

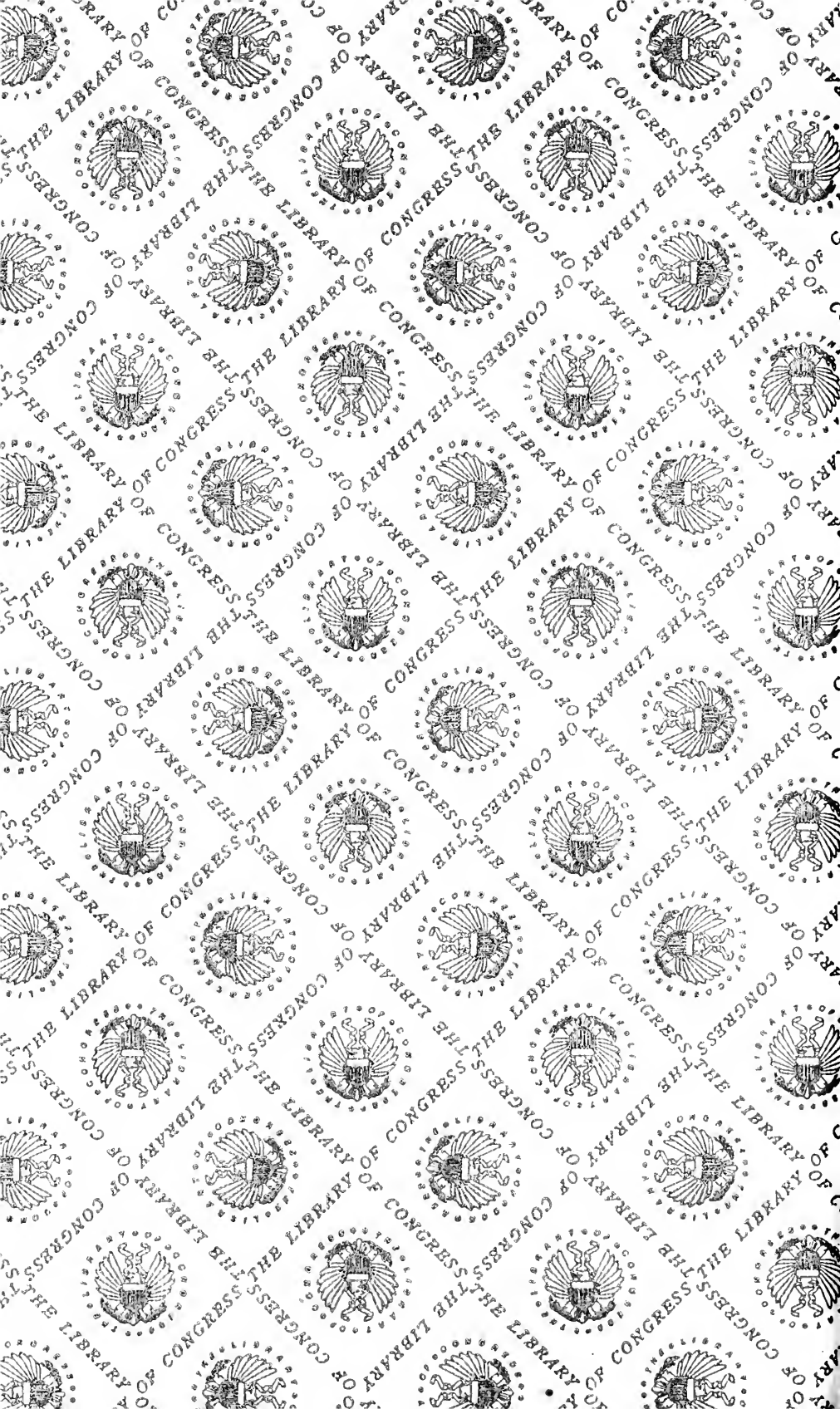
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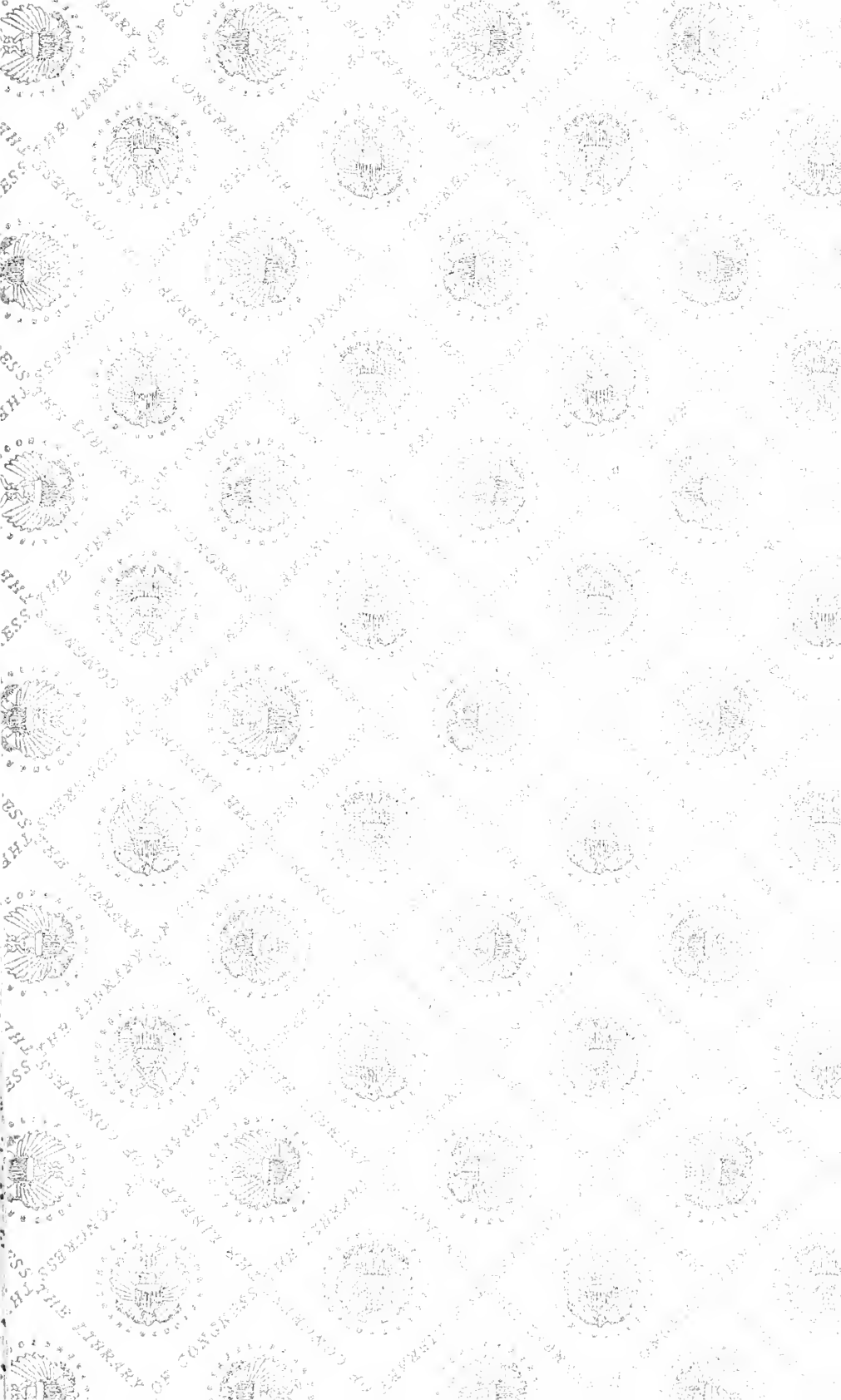
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REPUBLICANISM

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JOHN JOHNSON, ESQ.,

(Ex-Mayor of Kansas City.)

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE KANSAS CITY REPUBLICAN CLUB,

On the 15th day of September 1860.

PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST.

The assertion is made, again and again, by all the political parties, through their newspapers and speakers, that the Republican party is

Destructive in its principles.

Dangerous in its tendencies, and

Subversive of the Institutions and Union of these States.

The writers and speakers, opponents of this party, do not always state these views in this exact language; but, from the various statements made, these three distinct assertions, forming one general proposition, can easily be deduced; and, in fact, the public has been so long accustomed to this kind of assertions, that no one will wish or care to deny that this is but a fair statement of the general and leading ideas promulgated.

By one portion of the opponents of the Republican party another assertion is added, that, admitting and believing the above assertions to be true, it then follows that this party is to be resisted.

First, To prevent by all means, legal if possible, its gaining the national election;

Second, Should the national election be gained by this party, the resisting of that party coming into power, by the severance of as many States as possible from this confederacy as can be induced to set up a separate confederacy, and the introduction of civil war among the people of this Union, if needed to sustain that confederacy.

These kind of broad assertions are made so often, and the loud-mouthed calumnious tongue, is so frequently used by men of all parties opposed to the Republican, to abuse this party, and calumny, invective, and vituperation take so much the place of truth and argument, that the public mind where opportunities of information exist, is becoming disabused of prejudice, and where the questions of national and local policy are open for debate, the admission is made, even where prejudice or scorn has hitherto reigned, that we know not what manner of party this was in its opinions or intentions, that the very excess of zeal and abuse of its opponents causes enquiry.

It may be asked, then why not let this matter take its course? why trouble yourselves about what will not and cannot be of personal gain or profit?

It is the noblest privilege and duty of an American citizen to give a reason for the belief he may have, and the opinions he maintains, at all *sabable* times and occasions.

It is equally the privilege and duty of an American public when positive as well as good grave charges are made against a party, constituting a large portion of that public, to hear and judge of the right, and to render a verdict, every man for and to himself, as to what is true and false, and promotive or subversive of the principles of our free government.

