore platform, rugged all over as it is, with denunciations of all and every attempt of whatsoever shape or color or pretence, in Congress or out of it, to keep up the slavery agitation, did yet with amiable and most refreshing consistency, resolve that the Democracy of Ohio would use all power under the Constitution :

“to prevent the increase, to mitigate, and *finally to eradicate*—tear up by the roots—the evil of slavery.”

Either away then with platforms, at least as a sanative process, and until a sounder public virtue be restored; or require a strict and ready and honest obedience to the principles which they proclaim.

What then remains to be done?—I answer, first, that whatever it may be, it is to be done by and through the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and the national Whigs and others who may act with it in this crisis: for “when bad men combine, good men must associate.” There is no hope, none, in any other organization. To that party therefore, and through it, to all true patriots and conservatives, I address myself; and answer further:—We must return to the principles, follow the practices, imitate the good faith and fraternal affection, and restore the distinctions with which our ancestors set out at the commencement of this government. We must learn a wise and wholesome conservatism: learn that all progress is not reform; and that the wildest and most pernicious and most dangerous of all follies, is to attempt to square our political institutions and our legislation, by mere abstract, theoretical and mathematically exact, but impracticable truths. We must remember, also, our true mission as a political party; and retrace our steps from outside the territories of the lyceum and the church; and drive back the clergy and the church to their own domain. We must build up again the partitions which separate sacred things from profane: and begin once more to “*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.*” We must set out again to pronounce upon political questions, without essaying to try them by the touchstone of our own peculiar notions of moral or divine truth: and thus relegate temperance to the voluntary association, religion to the church, and slavery to the judgment and conscience of those in whose midst it exists, or is sought to be established;—casting aside that false and dangerous and most presumptuous self delusion, that we are to give account each one as citizens, for the sins or immoralities of our fellow men. Slavery, indeed, sir, where it exists, or to the people among whom it is proposed to introduce it, may be and it is to them, a political subject in part. To us of the North, it is and can be none other than an ethical or religious question. For disguise and falsify it as you will: marshal and array your figures and your facts to lie never so grossly, it is the sinfulness and immorality of slave-

holding as viewed by the northern mind, and this alone, which has stirred the people of the North to such a height of folly and madness. And yet if immoral, it concerns only the people of the states and territories, where it exists ; if sinful, they only are the offenders : and even if a political evil, it is they alone who feel the curse. It is, therefore, and can be, of no possible concern to us ; except, indeed, upon the principle of that self sufficient, self righteous and most pernicious egotism which it is time now to purge out of the system.

But a high and imperative constitutional obligation also, Mr. President, devolves here upon the Democratic party.

The accidents and the necessities of its settlement, determined the political character of this continent ; and divided it into separate colonies as perfectly independent one of the other, as any foreign states. A common subjection to the crown of Great Britain, gave the first notion of a common federal government ; and the aggressions of that crown, and of parliament, compelling civil war, forced our fathers into a union and articles of confederation. The Constitution of '89, extended the powers and the efficiency, but did not alter the nature of the general government. That instrument, sir, was framed by delegates appointed not by the old Congress, but by the States as sovereign and independent communities. State conventions ratified it ; and it was binding only as between those States which acceded to it. They consented to yield up to a common government, certain delegated powers, for the good of the whole ; reserving all others, each to itself. We are a confederacy, sir, of sovereign, distinct, independent States : in all things not brought into the common fund of power, just as thoroughly foreign to each other, (except only in a common language and fraternal affection,) and as subject to the obligations and comities of the law of nations, as France and England. With the domestic police and institutions of Kentucky, or any other State, the people of Ohio have no more right to intermeddle, than with the laws or form of government in Russia. Slavery in the South, is to them, as polygamy in the Turkish Empire : and for the political evils, or the sinfulness and immorality of the one, they are in no wise more responsible than for the other. Or—to select the same subject matter—they have no more right to interfere with, nor are they in any degree more accountable for, the continuance of slavery in Virginia, than for its existence in Persia. Neither, sir, have the people of the northern States, any greater right