The language and mode of our opponents in the general, affords a strong temptation for me to mere assertion and gross vituperation. Let every Republican avoid these upon all occasions. Let it be our endeavor to show that the Republican party is what it professes to be, a party whose weapons are reason and argument, publication and discussion and the legal use of the ballot box; that its component elements are men of all former parties, drawn together, not by the "obscure power of public plunder," but by the love of truth and knowledge and the desire that their fellow citizens should be equally well informed; that its aims and intentions are peace and good will toward all men and the prosperity of all parts of our country, south, north, east and west, united and indivisible.

So far as an individual and innumerable member of the Republican party understands how that party has arisen and what are its teachings and purposes, I take the negative of the proposition advanced by our opponents and deny that this party is either destructive, dangerous, or subversive.

In replying to these assertions, a published address of this nature will only admit of a glance at some of the main points involved in the controversy; not of a lengthened argument, nor is prolixity desirable. If your attention can be called to that which is within the reach of every man's eye, a particular examination, calmly and impartially of the questions at issue, the conduct and tendencies of parties and measures, a very great and desirable object will have been gained.

What is it, we ask, this party propose to destroy? Does it propose to destroy that *great unalienable* right of individual liberty, of your liberty and mine, the right of a trial by jury of his peers, (equals)

property of the planter, away from either of these classes of owners by legal or illegal means. But by encouraging a spirit of enquiry and fraternalism among the sons of a common country, to let the people of the several and individual states decide whether such a state as we may instance Missouri shall become like New York or Pennsylvania among the first and foremost of states in white population and wealth, or under the enervating influences of luxurious slavery shall dwindle into a state of third or fourth rate importance. It is not for a National Republican administration to say what Missouri or any other state shall do, but such an administration will by its public officers and general conduct of affairs give its influence to the side of property and progress in this as in all other respects.

It is not the spirit and intent of the Republican party in its principles to foster industry, to encourage the development of the resources of our country, to protect all descriptions of property, to enact and enforce good laws, to regard the well being of man as of higher repute than mere questions of property, in the abstract. Thus are the charges of destructive principles fully met.

It is asserted that this party is dangerous in its tendencies.

This is another wholesale charge by our opponents without specific detail from which to frame the answer.

A party may be dangerous in *theory*,

In the opinions held by its members.

Or in the teachings of its writers and speakers.

A party may be dangerous in *practice*,

In its present course,

Or in its prospective action.

It is neither just nor proper to form the idea of the opinions held by any man or set of men from the views of others, particularly of an opponent or enemy, but this is what is done to a great extent in localities where freedom of discussion is denied to Republicans.

The opinions held by Republicans and the doctrines and the teachings of the party having to a great extent been brought forward in a former part of this defence, it is but necessary again to repeat that the entire opinions, doctrines and teachings of the Republicans and their party is just so much and no more than was held by the founders of the Republic and which was carried out by those founders in the N. W. Territory, and which action has produced five of the noblest States of our Confederacy and which States are settled with industrious free white population, fast growing in all the elements of wealth and power under the auspices of the Congressional laws, which among other things declared that there should be no involuntary servitude except for crime.

We may state and reiterate that the Republican party in its present action contemplates no more than the bringing these subjects before the public mind; that whilst the agitation has been forced upon the public by the action of designers and demagogues of other parties, neither the party nor individuals will shrink from discussing and declaring the principles involved at suitable times and places. Their belief is that the founders of the Republic were right and that right exists now as then.

Their belief is, that when George Washington, the father of this country, wrote, that he lamented the existence of slavery and desired to free and remove his slaves, he developed a trait of character at once just and humane, and the Republicans think that now as ever before can slavery be only decided upon the ground of expediency and policy, not of right and humanity, leaving others to think as they please.

The difference between Republicans and many of the members of other parties seems to be this—that whilst an admission will be made by men of other parties in one locality, in another the same thing will be denied or omitted; of this there is a remarkable instance in the original oration of Edward Everett upon the character of Washington, in which the sentiment concerning slaves is brought forward by Edw. Everett in high commendation as humane, benevolent, &c. Mr. Everett having to deliver this address in various parts of the country was informed that in Virginia no such sentiments would be tolerated there, and that if it was his wish to deliver his oration there, this offensively humane and benevolent view of the character of Washington must be expunged. Mr. Everett accordingly omitted the passage, that is the mild term used by his friends.

Now there is no well informed Republican that wishes to intrude his sentiments upon any one, or to bring them forward except at times and places suited to the subject, but he is ever ready and willing to give a reason for his belief, he does not wish to give offence or to cause neglect of business by so doing; but the great difference between Republican belief and practice, and that of the other parties, is—that if the N. W. Territory prospered so well under the law of Congress made for it, then other Territories will prosper under a like law—that if it was humane and benevolent in Washington to propose the liberation and removal of his slaves, by providing for them in some country where they will have their own rights and privileges without being subject to the odium of color and cast as here; then the like may be humane and benevolent now—and the head and front of Republican offending is this, that having once believed and promulgated such ideas, they will not—for power, for popularity, for money, for convenience for social ease or position, for favor or fear, or to pander to local or sectional prejudice, do as Edward Everett did, expunge or omit a solemn belief or declaration—or as Mr. Fillmore, be seduced by the blandishments of power in present possession or future prospect, to renounce or forego, at a mature and ripened age, the convictions and declarations of a life time of established character, or as Mr. Douglas, even, after being given and taking the lead in the repeal of a measure sanctioned by character and time, and after pledging himself to go with and sustain his pro-slavery friends throughout the entire and arduous political struggle, then more fully entered upon, at the first appearance of danger to himself in the loss of his seat in the Senate, seize upon, an insufficient and unsatisfactory juggle in place of a straight, plain and thorough plan agreed upon by himself and his friends, (see Mr. Benjamin's speech in the United States Senate.) Republicans can do none of these things, their banner is flung to the breeze, upon it is inscribed: American Liberties—Freedom of Thought—Freedom of Speech and Publication—Free Homesteads of the Public Lands for the Poor White Family—The Good of our Common Country—Respect for Individual and State Rights.

Republicans are ready to be informed, of wrong to be set right; convince us by reason and argument not by calumny and abuse. We cannot change our course upon mere public or personal expediency, we will not conceal our opinions, we will not adopt a politic course of saying one thing in Illinois, another in Missouri.

If by announcing one faith, and showing one face, we are silenced by the despotism of prejudice or power, be it so. If unjust and persecuting laws to prevent free speech are passed against

as, be it so. If we are assailed by armed power or violence, so were the fathers and founders of our country, your ancestors and ours; and so have been the friends of truth and freedom in all ages. A man that will be led into a thing or driven into a thing contrary to his inclinations or judgment is no better than a fool, and a party that fears or hesitates to avow its opinions or principles or pursues an uncertain, panderling, vacillating course, is not to be trusted. In what is the Republican party dangerous? The reply made is: oh well the party will create civil war, insurrection or something or other that's awful.

One of the direct tendencies of the Republican party, we admit, is to break up or destroy the dastardly and abominable spy system, which is the natural off-spring of slavery, and which is often exercised in a way that an intelligent, free American public ought not to tolerate.

It is notorious that in many localities such is the nature of this spy system that any man going into those localities upon business or traveling for information or amusement, is subject to the prying unpleasances of any and every fellow that may set himself up as a public or private censor, and these fellows are often the lowest of the community. It was but recently that a lady of wealth and refinement, with her daughter, had gone to a retired district in S. Carolina for the benefit of their health. These ladies without any other cause whatever, except that their name corresponded with the names of some parties obnoxious to slave owners in their vicinity, and that they were from a non-slaveholding State, were notified to leave and spies placed upon all their movements until a gentleman, a relative could arrive to return with them home.

And is it not a notorious fact that such is the inherent nature of slavery that you must either praise it or condemn it in some form or other or be supposed to be greatly in its favor; if you do not you are denounced as an Abolitionist, and a spy if not in actual person yet in point of fact is placed upon the contumacious, and awfully offending man or woman, that dares even to *doubt* the holiness and divine right of slavery. Such is the liberty and freedom of American citizens as seen through the green spectacles of slavery. Republicans simply prefer to look through spectacles which do not distort or discolor the object looked at. And they believe in the right of a man judging for himself without having a spy or censor to give him the cue. A spy system of any kind always engenders suspicion. There ought to be nothing in the general body politic of a State or of the nation, to need suspicion or a spy.

This state of things induces false issues, false charges and false claims just such as now exist in some parts of Texas. This brings us to consider the assertion so often made, that the Republican party will, if in power, subvert the institutions and Union of these States.

Our opponents of all parties, it must be borne in mind, deal largely in assertions in the gross. A great part of the reply to this assertion has been already made, and it is only necessary to advert to the fact, that no Republican Congressman, or speaker, or leader, or individual of repute, has ever cast a vote, or written or uttered a line or word, which, by any method of fair deduction, can be construed into a desire or intent to subvert any of the institutions of any part of the country, or even to produce any immediate or radical change in slavery itself. (which is the bone of contention.) The only change which is thought of, is by the gradual and slow process that time and circumstances and the adaptation

of public opinion will bring about, assisted by local laws in the places where slavery exists.

The public mind in the slave States has got to be informed, and information is not gained by a nation in a day or a year. The real truth is that the Republican party is the only party at present before the American public, that proposes any conservative measures for a great evil. For instance this: a Douglas man in the Charleston Convention declared himself to be an importer of and in favor of the importation of negroes from Africa, and the declaration was received with applause. It only requires that the effect of negroes from Africa should be glanced at to be understood. If negroes can be brought from Africa at cheap rates, the consequence is, that the price of American negroes will fall—thus so much of a destruction of value takes place in somebody's hands—the subject of cheap negroes has been already touched upon, but let us look at the subject a little more closely, as having a good deal to do with the position of parties and the interests of the whole country. If negroes are plentiful enough to do a very large amount of the common and the mechanical labor of the country, and can be bought for low prices by introducing them from Africa, which it is contended will be the result of such importation—say negroes are reduced to one half or one fourth of their present value, an able bodied negro, now worth \$1500, will be worth say \$500, the interest upon \$1200 at ten per cent. is \$120 per year, this gives about \$12½ per month for the hire of a white man to do the labor performed by the negro, but in consequence of the master, having to run the risk of the loss of the whole capital and the difficulty of replacing him, and to clothe the negro, to take care of him and pay his doctor's bill and lose his entire time when sick, this additional risk would bring the labor performed by the white man in his place at nearer \$20 per month. At \$509 the reduced price, the wages of a white man in his place would be but \$6 a month, and the greater ease of replacing the negro, would make the poor man's labor in still less demand than before. If the labor performed by the negro be of a nature requiring more skill, it would of course demand higher wages in his place. The claim has been made by the cotton growing States, for cheap negroes, the cry has been echoed from other States, and the alluring though false hope, that if negroes were only very cheap, every poor man could have a negro or two of his own to work for him, is held out as an inducement to favor the re-opening of the slave trade from Africa. It is certain that the men controlling the two branches of the Democratic party favor the re-opening. It is certain that the Bell party says nothing about it, but it is also certain that should that party come into power, the inference will be drawn, and that justly, that any project meeting with favor from leading southern men will prevail.

The Republican party is alone explicit on the matter of the African slave trade. It declares that in or out of power, all it can do, shall be done, to enforce the existing laws against the introduction of slaves from Africa. There are very good reasons why negroes should not be brought from Africa, and which ought to be examined by every candid and thinking mind, and by every lover of his country. It is urged by those who favor their introduction that there is not a sufficient supply of hands for the cotton region, and that cotton cannot be grown at a price low enough to suit the market at the present price of negroes; the negroes being held to be a necessity in the production of cotton. It is also urged by them, that if the price of negroes was

very low, that a negro or two would be in the reach of every poor man and thus a greater interest would be created in the protection and encouragement of slave property.

As to the sufficient supply of negroes and their necessity, it is not unlikely that there is now a sufficient supply of hands for all the cotton planted until the picking comes on. I admit, from personal knowledge, that the growing of cotton requires incessant attention from the time of planting until it is ginned and baled and sent to market; but like other products of the earth the most pushing time is in the gathering or picking, and unlike many other products of the earth, the harvest or picking is perhaps the least laborious of the whole operation. I have known white women and children (Southerners at that) picking cotton in the field; this occurred in Mississippi, and may have occurred elsewhere; so that negroes are not such an absolute necessity as to need to bring them from Africa. Again, of this claim set up, that cotton cannot be raised cheap enough at the present prices of negroes: what becomes of that boast, so of en heard, that those very men have the best cotton lands in the world, and that India or any other part of the earth cannot compete with them. What do they want to put down the price of cotton for, when they declare that "Cotton is King" of the market and everything else. Do they want to put down the price of negroes and cotton, so that cotton shall only be Queen, or is it they are restless and hot blooded, and only want to be making a stir in the nation. It is hard to tell sometimes what is the matter with these gentlemen. But supposing, that cotton should not be raised in such immense and cheap quantities, and instead, the white working man tills the land and lives by his labor and gets himself a home in it, in comfort and independence, sending his children to the school and the church close at hand, having his solace, and his rational amusements, doing his duty nobly and fearlessly as a citizen and partner in this great realm; will not that be just as pleasant a sight, as righteous a thing, and add infinitely more to the stability and power and resources of the nation, than gangs of negroes, raising millions (if you please) of bales of cotton.

But then it is said, if negroes were so cheap every poor man could have one or two or three. I have shown that to reduce the price of negro property is to reduce the price of labor of all kinds. It follows that if the wealthy part of the community or the nation itself are not going to make a present of the two or three negroes to the poor man, and there has been nothing of the kind proposed at all, no indeed! then the poor man has got to get them the best he can. If no rich relation dies and gives them to him, and in that case, better for him the negroes were at a high price. If he has to buy, and there is no other chance for him, he has to buy from his earnings or wages, he will be exactly in the position of the man who arrived at Philadelphia from Dublin, who upon going to market, made some invidious remarks upon the price of articles, among others said; that "he could buy that for a penny a pound the morning he left Dublin." "Why didn't you stay in Dublin then?" replied the market man. "Och Faith, the devil of it was to git the penny." So it will be about cheap negroes, the devil of it will be to get the penny to buy them with, so low after a while would be the rate of wages, that the poor man will at last have never a chance of a nigger at all.

If there was ever anything devised to make the "poor poorer and the rich richer," it would be just such a measure as the one to introduce

negroes from Africa. Besides do but fill your States with African negroes, who are ignorant wild and barbarous, they will have, in such vast bodies, the effect of introducing in and around your houses and plantations their own savage vices and manners for your children to learn and grow up amongst, you destroy that enlightenment and Christianity of which so large a benefit is made. By cheapening negroes at so great a rate, you deaden the feelings of humanity towards them for who values or takes care of that so highly, which cost him little, as that which cost him much. If you say, that bringing them here, will civilize and christianize them, and through them the entire continent of Africa is to be civilized, I will admit that you are wonderful philanthropists. The argument about cheap negroes and cotton and getting the worth of your money, being thus given up, I will assume, that Republicans have this faith, and a strong one it is, that the Almighty can do his own work of this kind, and they know nothing in reason or in any command, for pursuing such a line of policy: and there are not a few Republicans who regard such an argument as that of Christianity in this way as little else than downright blasphemy, and a villainous slander upon the attributes and character of the Almighty Creator of the Universe.

This kind of argument, (if argument it be) of Civilization and Christianity, is often used by men, who are horrified at any reference to a "higher law" of reason and justice and divine authority, and who in their great zeal for civilizing and christianizing negroes and bringing them into competition with the paid white laborer, are ready enough to stigmatise the laborer and mechanic as "greasy" and "mudsills of society." These negro philanthropists and their toadies, are ever ready to ridicule and thwart the efforts of laborers and mechanics to obtain a just compensation for labor, and to compare them to the field negro and society in his neighborhood, to assert that on the plantation the negro has no anxiety, no fear of loss of wages for himself or bread for his family, that he is provided for and kindly cared for, and that in consequence there are no strikes for wages, no mistaken zeal producing disorderly assemblies, in fact a halcyon state of society, in which every one knows his place, is in his place and keeps his place and that as "Order is Heaven's first Law," the most orderly society is the most heavenly, no matter how it is accomplished. This false view of society and the purposes for which it ought to exist, is not confined to one section or one locality, there are plenty of aristocratic philanthropists and plenty of stipendiary toadies at the North, who are occasionally found puffing forth such sentiments. These men however are not found acting or voting with the Republican party except it is for some sinister purpose.

It is very evident that the nature and tendency of a habit and feeling of contrasting the negro of the plantation, favorably with the paid white man; is to reduce the white laborer to the level of the negro, and such being the tendency of such sentiments, they are eschewed by Republicans, and despised where understood by the white working man.

Having at some length shown something of the fallacy of the idea of cheap negroes, and having claimed under this head that the Republican party holds the only really conservative doctrine of any of the parties, let us examine the effect of cheap negroes, upon the status of the nation.

Slavery in the existence of a nation is neither more nor less than a luxury. It is not a necessity as often claimed by its advocates. Let a nation consist of all freemen, each pursuing his

business, adding something to the general stock of improvement, in science, or art, or mechanical inventions to facilitate labor, exclusive of the necessity of procuring, if not already possessed of an independent individual sustenance, and you have already a strong nation. If climate and soil, and extent of Territory and natural advantage and a free Government conduce to the development of all these elements, then as such a population increases, you have the strong nation, the stronger nation, the strongest nation, and if good morals accompany all these other constituencies, then you have soon the most powerful nation of the earth. Shall our nation be that, or shall she become effete and enervated by the luxury of slavery, is the great question before the American people in this Presidential canvass.

Let slavery spread until negroes do all the work, what then have you but a race of serviles constituting the vast majority of the population, and a race of masters constituting a small minority. Is it not easy to see that under such a state of things when negroes are cheap and of little consequence, that the brute feelings are easier let loose, that humanity gives way, that cruelty begins its reign, that even avarice with its grasping hand will give place to the arm of vengeance upon the slightest provocation. Under this state of things, police regulations necessarily become more vigilant, suspicion is engendered, violence will often be resorted to, alienation and asperity of feeling between master and slave increases, unsuccessful insurrections will give rise to greater severity, these in turn create bad feeling and the force of slaves continually increasing both positively by importation and natural causes, and relatively by the decrease of the working class of whites, for the work being done by negroes, and a few wealthy whites owing the most of the land and negroes, the inducement is very strong to the poorer white man to sell his cheap negroes and go where he can educate his children in cheap schools and be where there are those of his own class with whom to associate and equal. How long, how many or few years we may ask will be required under such a state of things to produce a massacre like that of St. Domingo, will need no prophet to tell, nor any Abolitionist to help. It is that, the Republicans declare will be the natural sequence of the spread of slavery sooner or later.

It is charged upon Republicans by as high authority as a U.S. Senator of Missouri, that they would bring these insurrections and massacres about. Whoever utters such things, does it mistakenly or falsely. The Republicans desire to take no man's property away from him, be it slaves or anything else, but they do desire to prevent by timely remedy, the terrible results which must follow the spread of slavery, and in this as in some other matters we do claim that the Republican party is the conservative party of the nation.