under the Constitution, to deny admission into the Union, to a State, because its laws sanction involuntary servitude; or to prescribe that slavery shall not be tolerated in a territory, than to abolish it in a State already in the Union. The converse of this proposition, is sheer, rank, unmixed, unannointed *federalism*:—just the federalism of Alexander Hamilton, who in the convention of '87, would have made the States wholly subordinate to the General Government:—mere adjuncts; “corporations for local purposes.” The reasons, sir, are obvious, and they are conclusive. It is a fundamental principle of the democratic theory, and of our institutions, that to the people of each particular state, county, township, city and village, shall be committed as far as possible, the exclusive regulation of their more immediate and local affairs. In other words, that power, whenever it is practicable, shall be diffused to the utmost, and never centralized beyond urgent necessity. Again, the only limitation prescribed in the Constitution, for the fitness of a State for fellowship with us, is that such State shall establish a “republican” or representative form of government. Now, it is too late to allege at this day, and quite too absurd, that the existence of the domestic institution of slavery in a State, makes its form of government anti-republican, and therefore unconstitutional. Such an argument is not worth a serious refutation. Again: the territories are the common property of the States in their federal capacity, purchased by the common blood and treasure of all; and as much the property of South Carolina as of Massachusetts. They are tenants in common of this property: and for one State to demand the exclusion of another from participation in their use in common in every respect, is arrogant and unfounded assumption of superiority: and fifty fold more offensive, when the pharisaic pretence is set up that they are more holy than that other State, whose inhabitants are sinners before God exceedingly, and who would pollute the territory, by the introduction of their wickedness upon its soil:—assuming thus to be keeper of the conscience and custodian of the morals of the people of the territory; putting on the robes and ascending into the judgment seat of the Almighty. Sir, if the inhabitants of Cape Cod are not satisfied with the coparcenary, let them seek by partition, to hold in severalty; and obtaining thus the very small and almost infinitesimal portion which is their share, exert over it, such acts of ownership as to them may seem meet; but not attempt insolently, to take possession and control of the whole.

Manifestly then, sir, the agitation of the slavery question, finds no warrant or countenance, but direct and emphatic condemnation in the Constitution. That part of the instrument which apportioned the representation and taxation of slaves, for the most part executes itself, and admits only of direct attack by amendment or nullification. The clause which empowers Congress to prohibit the slave trade, has long since been quietly carried into effect; and the South has never sought to disturb it. The sole remaining instance in which Congress may legislate in reference to slavery, is for the extradition of fugitives. From its very nature, sir, this presents a capital point for assault by Abolitionists. Long before the act of 1850, they had by state legislation or public odium, rendered nugatory the act of 1793, and were laboring for its direct repeal by Congress. They openly repudiated that part of the Constitution upon which it was founded; and as early as 1843, a general convention of Abolitionists, assembled at Buffalo, and composed of the ablest and most distinguished members of the party, resolved that whenever called upon to swear to support the Constitution, they would by mental reservation, regard that clause in it, as utterly null and void, and forming no part of the instrument. Nevertheless, sir, in the adjustment of 1850, provision was made to enforce this solemn compact. And hence, the popular tumults, the mobs, the forcible rescues and the nullifying acts of the New England States, and other parts of the North; which yet find countenance and applause even, from a thousand presses and tens of thousands of citizens, upon the pretext that the rendition of fugitives is distasteful and revolting to the North. Yes, Abolitionist, it is the *Constitution* which you attack; not the act of 1850. It is the extradition of "panting fugitives" under any circumstances, or by virtue of any law, at which you rebel. Be manly, then, and outspoken and honest. Act the part of cowards and slave stealers no longer. Assail the Constitution itself, and do it openly:—it is the Constitution which demands the restoration:—and cover not up your assaults any longer, under the false and beggarly pretence that it is the act of Congress which you condemn and abhor.