The consideration of the assertion that the Republican party is subversive of the Union of these States has necessarily entered into former portions of this defence and will of necessity enter about into its closing portion therefore I will waive the question of subversion as a distinct assertion and proceed to the proposal made of preventing the election of a Republican President.

That there are many very good and sincere men who are supporting the several parties as opposed to the Republican party, cannot be doubted, and that there are also very many sincere and good men who are earnestly desirous of uniting these various elements into one grand combination to defend the Republican

party, and really believe that this defeat will save their country from its extreme calamity, is equally true. Gentlemen and well meaning men as we believe these to be, we cannot help thinking that you neither understand the intentions or aims of Republicanism, nor of the men who so often raise a clamor, that they will dissolve the Union if they can't have their way about it.

How is it proposed to defeat the election of a Republican President: by uniting all the different elements opposed, contrary in views, sentiments, in principles, in purposes, contrary in everything that ought to unite good and true men in one common purpose: excepting when threatened with a common and imminent danger, but ah! that is it you say; the great and threatening danger of the destruction of our country and of our interests. Gentlemen of this way of thinking will you please to point out who it is that threatens, is it not some of the very men with whom you propose to unite? Will you allow us to point out how it is that you are to prevent the election of the candidate of a party which proposes to carry the election by legal and constitutional means, and to administer the Government according to the Constitution and Laws.

You can do this in two ways, one by getting popular or electoral votes enough to elect some other man. You do not expect this, but you propose the other way, that of so dividing and uniting as to defeat the popular will and carry the election to the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States.

There is a provision made in the Constitution of the United States, that if the people fail to elect a President and Vice President, that in this case which was expected to be an extreme one, by a certain process a candidate should be chosen by States, each State having one vote in this choice.

There are laws made in this and other States that if a man dies, leaving a family and property, that a guardian or administrator may be appointed to take charge of his affairs. This law is made to meet an extreme case, deplorable enough when it does occur, after having used every means to prevent; not to bring about the case.

The law to choose a ruler of the nation in a contingency that might possibly occur, was not made to expedite that contingency: it was intended to be merely remedial in its character; but what are you about, you propose with deliberate purpose to bring about a state of things like that which would render the appointment of a guardian in the affairs of a private citizen; you propose to do, what I for one cannot help regarding as an unworthy thing, a base thing—But, then you say, only see the necessity of doing this, peace and quiet to the country and the prevention of the election of a Black Republican President, and the saving of the Union. "Peace and quiet"—indeed.—It is sometimes sneered at us, that "you Black Republicans have a great deal of confidence in what you will do." We cannot help thinking that your confidence is great and presumptuous; and we do not sneer when we say this, but will give you our good reasons.

The election of President has been carried to the House but twice in the history of our nation; once at an early period when the contest lay between Mr. Burr and Mr. Jefferson, the other when the contest lay chiefly between Mr. Adams and Mr. Jackson. At the former, though at an early period, the parties mutually supporting the candidates were at sword's points and came

very near coming into collision. At the latter election the parties though not so near using extreme means, were equally violent in language and temper, and at both these elections bribery, intimidation and corruption were the order of the day for weeks, and the eventual result in the first election was the germ of treason in Aaron Burr; and in the last the fastening of the foul and unjust charge of "corruption, bargain and sale" upon one of the greatest of men and patriots, Henry Clay. Thus were these elections in those days conducted.

The House is now a larger body, almost uncontrollable, many of the members carry concealed weapons, and are given to harsh language and violence. This House has twice been unable to elect its own speaker for weeks together.

Is this then, what you men of "peace and quiet" are aiming to do? to throw the election into the House, to be scrambled for, to be pitched and tossed about as a juggler would toss his balls, to be wrangled about, blood spilt over it, bribes given and taken, every means of corruption used and magnified to its utmost extent to obtain success.

Is this a prospect for a lover of his country to contemplate, with the intention of aiding in bringing about. Oh! but then you say we shall prevent the election of a Black Republican President and save the Union. Are you so very sure of that, granting a thing that is not very likely to be, that Lincoln and Hamlin are not elected by the people. Are you so very sure that you will not have a Black Republican President after all.

It is granted that Mr. Lincoln would have fifteen States in his favor, it would require but two more to elect him; coming so near as that, would present a strong temptation to his adherents to use every means and exertion to compass his election. Now there is not so strong an opposition in certain parts to his election as many persons erroneously imagine. To get the one or two States necessary would require in certain quarters but the change of the mind of two or three Congressmen, to give the majority of a State in favor of the State casting a unit vote, in one way or another.

I do not mean to say that Congressmen are ever bribed, everybody knows that can never be, but everybody knows that Congressmen sometimes become convinced, like all other rational men, when just and suitable evidence is afforded that they would be right in changing their views and votes.

It is possible that there may be Northern men with Southern principles that can see things in more lights than one. There have been instances where a Democratic President in his intense Southern zeal, allowed the mails to be rifled, afterwards for good reasons of his own or out of spite, to defeat a Southern Democratic nominee, put his name at the head of the Northern Abolitionists, and did by that and other means cause the defeat of the Southern nominee. How would it be, if from Missouri, men should be found susceptible of these influences? What if the adherents of Mr. Bell should see things in quite another light after a few days trial in the House? There is one candidate of great influence and personal popularity, who, a portion of his party are determined to kill off politically, (and will do it too, as among them and the old influences) this candidate may, with his friends, by your and kindred efforts driven to the wall, take it into their heads, that the best thing after all for the country is the election of Mr. Lincoln and there are lots of folks in the "Gulf States" think that way now. Supposing that after all your efforts

at "peace and quiet" that Lincoln is President, and somebody else, that was to have been knocked into a cocked hat, politically, gives you all a touch of his polish as Secretary of State. What if your revered friend the Missouri Republican newspaper should say this was just the thing and its principal take a trip to Europe to recommence the study of British institutions, for some time broken off, and all the satellites say amen to it all? Would you not be surprised that you had lost all your labor in throwing the election into the House? There are a great many people that would not be at all surprised at such a result.

It would be far more manly to vote for Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin and have them elected at once, than help such a dastardly project of cheating the people out of the election, and then be so badly cheated yourself after you have had so much anxiety and trouble about it.

You listen to accusations against the Black Republicans of all manner of bad things. You hear it averred that they don't know what they are about. According to their enemies they are both vicious and ignorant. As to vice, they are no worse than the men who want to carry the election into Congress, thus trying to make a monarchy of our Democratic form of Government.

As to ignorance, they are simple, but they will make out to get cured of that by the time the election goes to the House, with such an example of wisdom, you who try to send the election there, put before them.

That there is a sincere intent by the Bell and Everett party to correct the abuses of Government: is true and that there would be an effort of that kind made by either or both of those gentlemen and their friends, if in power, cannot be doubted. But the idea is this that the Republican party is the only party that has the proper constituent elements of strength which are essentially necessary to restore the Government and that any party put into power by the House will have become subject to crippling and entangling alliances, which will entail to its principals the continuation of old abuses, in some form or other.

The Republicans totally and positively deny that the election of Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin to the highest offices in the gift of the American people, will or can or need to cause a subversion of these States or a destruction of the Union thereof.

We know that it is threatened by certain individuals and factions chiefly residing in what are called the "Gulf States," including some States which do not border on the Gulf of Mexico, that in the event of the election of a Republican President and that party coming into power, that they (these States) will separate from the present Confederacy, and set up a Confederacy of their own, and if necessary sustain their Confederacy by force of arms.

Let us look into this matter a little in its origin and bearings, for this Disunion as it now is called, is not a new thing at all; the hydra monster has often reared its head of many shapes, it has not always confined itself to the locality, nor has its voice been always of one sound, sometimes it yells as a lute, and then dissonant as the croak of a bullfrog (and just about as fearful.)

The first instance that we find after the Declaration of Independence by the colonies, of any man of mark attempting to betray his country was General Arnold, a man of great capacity but disappointed ambition, we all know the estimation in which his memory is held.

Another instance is in the Hartford Convention times when some of the New England States did not like the war with England as it interfered very seriously with their business and commerce; it does not appear that in this movement there was any desire or intent to do over but a mere project to cripple the Government, so as to obligate a peace, yet that may be a very partial as it was still looked upon with distrust and suspicion.

Aaron Burr got up a council out to take an armed force to the South-west, with the intention of out of such territory to build a new nation, and with such material as he could be allowed to create an empire in which he might rule and rule.

The making a South-western or Western Empire or Republic has been a grand delirium, with men of a wild enthusiastic temperament of disappointed ambition for a long time. The present agitation of the subject in many localities is only the developed though not perfected germ of the leading idea of Aaron Burr.

A far greater difficulty stands in the way of the adventurous, political and aspirant spirits, chiefly living in the South, at this day. The States are stronger and more compact, though more numerous; than at that day. Railroads, Steamboats, public and private improvements of all kinds, the telegraph and newspapers, a more generally diffused information, render the project of dismemberment of the Republic a much more difficult undertaking from time to time, whilst on the other hand the absence of a standing army and the general indifference of the American people to bombast and threats, from the habit of hearing so much of it in this respect, and also the growth of wealth and refinement, would discountenance such dismemberment, save by a few political dependents. But when such dismemberment is attempted, the people will not be the less sure nor the less prompt the less swift that will overtake them in the same way, and the names and memories of those committing such treason will go down to posterity, a by word and a reproach, to the latest generation.

The light of this idea of a Southern Republic or Empire has burned with more or less brilliancy, as circumstances, or a fitting occasion, or leaders has warranted. Sometimes it has gleamed out in a dull fitful way as nullification, then again the fire has burned more steadily under the management of the genius of a Calhoun, now it burns bright and lambent from the fire and eloquence of a Yancey. But whilst there may be one leader more distinguished than others, there are great numbers, whose light and idea is just this—that the South has been groaning under the oppression of the North, and that if the Southern States could be released from their dependence on the North, and set up as an independent government, with the soil and climate and the slaves to work that soil, the South would be such a country and people as the world never saw, and as to the North and South there is in the nature of the case an utter nullness and disparity between the two, and the Union between the two, as now existing, ought to be dissolved the first opportunity.

The above is really a fair statement of the case. I have heard, during a residence of some time in Yazoo county, Mississippi, a planter, a gentleman of wealth and information and standing, not a politician at all, at his own residence, in a conversation with myself; utter sentiments as stated above, and furthermore add, that there was no tie of interest between the two sections but that an alliance with England would be far

preferable, as England bought and paid for their cotton and would sell them cheap goods, and could not interfere with their peculiar laws. This gentleman was an acquaintance and friend of mine, and the sentiment of numbers of others of the larger slaveholders and cotton growers of my acquaintance, were similar. The body of the people there I do not believe think that way.

It is, it is wonderful that men and their families should become attached to an institution impious and servile in its nature; neither is it strange that wild and erroneous ideas of their own strength and position, and of their neighbors at a distance should obtain in a community, attached to the idea and one institution until the madness of bee comes a monomania, and precludes and prohibits under the severest penalties even the most mild and respectful advances to a better and a grander ending. The notions about Northern oppression and the like, and the idea of a South-western Republic began by men who calculate on an alliance with England to sustain them we regard as too erroneous and wild a character, to be even plausible to any but men of chimerical view or of vastly sanguine temperament. Republicans regard this matter of disunion as of a nature so dangerous and impracticable for those attempting it, that they do not usually, where the party is strong pay much more attention to the threats of disunion, than to a blast of wind.

But in as much as the Republican party is attacked with fierce denunciation and bitter invective, and on the other hand, the cause and promoter, and its success the consummation of disunion, and every other question which ought to enter into this controversy is forgotten or ignored by our opponents in their great zeal to hold up to view the nigger and disunion, thus forcing those questions almost alone into the discussion. We will not shrink from a sober examination of disunion and its prospects and hearings.

John Brown takes this ground, that there is nothing in the circumstances or prospects of the whole country to cause these stale but ceaseless charges of disunion upon anybody or any party, as intended for political effect.

It is granted that there is a large and influential class of men, whose position entitles their opinion to a certain degree of weight in the public balance, and whilst we grant all the respect to the opinion of men of the character and standing of the like of the one to whom I alluded, yet when their belief however sincere it may be, is likely to be very much influenced by surrounding circumstances, and when we know that a grand chimerical leading idea has taken possession of the minds of many men of their class and surroundings, we may be excused for differing from them. Added to this that it is also well known that a great part of the voting people of the same neighborhood are not of the same mind with them, we have some justification in doubting the tenability of their position or the soundness of their arguments.

Let us then examine this matter in a spirit of candor and union, and enquire into the probability of disunion and civil war and into their improbability and impracticability and then give some reasons why every voter who wishes to build up our country and its union and forever set at rest the nigger and disunion and question should vote for Lincoln and Hamlin.

Viewed from any standpoint which I can see the probabilities of the disseverance of this Union at this time or any time within a lapse of years, are not great.

After scanning the horizon of our country and so far as it is possible for the mind to take in the

vast extent and resources of the immense domain of our country, I see but very slight specks indicating to my view but the possibility of a probability.

Be it prejudice, or a love of the Union, or a wish for its preservation, or whatever it may be, blindness or incapacity of judging, in this view I am sincere. Then I will take the negative and show why the destruction of this union and civil war, is improbable and impracticable. In evolving this side of the case, it may be that something may be shown favoring the other side.

That nations flourish and fade, rise and decline, like individual life, no one will deny. And that some nations had better be dissolved in their governmental and political capacity, every one will admit. But that nations in their youthful bloom, in the yet undeveloped elements of their strength, in the rising glory of their day, or in the vigor of early manhood, decline or decay is anomalous that they come in times of peace and prosperity to a sudden and disastrous termination of their national existence is preposterous. There is nothing in the general nature of the case that favors dissolution. But then it is said the particular question of niggers will dissolve the Union. That is the only question that it is supposed by the most sanguine dissolvers will have any effect. It has been shown that, there has ever since the foundation of the government, been a sort of roving floating idea of a Southern Empire, whether there is to be one monarch in this empire or there are to be fifteen or twenty has not been settled, and never will be. This idea on various pretexts has been muttered about and twice attempted to be carried out, on pretexts other than slavery. This thing of inroads upon slavery and oppression of the South is only a pretext, for the same thing, under another form.

The truth is that the whole nation in all its parts and States has been growing in the vigor of its youth in an unprecedented manner, but one part where free paid labor, and the untrammelled expression of thought, developed the products of the earth, machinery, the school house, and all the adjuncts of the plainer social life, and these in turn drew to them the bone and sinew of the population, the commerce and the means of it in capital, buildings, shipping &c., to a far greater extent than where either of the constituent elements did not exist or existed to a more limited extent, and this will always follow, that all other things being equal, that a community in which there is entire liberty of thought and paid labor, will always excel in products, manufactures, commerce and population, a community in which those first constituencies do not exist to so great an extent.

This is about all that has constituted what is called Northern aggression. Much as I dislike those terms, Northern and Southern in a political or offensive sense I am obliged to use them they being in general use. The question has little to do with North and South. It is made a question of property, and as such ought to be treated, the same as the bank question was treated in the days of Jackson. The nation having grown in inherent strength and size, and the extreme Southern and South West part of it being the great seat of the power of slavery, the project of dismemberment has come up in tenfold power under the guise of protection to negro property. The real sense of the matter is this, and the sooner it is understood the better, that the projectors of a Southern empire will be content to remain in the Union; if States like

Missouri will only acquiesce in what they say and do, and that if through any clap-trap sometimes about a tariff, sometimes about Northern aggression, then about slavery, a state of things can be brought about to keep Missouri, and all the other parts of the country from developing its resources and increasing its power all will be right. That is if Missouri and other states will promise to become weak and subservient, and will be content to be a distant province of the great Southern Empire, then these visionary enthusiasts will remain in the Union to govern it—to protect it, to keep it from running to extremes, and to frighten it occasionally.

To dismember this Union under the greatest of advantages other than by the consent of a majority of its States is a serious undertaking, when undertaken by the strongest States in it, but when undertaken by the states which proclaim themselves to be weakest—States that complain that they are oppressed by their stronger sisters, will be still more serious.

To dismember this Union, requires that these States so doing should be able to maintain their credit in the sight of and in the markets of the world, and as against the States from which they have revolted—will they or can they do it? A remarkable instance of how this would operate occurred in my own sight. Being in a brokers office in Philadelphia, a lady entered to get some South Carolina money changed, it was in 1832, the broker declined taking the money on account of the nullification in that State. This would be precisely the case with seceding states, their credit would be gone. A great deal is made about the danger of civil war arising from this secession. I cannot see that very much of a civil war will be the necessity even should a few States secede. Who is it that is to fight? A long time ago the whole South as it is called that is all the slaveholding States, was to break off, lock stock and barrel about something or other. Now it is six "Gulf States." Supposing the six "Gulf States" do break off, what are they to do about it? They first decline to send representatives to Congress, withdraw their Senators to make gassing speeches at home, get the whole people there excited, the country on fire, and who is burnt by it; nobody, but its originators. Congress goes on and talks better and less, and does its business quicker without these agitators of "eternal wrongs" and a few "rights".

Next they will get up volunteers not to "fight" but to have white handkerchiefs waved at them in token of their unparalleled bravery, in tooting about an old musket or shot gun, or good rifle in the hot sun, they will no doubt be well treated, for a while, with smiling looks and good and bad liquor, until at last these "pups of war" will get a disease called the "big head" and become so raging that the very people that instigated them will wish they were in —. This is no fanciful picture, the like of this occurred in our own recollection in a war got up under similar pretences and auspices. Who is going down to the Gulf states to fight such a crowd? nobody; they will have all the civil war to themselves, and a mighty *uncivil* war it will be. They will "march up the hill and then march down the hill," and lie down and all be likely to get drunk at the bottom. But then an alliance with England or France is contemplated by these Gulf states.

An alliance with England will not be so easily accomplished, for such an alliance will afford France the opportunity and pretext of attacking England, which is almost a necessity to France.

These enthusiastic of the "Gulf States" talk and seem to think that they are going to have all the fun, that whilst they are doing all, the old confederacy in which, if even all the slave-states should separate will remain the principal capital, the body of the white men the shipping, in fact, the main resources and power of the country is going to do nothing. Can she make a few alliances if necessary? Besides England is more than ready to abet in them any part of New England, and supposing that she would be willing to lend the entire Southern coast by her shipping, she will require to be well paid in some way, and also a premium upon slavery, the very matter for which the treasure has been committed.

The 2nd article of the recent session of the Constitution declares what is not to be done by any of the states, or individuals therein, and these forbidden things they must suffer for if they do, they run very dangerous business to involve themselves in, invade other states, or enact bills of credit, &c., as some have already found to the loss of their lives.

The proposed secession is now spoken of as confined to the "Gulf States," but it talked of as if the whole people were ripe for revolt; they are not. The facts are that the subject of disunion and revolution are so often the theme by the enthusiastic gents among them, and as connected with the bigger question, that the people at large in those States, have come to believe that there is some necessary connection between negro property and a revolution. This belief is not yet so firmly seated as to be regarded into treason or heary papers. And they are a people who are open to conviction upon common information being made accessible to them.