I know, sir, that it is easy, very easy, to denounce all this as a defense of slavery itself. Be it so: be it so. But I have not discussed the institution in any respect; moral, religious or political. Hear me. I express no opinion in regard to it: and as a citizen of the North, I have ever refused and will steadily refuse, to discuss the system in any of

these particulars. It is precisely this continued and persistent discussion and denunciation in the North, which has brought upon us this present most perilous crisis: since to teach men to hate, is to prepare them to destroy at every hazard, the object of their hatred. Sir, I am resolved only to look upon slavery outside of Ohio, just as the founders of the Constitution and Union regarded it. It is no concern of mine; none, none: nor of yours, Abolitionist. Neither of us will attain heaven, by denunciations of slavery: nor shall we, I trow, be cast into hell for the sin of others who may hold slaves. I have not so learned the moral government of the universe: nor do I presumptuously and impiously aspire to the attributes of Godhead; and seek to bear upon my poor body, the iniquities of the world.

I know well indeed, Mr. President, that in the evil day which has befallen us, all this and he who utters it, shall be denounced as “pro-slavery:” and already from ribald throats, there comes up the slaver-ing, driveling, idiot epithet of “dough-face.” Again, be it so. These, Abolitionist, are your only weapons of warfare: and I hurl them back defiantly into your teeth. I speak thus boldly, because I speak in and to and for the North. It is time that the truth should be known, and heard, in this the age of trimming and subterfuge. I speak this day not as a northern man, nor a southern man; but, God be thanked, still as a United States man, with United States principles:—and though the worst happen which can happen—though all be lost, if that shall be our fate; and I walk through the valley of the shadow of political death, I will live by them and die by them. If to love my country; to cherish the Union; to revere the Constitution: if to abhor the madness and hate the treason which would lift up a sacrilegious hand against either: if to read that in the past, to behold it in the present, to foresee it in the future of this land, which is of more value to us and the world for ages to come, than all the multiplied millions who have inhabited Africa from the creation to this day:—if this it is to be *pro-slavery*, then, in every nerve, fibre, vein, bone, tendon, joint and ligament, from the topmost hair of the head to the last extremity of the foot, I am all over and altogether a PRO-SLAVERY MAN.

To that part, now, Mr. President, of the Germans who have been betrayed upon this question, I address a word of caution.—Little more than a year ago, availing themselves of the Nebraska question as the pretext, mischievous and designing demagogues, just at the moment

they prepared to deny you the full enjoyment of your own political rights here in Ohio, persuaded some of you to trail in the dust at the heels of the Abolition rout. They told you, and you believed it, some of you, that failing to establish civil liberty against the crowned oppressors of your fatherland, and seeking for it as exiles in America, you had the right, nevertheless, to intermeddle with personal liberty among the inhabitants of other States and Territories : to form political associations exclusively German : to adopt platforms of your own as such : to instruct us in the science of government, the nature of free institutions, and the value of freedom : to require of us to give away our public lands to all alike, naturalized or alien, white or *black* : to denounce the people of the South because of the "curse of slavery : " to repeal the fugitive slave law : to abolish slaveholding *throughout the States, in conformity with*, as you alleged, and perhaps by virtue of *power derived from*, the Declaration of Independence : and finally to propose to convert your good old German May festival, into an Abolition mass meeting, in our very midst. These things they persuaded some of you to believe and do. But at this very moment, and by the self-same demagogues, was the the knife put to your own throats, and you were quietly guillotined and your heads thrust into the basket ; upon just the principles they had persuaded you that you had the right to intermeddle with the domestic, moral and religious concerns of other States and Territories. Opening now your eyes to the fraud thus practiced upon you ; learning the true character of the men who beguiled you, and remembering that the first State which breasted and turned back the torrent which was sweeping you, and your hopes and your rights before it, was the *slave-holding* State of Virginia, through the Democratic party of Virginia ; followed up by every southern State, Kentucky alone excepted,—retrace your steps now into the ranks of that party : stand fast to your true interests and true position : concern yourselves no longer with the business of others, but quietly enjoy and calmly defend your own rights, remembering always, those who have ever sustained you in whatsoever truth and liberty and justice demand for you.