The great objection is raised, that the Republican party will prevent the Southern people from carrying their property into the Territories. We deny that there is any intention of preventing the carrying any property which a non-slaveholder is possessed of, the slaveholder can take all the property he likes which a non-slaveholder will take into the Territories. Because the Republican party wishes to save the Territories of the United States to the European race, to white men and their families, and to favor the sending of the negro out of the country; not bringing them in, nor disturbing the relations of master and slave which lawfully exist, that party must be accused of causing the destruction of the Union.

Threats are made by the fire-eating portion of our Southern brethren, that they will not let the North have any cotton in case of a disunion. That may be a great calamity. We are willing to admit that the manufacture and exportation enters very largely into the business of the world, but we may manage to do without cotton, as we do not eat it, and never heard of anybody eating it, only that refractory negroes are made up and threatened with being sent to the cotton fields.

These gents who bluster, and all about saying smashing, are not to be taken seriously, and their threats or promises are to be regarded as no other proof. It was the main ground upon which the Nebraska bill was rejected, that if a secession would hold the Territories, it would be a violation, voting or non-voting, and that it was to get laws made in those Territories, and that the people would be allowed to vote, and that the South would not be allowed to have any say in the matter, and that whilst Missouri had entered into the bargain, the "Gulf States" also proposed

ing to send fifteen thousand armed men if needed and any quantity of money and material, (such was the understanding expressed by leaders here) sent about 350 men, ill appointed and half equipped, many of whom very soon began the performances portrayed in another part of this defence. Until this crowd came, the roads were safe and property unmolested, after their came the roads were unsafe and no man's property or horses could be kept, and there were no abolitionists or known free state men within miles of this. The end of all this "Gulf State" bluster about driving out free State men, was that the people here became thoroughly disgusted with the whole proceedings. The "Gulf States" were notified by letters and agents who belonged to the people of those States upon the necessity of sending men and money, that many of the Missourians had spent nearly their all, and that now or never was the time to effect the work, whilst the free state men were discouraged and having to make Kansas a slave State. These appeals were not made by adventurers, or political radicals, or in lone places, but the agents to the "Gulf States" were men of high position, and standing and influence in their own neighborhood and in general, a class of men superior in the general, to those sent by the free State men of Kansas to lecture for them.

It was said by these gentlemen in the Gulf States, some after time, that if Kansas should be free, Missouri, Arkansas and Kentucky would gravitate toward freedom also, and this was admitted, but notwithstanding the immense interest at stake in the "Gulf States," few men other than those above were sent, and though it has been asserted that there were twenty thousand dollars sent at one time, there is no good reason for believing that there was a fourth of that amount.

The end of it all was, that good and true Southern rights men, who had gone in good faith to carry on the programme fixed upon in the Territory, were left to struggle alone with the numbers precipitated upon them, numbers, whose worst feelings had been roused in consequence of the measures taken against them, through the promises and threats made by these Gulf States.

Any man who knows anything of the secret history of that period (secret now no longer,) knows that the above is true, in its own place and connection in the history of those times. I do not care the affairs of those times to stir up feelings, but to show the reliance that is to be placed upon a Gulf State bluster, threats or promises. The Kansas struggle was a mere flash in the grand Southern Empire struggle, the utterance of a Southern Republic or Empire was by the leaders in the movement highly approved in a quiet way. Believing as I did then and do now that the struggle in the Territory of Kansas was a struggle between the white man and the negro for the possession of its soil and its people.

And being my political belief, that the character in his mental and physical organization, and covering endurance, is the superior of the negro. I could only regard the struggle as one of their, not of doubt. It is true that the negro would have won, if the Gulf States could have sent as many of their troops as they did, at that time they would have had enough to take advantage of, and through their own profligateness or mischance, they allowed the time to pass, and there it stands but themselves, and two administrators, General Pierce and Mr. Buchanan, over which

they had control to blame for the failure to make Kansas a slave State.

The inference to be drawn is, that if the Gulf States neglected a matter believed by themselves to be so vital and important to their interests, and a matter requiring comparatively so small an amount of means and men: how are they to achieve the project of dismemberment of the Government? The braggadocio and bluster indulged in by these genies would be innocent, though absurd enough in itself, were it not that Members of Congress are using violent and threatening language, in Congress, and out of Congress, proceeding to harangue whole constituencies about, raising the walls of our Capitol at Washington and running red hot plough shares over the ruins.

Thus with brassy face and trumpet tongue proclaiming their own shame and that of their party, as Mr. Craig, the Member for the Congressional District North of us did the other night in our Court House, telling us that the Gulf States would send 60,000 men to Washington to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. Does he believe this that he asserts? not he, and he'd think anybody else a fool that would believe it. This kind of assertions were made just as strong if a Republican speaker were elected, and the Union goes on, U. S. stocks are just as high as ever—and nobody minds or cares.

But there is one effect of all this threatening together with the violence attempted in certain localities, that I may notice, and that is the clubs forming all over the country as "Wells Awakes." Enquiries have been made as to what they are for, &c. These clubs are nothing more than the natural offspring of such threats as those echoed by Mr. Craig, as a trumpet for the Gulf States. These clubs are nothing more than protective in their intention against the violence that has been employed at some public meetings and protective if need to the Government, against Craig and his 60,000 men. Our own opinion is that no armed force will be needed, that General Craig with 60,000 men will march up the hill and then march down again—liquor, go home to bed, dream over it, and in the morning think better of it. General Craig will by that time think it better, to represent his district a while longer, than to lay out nights commanding a lot of rowdy boys that won't stay commanded. That is if he don't make too big a fool of himself by heating his plow shares so hot and running them so fiercely as to burn himself before another election. In that case the people may want a man who knows better than burn himself with his own tools. There is one assertion made by Mr. Craig that ought to be met, and that is, that in case the Gulf States kick up a row that the people of Missouri along this border would be subject to violence and lots of property as they were in the time of the Kansas trouble. Now we beg leave to assure Mr. Craig that had there been 500 good resolute men in Kansas city at that time, there would have been but little of those troubles, or had the administration done its duty there would have been none of it or had Kansas been a good Republican State to control her own affairs, there would have been none of it. And seeing that there are now two thousand and more of men in Kansas city, who would be ready in case of another invasion to take care of matters, and also that it is supposed that the invasion will take place under a Black Republican Administration, that will settle the bash very quick, and also that Kansas will be a State by that time and have power to

take care of herself and assist her neighbors in keeping the peace.

We are fully aware that there was an attempt made last winter to send Missouri troops down there to feed off the public crib and do a little plundering of the people besides, but it is hardly likely that such a project will take place again. If the raid of John Brown on Virginia is cited, we reply that he was a sort of fanatic and that all attempts to prove complicity with others amounted to no more than 19 men he had with him and they hardly knew what he was intending to do, so that any great plot of invasion seems chimerical. Down in Kansas city we are exceedingly anxious again to hear Mr. Craig, the General of the "60,000 men;" we sincerely hope he won't study the "stragatems and spoils of war" so profoundly as to make his head ache again, we want to hear him once more, when his head is clear, his heart is full and his stomach is empty. In fact when he comes again, as he said he would the first chance he could get, he will come in full trim and in prime order. Last time he was here, his head ached, and no wonder, for everybody else's head ached too. We possess for such gentlemen the most lively feelings of regard, we hope they may live long, and grow a great deal better and wiser; for in a general way they need both. We hope he may live to represent his district for a long time. We think he will, provided he don't come down to Kansas city too often to shriek about Kansas and howl about red hot plough shares. That would make any man's head ache and break his wind besides, and we respectfully submit that a broken winded General of "60,000 men" or a broken winded Congressman are nowhere these times.

The truth is that any quantity of reasons could be given to show the utter inapplicability and impracticability of a separation of any of the States, for but a short time, by doing so they would but to use a homely phrase "jump out of the frying pan into the fire," and these blustering braggadocio kind know this, and the cool headed men of superior intellect at the South know it. The main object by these men is to acquire and secure dominion over the whole country.

I will close this defence of Republicanism, recapitulating some of the issues before the country.

There is a revision of the tariff, protection to American industry.

Republican votes have been invariably in favor of that, though not unanimous in favor of a tariff requiring high duties, yet the party is unanimously in favor of protection to such an extent as may be necessary to the prosperity of the country.

Homesteads of the public lands to white families.

This may be said to be the measure of the Republican party.

Restoration and return of the government to its old standard of purity, so far as possible to be effected.

The discouraging the seeking office for office sake.

State rights and the making and execution of laws to hold them.

The protection of property of all kinds slave or otherwise.

The securing and appropriation of the territories to white men and their families.

The suppression and extinction of the trade in slaves from Africa.

It will be said do not all the parties agree upon all these questions but the two last. In what way do they agree. The nigger question in one

way or another is made prominent and paramount by all the other parties. Do you hear a word about giving the public land to the poor white working man and his family to make himself an inalienable home by the other parties. No, they will tell you about property to put upon and money to buy these lands. What is argued about protection to American industry. The dominant power of the intended Southern empire wants no protection, because they prefer to sell cotton to England to enrich her and keep back the Northern States, and such States as Missouri. All the other parties desiring the countenance and votes of the Southern empire, keep silent in this canvass.

It is a fact that in consequence of the domination of the cotton interest in ruling the government and a majority of the United States Senate, that millions of dollars in gold and silver are sent over to England, and besides a great portion of the cotton crop, to pay debts and pay for goods which under a judicious management ought never, and would not, be imported.

This with Republicans is one of the leading questions of this canvass, and the Republican party will of necessity do all that can be done to stop this exportation of specie and restore a just and proper equilibrium to the currency and business of the country. That the Bell party would do this if it could, we do not deny, but we do say that if any other party than the Republican comes into power, it will be under auspices that will rule it and prevent the accomplishment of anything than that which the cotton interest shall require or admit. And this domination of one interest over all others is what we object to.

What of a renovation of the government? The government of our country has become corrupt by creating and giving offices to reward partizanship. There is but little said about this by any of the political parties but the Republican, nor can any great change be effected by mere change of the men of the other parties, because they will be but partizans of the same power behind the throne now ruling, to wit: the power which threatens to dissolve the Union, if it can't rule.

It is an imperative duty to discourage the seeking of office for office sake, and as the reward of partizanship.

Though no party can hope to effect a radical cure, yet the tendency and aims of our party will be that way.

The Republican party having the confidence of the great body of the people and voters in that part of our country where a fugitive slave law is supposed to be applicable, will be enabled firmly though mildly to put in operation that law, until it can be so amended as to give satisfaction, to both parts of the confederacy.

The suppression and extinction of the African slave trade is a measure at once humane, and politic, both to slaveholder and nonslaveholders, and is a matter of necessity, as it is notorious that ships are fitted out on false pretenses in New York, and cargoes of negroes from Africa are landed at various points, and should any of the other parties come into power the African slave trade if not legalized, will be carried on with impunity, the country overrun with wild and savage negroes to cheapen negro property, and deprive the poor white man of his wages.

Is it a sin to secure the unappropriated Territories of the United States to the white man? Is it a crime to prevent those Territories being occupied by negroes, then the Republicans are criminal. For this thing, in or out of power they

will labor to accomplish by just and legal means, by no construction, by no quibble, by no implied assent or denial, by no assent before hand to a decision of the Supreme Court, already premeditated and predetermined, and then assent that assent by legislative enactment. Furthermore than this, the Republican party so far as constitutional law admits, will labor for the curbing of appointments to Territorial and other offices by the President.

In applying this principle, we as Republicans believe that the portion of the family of man, known as the European race, and their descendants or representatives in this country, citizens thereof, have the right, under just and equitable laws, to the choice of the public lands for themselves and families, to the exclusion if needed, of all other races.

As Republicans, we are not averse to enterprises of charity or benevolence, we believe that the christianizing and elevating of African negroes had much better be done in Africa without their being brought here, and we would recommend all persons possessed of that peculiar kind of religious sympathy and charity to go there upon that errand and stay there among the Africans.

There are now before the public four several parties, three of which, with a little variation, positively assert, that if the Republican party is successful, the Union will be dissolved. Two of these parties proclaim that one of the others is a disunion party *per se*. One of these three, flaunts upon its banner "popular sovereignty," we too are believers in "popular sovereignty." We believe in the "popular sovereignty" that says: we are men and have rights, and our neighbors are men and they too have their rights, and those rights must be settled and defined by exact and suitable law.

Another of these parties refers to general affirmations and the respectability of its candidates for a definition of its principles. The other of the three has this very excellent quality that its candidate comes out plain spoken and explicit, and tells that slavery must of right and shall be by law extended *ad infinitum*, whether to the prejudice of the white or not, we are left to our own inferences.

Two of these parties agree in denouncing the Republicans as producing disunion, without any shadow of proof. It has been the endeavor to show in this defence that they are not so, but that this cry of disunion is in its nature and intent a mere ghost and bugaboo story to frighten weak and tender souled people from voting for and sustaining a party that will put down disunion and dismiss the negro question from the national legislation forever.

Is it not clear that until a party comes into power that is *not* under the influence or domination of the leaders of the Southern Empire, there will be no "peace or quiet" upon this question, that it will always have a predominance in the national councils. Is it not a fact that every successive administration for years and years has quailed under the domination of this "Gulf State" power under various names and guises. Is it not a fact, that the administration of Mr. Fillmore was promised "peace and quiet" upon the passage of the compromise measures; and shall you who advocate the election of Mr. Bell, expect that claims will not be made upon an administration so elected, such as never have been before.

Is it not a fact that the crusade made by a portion of the Democratic party against Mr. Douglas, is not so much that he is according to

them a breaker of treaties, but that to save himself, he broke a treaty made with the "Gulf power," that he would not sacrifice himself upon an altar of their erection. What can you expect of "popular sovereignty;" when it suited the purposes of the Southern Empire to keep up a frontier war in Kansas, it was just the thing, so soon as it turned out to be the contrary it was vile and abhorrent thus, proving that your "popular sovereignty," having no settled policy or fixed law beforehand, is liable to all sorts of constructions.

Did not your version of "popular sovereignty" as tried in Kansas prove but to be the gathering together of the fierce and factious of all sections to make war upon each other.

The greater part of Mr. Douglas' popularity with the masses North and South consists in his supposed defence and personification of a sovereignty of the people and a quasi-free-soilism, and his persecution therefore by the aristocratic portion of his own party.

The "popular sovereignty" of Mr. Douglas does not contemplate the election of Governors and Judges in the Territories by the people, they are to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and though the Territorial Legislature may pass "popular sovereignty" laws, yet a Governor appointed by the central power can veto them and judges can without any difficulty determine the laws so passed unconstitutional. This kind of "popular sovereignty" then, would lead the people of the Territories in their legislation into contact with the appointing and judicial power, and launch the Territorial Legislation upon a sea of uncertainty, as to what is property and how it shall be protected. The Republicans differ from Mr. Douglas on this point, in this, that whilst his plan launches the people of the Territories into a sea of wild uncertain tumultuous legislation, on the matters now at issue, the Republicans prefer to abide by the old course and make and administer the laws according to precedent and custom which has in the main answered well and under which the people of the United States have seen States grow up and which are still growing in all the elements which constitute a great and noble State or Nation.

Is it not a fact that the party headed by Mr. Breckinridge is branded by more than half of its oldfriends as disunionists and traitorous in intent. We as Republicans believe that none of the men composing any of the parties are intent upon disunion. The men so charged know as well as anybody of any party, that disunion is too dangerous and impracticable for a trial.

Fellow-citizens of the American Republic, and the State of Missouri, we invite you to vote with the Republican party, as in that party alone is that "peace and quiet" which is essential to the prosperity of our beloved country. This question made by our opponents so paramount above all others, has been by unwise and selfish counsels, forced upon the country. We are men of former parties, Democrats and Whigs and Americans, whom a common sense of justice and a desire, not of partisan warfare nor of party success, but of promoting the prosperity of our whole country, and the well being of every man in it, has driven us to adopting a party organization suited to the times,—peaceable and law abiding. If we are asked by what right we speak and write so plainly in a slave State, we reply that the Constitution of the United States, and also that of the State of Missouri gives the freedom of speech and the press; and in claiming and using this right we do not wish to disturb

any one in his rights, but to vindicate ourselves and party from the foul and unjust allegations made against us.

We also believe that this election has a very great deal to do with the prosperity of the material interests of the country; that upon the selection made of the men representing various principles and measures, depends to a great extent not so much the quality or quantity of the products of the earth, but of their value, and the value of labor and all commodities necessary to the well being and comfort of a rising people. And we will say that though there are many Republicans who are slaveholders, and expect to be such for a long time to come, yet we do not regard protection to that property alone as the one paramount duty of our Government, but that the industry of the country should be cherished and sustained in all its various forms. We believe that the policy of the Republican party will develop the resources of the State of Missouri more than that of the policy of any other party, that by the policy of this party no man will be injured any where, but that the most men will be benefited. And in addition to this we claim, that were the policy of the other parties so explicit as our own, the great working power, to foster just and prudent legislation, and to execute law in all sections, is with and in our party, and that the sentiment of the great American people were well informed, is with us.

Knowing and feeling that our cause is just and that the sentiments we advocate are only to be known to be appreciated and valued, we invite those who fear to give offence in their social or business relations, who believe as we, of whom we believe there are many, to unite with us.

There are many men of talent and information who are so hemmed in by circumstances and surroundings, that though they be convinced of the necessity of a reform in the Government, and that the Republican party is the one that will and ought to achieve that reform, yet from personal danger, cannot vote with us. In consequence of such circumstances the vote of the Republican party is much less than it would be, could a through organization be effected and a full vote be called out. But as supporters of a party which is admitted by many of those who think of voting with the other parties, let us ask, if a man who has the right to vote, and cannot vote as he pleases, and is convinced that a reform is needed, and that this reform can only be accomplished by some powerful and effective organization, like the Republican, who though they may not like individual members of a party, yet abstains from voting with this party, not on likes or dislikes but on motives of social or business relations. Permit us as members of the Republican party who see no reason to incur needless risk or to sacrifice business, position or relation of any kind to a party in this contest, to say, there is beyond and above these a solemn duty to vote as your convictions indicate, where you injure none by so doing, and that he who shrinks from a plain, mild and equitable expression of his sentiments, in particular by voting, is hardly deserving of the high and noble name of a free American citizen.

Besides there are no fears to be entertained in our city or neighborhood. Nearly all the voters of foreign birth, except the Irish, who are for Breckinridge and Fremont, and at least one half the voters of American birth are Republicans in sentiment, if not in name.

Republicans are found occupying prominent positions in business of all kinds, in the improve-

ments of the city, in the churches, in social positions, in law and medicine, and by far the larger portion of the skilled mechanical labor is performed by men of Republic an sentiment, and all these have as much of the respect of the community in and out of the city, as men of other parties. It is now here as elsewhere, that a man's political belief does not fit his pocket at all. And even the majority of the best lawyers, knowing that their is a strong objection to the half way measure that renders that gentleman popular with the masses, do not occupy a position in this community very different from that of the Republicans.

The fact is, that a great part of the clamor raised about Black Republicanism is not at all by respectable citizens in the city outside. The cry is made about "taking our property into the Territories," very generally by men, that if negroes were nine dollars a dozen wouldn't have a nigger baby to take into the Territories. And it is usually those, who have hardly been here long enough to get a legal vote, that are so patronizing as to imagine that without their permission, American citizens, who set foot in Missouri a score and more of years ago, must not speak or write or vote their sentiments. Poor fellows, what a pity it is that the reality don't come up to the imagination of these patronizing gents.