Addressing myself now finally, Mr. President, to the Democratic party of Ohio, I say : You are a political party. Hence all your principles must as well take shape and color, as reflect them, from the fundamental institutions of the country. And those principles which be-

long to Democracy universal and theoretical, are to be modified and adjudged by the Constitution. It has always been your boast, that you are peculiarly the party of the Constitution, and of that Union which results from and exists only by the Constitution. And just in proportion as you value these, will you mould and modify your doctrine and your practice, to sustain and preserve them in every essential element. Sure I am at least, that you will not for the sake of an abstract principle, purely or mainly moral or religious, and to us not political, and urged now in the very spirit of treason and madness, and far removed from every personal concern of yours, sacrifice or even imperil, these priceless legacies of a generation at least as good and as wise as we. Trust not to past success. Times have changed. For four years you filched inglorious triumphs, by fomenting dissensions among your enemies, and by exhausting all the little arts of partizan diplomacy, to keep the Whig and Abolition parties asunder. You wasted your time striving to pluck out of the crucible of politics, the fluxes which they threw in ; seeking thus vainly to prevent or impede a fusion which was inevitable, and which when it came, overwhelmed you as with a flood of lava, in disastrous if not ignominious defeat. Was this conduct befitting a great and enduring party—conduct worthy the prestige of your name ? Learn wisdom from Virginia, your mother State. She is ever invincible, because she is always candid and manly and true to principle. Look no longer now to availability. Above all, be not deceived by the false and senseless out-cry against that most just, most constitutional and most necessary measure, the *Kansas-Nebraska Act*. The true and only question now before you, is whether you will have Union with all its numberless blessings in the past, present, and future ; or Disunion and Civil War, with all the multiplied crimes, miseries and atrocities which human imagination never conceived, and human pen never can portray.

I speak it boldly : I avow it publicly :—it is time to speak thus ; for political cowardice is the bane of this, as of all other republics. To be true to your great mission and to succeed in it, you must take open, manly, one-sided ground upon the Abolition question. In no other way can you now conquer. Let us have, then, no hollow compromise ; no idle and mistimed homilies upon the sin and evil of slavery, in a crisis like this ; no double-tongued, Janus-faced, delphic responses at your State Conventions. No : fling your banner to the breeze, and

boldly meet the issue : PATRIOTISM ABOVE MOCK PHILANTHROPY : THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE ANY MISCALLED HIGHER LAW OF MORALS OR RELIGION ; AND THE UNION OF MORE VALUE THAN MANY NEGROES.

If thus, sir, we are true to the country ; true to the Union and the Constitution ; true to our principles, true to our cause and to the grand mission which lies before us, we shall turn back yet, the fiery torrent which is bearing us headlong down to the abyss of disunion and infamy, deeper than plummet ever sounded. But if in this the day of our trial, we are found false to all these ; false to our ancestors ; false to ourselves ; false to those who shall come after us ; traitors to our country and to the hopes of free government throughout the globe ; Bancroft will yet write the last sad chapter in the history of the American Republic.

NOTE 1 ; page 14.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

" There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, or captivity amongst us, *unless* it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such *strangers* as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us.—[Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641: § 91.

" It is also by these confederates agreed, that &c. and that according to the different charge of each juristiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war, (if it please God so to bless their endeavors,) whether it be in lands, goods or *persons*, shall be proportionably divided among said confederates.—[Articles of Confederation, &c., May 19, 1643 ; § 4 : and Bancroft's United States, vol. 1, p. 168.

THE NEW ENGLAND FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

" It is also agreed that if *any servant run away from his master* into any of these confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, upon certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon due proof, the said servant shall be delivered up either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof."—Ibid. § 8.

NOTE 2 ; page 15.