What shall we do with them or without them? Pity it is that they hadn't the title deeds of the several States from which they come, and of which they imagine themselves to be the owners, along with them.

These gentry, being of a very imaginative turn, we humbly suggest that they turn poet, and would beg leave respectfully to submit a line or two for their consideration as suiting their case:

"Oh dear me! Oh! dear me, let me sing, let me sing."

"If I only could, I would be a king, I would be a king."

Shall any man, possessed of the attributes and capacity of a man be deterred in November from voting his sentiments, or cast his vote so that it will have no effect in showing that there is a steadily increasing spirit of equity in our State.

Let it be remembered that a vote for either of the three other parties is a direct vote in favor of the suppression of free speech and sentiment, and against the spirit of public improvement. That either of the other parties coming into power will be taken charge of by the men, who have always browbeaten and dominated over in one way or another the different administrations; the very men who are averse to Railroad and public improvements.

Can you give your vote to throw again the administration into the hands of these men, for no matter what party other than the Republican comes into power, there will be the same threatening and blustering, and it is a matter of indifference which of the three parties carries Missouri.

We invite you, who have been by misrepresentation led to believe we were destructive in our policy, to reconsider this matter. We invite men who are of the various parties to unite with us in achieving by a direct course all that is good in any or all of the parties.

Vote with us to elect men, unpretending and modest, who have never sought to thrust themselves forward, who have not pandered to this sentiment or that in craving lust of office, but have pursued an even straightforward course, who have proved their inherent ability to sustain the high offices designed to be conferred upon them by energetically persevering until they have obtained a name and fame among men, who have combined in their character the traits of Clay and Jackson, those great prototypes of American character.

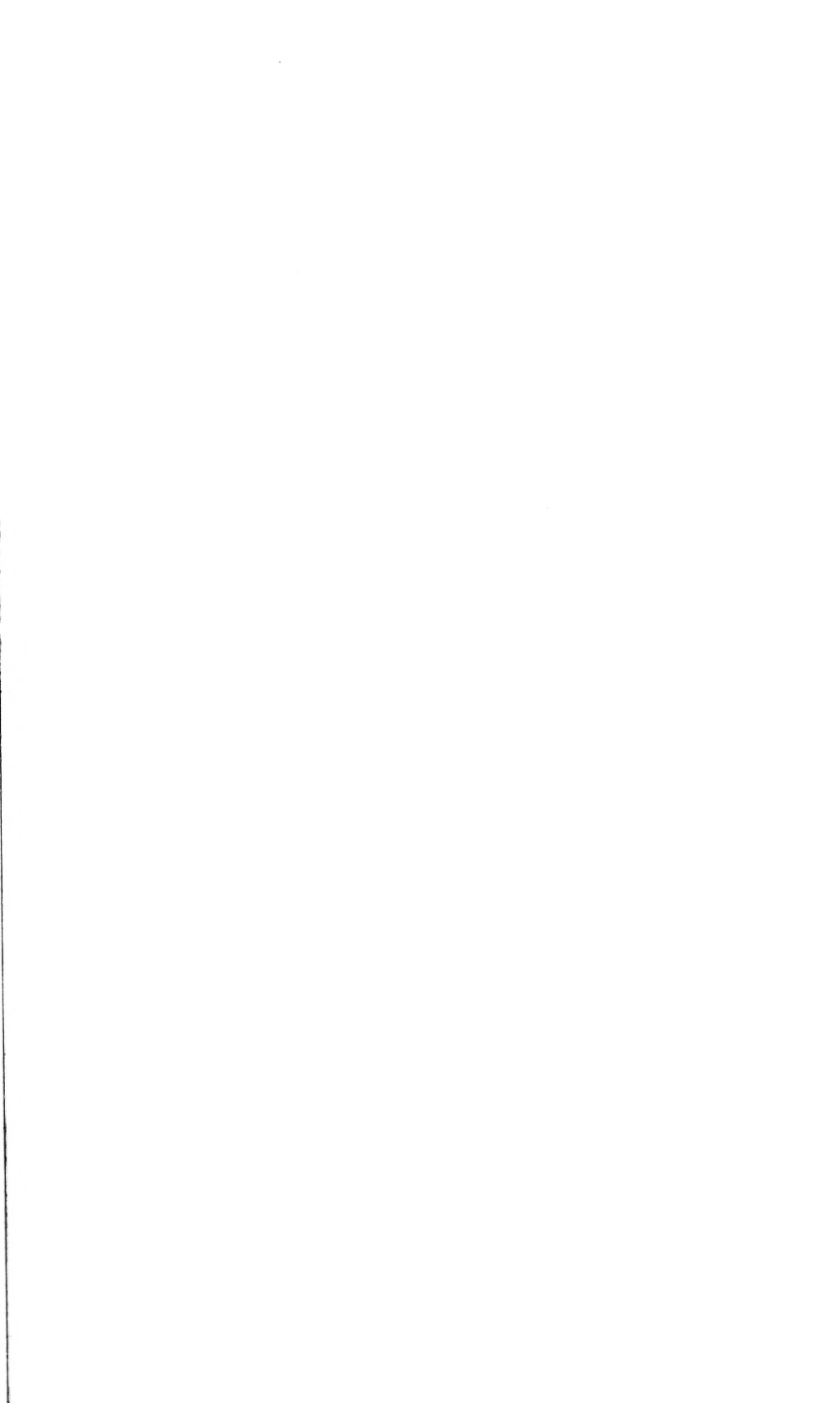
We invite you to vote for men selected as being attached to no clique, pledged by no promises but of whom it is expected only that they shall administer the Government in its executive department in righteousness and justice to all parties, all interests and all sections.

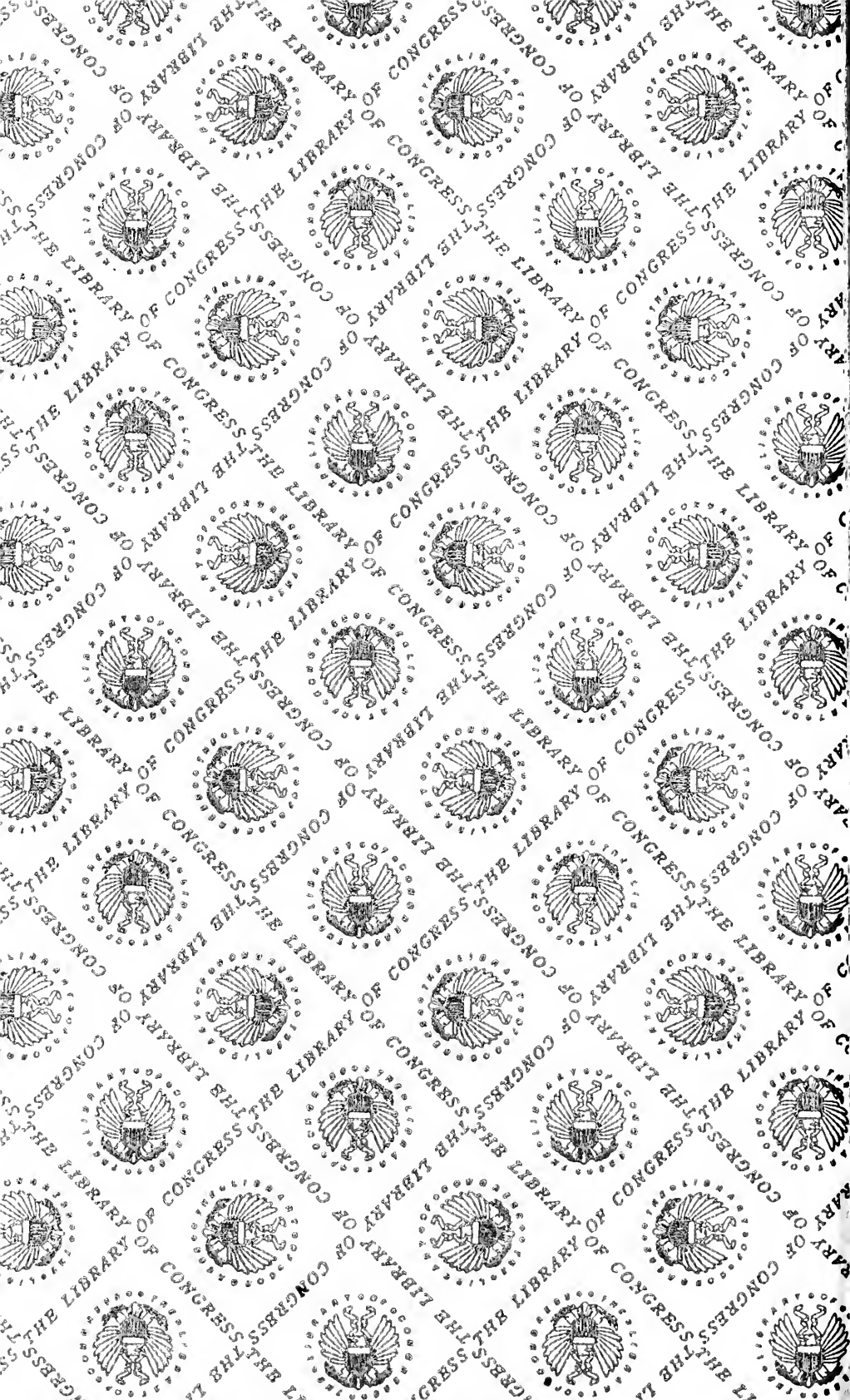
Such men and such candidates are

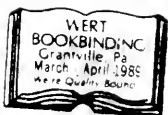
ABRAHAM LINCOLN of Illinois

and

HANNIBAL HAMLIN of Maine.







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