THE NORTH AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

The number of African slaves imported into the port of Charleston, S. C., alone, in the years 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807 (the last year of the slave trade,) was 39,075. These were consigned to *ninety-one* British subjects, *eighty-eight* citizens of New England, ten French subjects, and only *thirteen* citizens of Charleston.—[Compend. of U. S. Census, p. 83.

NOTE 3 ; page 17.

NUMBER OF SLAVES IN THE NORTH.

Connecticut, 1790, 2, 759 slaves : in 1840, 17 slaves. New Hampshire, in 1790, 158 slaves : in 1840, 1 slave. Vermont, in 1790, 17 slaves. Rhode Island, in 1790, 952 slaves : in 1840, 5 slaves. New Jersey, in 1790, 11,423 slaves : in 1840, 674 slaves : in 1850, 236 slaves. Pennsylvania, in 1790, 3,737 slaves : in 1840, 64 slaves. New York, in 1790, 21,324 slaves : in 1840, 4 slaves. In 1810, Ohio returned 3 slaves, (6 in 1830) :

Indiana, 3 slaves; Illinois, 331; Iowa, 16; Wisconsin, 11. Michigan returned 24 slaves in 1810, and 32 in 1830. Maine reports two slaves in 1830.

No slave schedules were sent to the Northern States in 1850; so that the number of slaves still in the North cannot be ascertained.—Compend. U. S. Census, p. 82.

NOTE 4; page 24.

THE OHIO RESOLUTIONS, 1840. MR. TAPPAN'S SPEECH.

"Ohio will do unto others as she claims that they should do to her: as she will not permit any interference with her own institutions, so she will not permit her servants to interfere with the institutions of other States. I know her will upon this matter; it is clear and unequivocal. Resolutions of her Assembly have repeatedly declared her sentiments upon the subject-matter of these petitions, and her decided opinion that the attempt making by these petitioners, "is hostile to the spirit of the Constitution, and destructive of the harmony of the Union;" and a recent more numerous assemblage of Democratic delegates in a State convention than has ever before met in that State, with but three dissenting voices, adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, Congress ought not, without the consent of the people of the District, and of the States of Virginia and Maryland, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and that the efforts now making for that purpose by organized societies in the free States, are hostile to the spirit of the Constitution, and destructive to the harmony of the Union.

Resolved, That slavery being a domestic institution recognized by the Constitution of the United States, we, as citizens of a free State, have no right to interfere with it, and that the organizing of societies and associations in free States, in opposition to the institutions of sister States, while productive of no good, may be the cause of much mischief; and while such associations, for political purposes, ought to be discountenanced by every lover of peace and concord, no sound Democrat will have part or lot with them.

Resolved: That political Abolitionism is but ancient Federalism, under a new guise, and that the political action of anti-slavery societies, is only a device for the overthrow of Democracy."

I know, sir, that these resolutions express the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Ohio."—[Senator Tappan's Speech, Feb. 4, 1840: Congressional Globe, 1839-40 page 161.

NOTE 5; page 28.

SLAVE STEALING.

"The object of this Society is not to aid such as are already in Canada, but such as shall arrive at the great landing, where George Harris and Eliza crossed over, and where most of those going into the Province also enter; to do which there should be a house of reception constantly furnished, to lodge and supply such with food, for a few days, until rested, and until work can be found, and they can get homes, and if sick, until well, and to do whatsoever tends to remedy the results of slavery."

The above is the second article of the constitution of the *Canada Branch of the Ohio, Indiana and Michigan Slave Stealing Society*, or "under-ground railroad." The name which it assumes is "The Uncle Tom's Cabin and Relief Society." The Secretary is the "Rev. Isaac J. Rice," Missionary at Amherstburg, Canada.

NOTE 6; page 39.

THE BUFFALO RESOLUTION, 1843.

Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood, by this nation and the world, that, as *Abolitionists*, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hopes for it in our conformity to the laws of God, and our support for the rights of man, we owe to the sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as friends, citizens, or as public functionaries, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and treat the third clause of that instrument, whenever applied in the case of a fugitive slave, AS UTTERLY NULL AND VOID, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, WHENEVER WE ARE CALLED UPON AS SWORN TO SUPPORT IT."

PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Pursuant to notice a portion of the Democratic party of Montgomery county met at the City Hall last night, Oct. 25, 1855.

On motion of Jonathan Kenney, Esq., Thos. J. S. Smith, Esq., was called to the Chair, and John P. Achey appointed Secretary.

After some remarks from Capt. E. A. King and C. L. Vallandigham, Esq. explanatory of the object of the meeting, on motion of Capt. King, it was resolved that a committee of ten be appointed by the chair to report resolutions at an adjourned meeting to be held on Monday evening, Oct. 29th.

The Chair then announced the following as said committee.

Messrs. E. A. King, William Goudy, D. G. Fitch, William Dickey, Dr. E. Smith, Daniel Richmond, Geo. W. Houk, Jon. Kenney, David Clark, Dr. Wm. Egry.

On motion of Dr. Walters, the meeting adjourned to meet on Monday evening next, October 29th, at the City Hall, at seven o'clock.

THOS. J. S. SMITH, President.

J. P. ACHEY, Secretary.

Pursuant to the adjournment, the meeting re-assembled in large numbers at the City Hall, on Monday evening, Oct. 29, 1855. Thos. J. S. Smith in the chair.

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM, Esq., then being called upon, proceeded to address the meeting for about two hours and a half, in an elaborate, searching and powerful review of the past and present state of the SLAVERY QUESTION in the United States, and a consideration of the position and the duty of the Democratic party of Ohio in relation to it.

Col. R. B. CARPENTER, formerly of Covington, Ky., now of Chicago, Ill., being casually in the city, and present at the meeting, was then called out and responded for an hour and a half in a speech replete with logic, wit and fact, sustaining to the utmost his high reputation as a public speaker.

Capt. E. A. KING, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were received severally with loud applause, and adopted without a dissenting voice.

Whereas: The formal reorganization and consolidation of the old Abolition party of the North, under the name of "Republican party," into an avowed northern faction bounded by a geographical line, and pledged to an unrelenting warfare, even to the destruction of the constitution and the sundering of the Union, upon the domestic institutions of the people of all the

States lying south of that line, demands of the only National party now in existence, the Democracy of the United States, but especially of that of the North, that laying aside old issues and controversies, they should come up as one man to the full measure of the exigencies which press upon us, and boldly meet the new and living questions of the day:

Therefore, we, a portion of the Democracy of Ohio and the North, in public meeting assembled, do resolve and declare:—

Resolved, That we congratulate the people of the United States, on the final inauguration of the grand scheme of domestic policy for which the Democratic party of the Union so many years contended, and the consequent prosperity which, under the auspices of that party, has distinguished every section of the country, vindicating at once the sound doctrine and policy of that party, and the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That the powers of the Federal government, are derived solely from the constitutional compact to which the several States are parties: that these are limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact: that the grants of power made in that instrument, ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government: that all powers not expressly granted or necessarily implied, are expressly reserved to the States respectively, or to the people: that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise powers of doubtful constitutionality.

Resolved, That in delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, and are alone responsible for them; and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or of a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others, on any ground or under any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious, with a view to their alteration or subversion, is an assumption of superiority, not warranted by the Constitution, insulting to the States interfered with, tending to endanger their domestic peace and tranquility, subversive of the objects for which the Constitution was framed, and by necessary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

Resolved, That domestic slavery as it exists in the southern States of this Union, comprises an important part of their domestic institutions inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an essential element in the distribution of its powers among the States; and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the other States of the Union in relation to it, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic 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 as such, is a manifest breach of faith and a violation of the most solemn obligations, moral and religious.

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, not prohibited by the Constitution; and that all efforts of Abolitionists, or others, by whatever name known, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, whether for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, or its prohibition therein, or for the interdiction of the coastwise or in-

ter-state slave trade, or the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or of the Kansas Nebraska act, 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 endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That regarding these compromises of the Constitution, solemnly entered into by its founders, as wise and necessary provisions, and such as ought neither to be disregarded nor tampered with, we are for the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it is; and that we will preserve, maintain and defend both at every hazard, observing with scrupulous and uncalculating fidelity, every article, requirement and compromise of the constitutional compact between these States, to the letter and in its utmost spirit, and recognizing no "higher law" between which and the constitution we know of any conflict.

Resolved, That the Constitution was "the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarities of our political situation rendered indispensable;" and that by amity, conciliation and compromise alone can it and the Union which it established, be preserved: and that it is the duty of all good citizens to frown indignantly upon every attempt wheresoever and by whomsoever made, to array one section of the Union against the other, to foment jealousies or heart burnings between them by systematic and organized misrepresentation, denunciation and calumny, and thereby to render alien in feeling and affection the inheritors of so noble a common patrimony, purchased by our fathers at so great expense of blood and treasure.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers no power upon Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in the Territories of the United States: that these Territories are the common property of the States in their federal capacity, purchased by the common blood and treasure of all the States: and that the people of each and every State, have the right to an equal participation in every respect, in the use of these Territories in common, without interference by Congress.

Resolved, That the right of the people of each particular State and Territory to establish their own constitution or form of government; to choose and regulate their own domestic institutions of every kind, and to legislate for themselves, is a fundamental principle of all free government; that it is the self same right to secure which our ancestors waged the war of the Revolution; a right lying at the very foundation of all our free institutions, recognized in the Declaration of Independence, and established and secured by the Constitution of the United States; and we hereby endorse and reaffirm this now disputed principle, as it is embodied in the Acts for the organization of Utah and New Mexico in 1850, and of Kansas and Nebraska in 1854.

Resolved further, That the foregoing right is no otherwise limited or restricted by the Constitution of the United States, except so far as the constitution of a State applying for admission into the Union is required to be "republican," or representative in form; a limitation in no wise affected by the domestic institution of slavery; and that therefore all efforts to exclude a State from such admission, on the ground that her constitution or laws sanction slave holding, are violations alike of sound democratic principles and of the Constitution of the Union.

Resolved, That the introduction of moral or religious questions into the political controversies and issues of the day, is a wide departure from the an-

cient principles and sound policy of the country: at war with the true interests of the people, corrupting alike to morals, religion and politics, and of most pernicious and dangerous tendency; and that therefore we are uncompromisingly opposed to the provisions of the "Maine Liquor Law," so called, the principles of the "Order of Know-nothings," and the fanaticisms and wicked and traitorous purposes of Abolitionism.

Resolved, That the Democracy of Montgomery county, relying upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people, declare and publish these as the principles in defence of which they propose to do battle, and inscribing them on their banner, thus boldly and defiantly meet the issues presented *now* by the combined hosts of the enemies of Democracy and of the Union and the Constitution, pledging themselves that that banner shall remain unfurled until the great and final battle of 1856, shall have been fought and won.

Resolved further, That we have full and entire confidence in the ability, integrity, patriotism and sound Democracy of FRANKLIN PIERCE, President of the United States.

On motion of ISAAC PEPPER, Esq., of Germantown, it was resolved that a committee of five be appointed to superintend the publication of the proceedings of the meeting in a pamphlet form, and that Mr. Vallandigham be requested to write out and furnish a copy of his speech for publication with the same.

The Chair appointed the following gentlemen on the committee:—Messrs. Isaac Pepper, E. A. King, Thos. B. Tilton, David Clark and Jonathan Kenney.

It was also resolved that the proceedings of the meeting be requested to be published in the Washington Union, Ohio Statesman, Cincinnati Enquirer, Dayton Empire, Germantown Gazette, and Democratic papers generally.

On motion, the meeting adjourned, at half past eleven o'clock.

THOS. J. S. SMITH, President.

JOHN P. ACHEY, Secretary.





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