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A Plain Statement Addressed to All Honest Democrats by One of the People

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ADDRESSED TO ALL

HONEST DEMOCRATS.

BY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

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A PLAIN STATEMENT.

You are a Democrat, and all your political sympathies are with the Democratic party. You not only love the idea, but the very name, of Democracy: and you do well; for, when rightly understood, both are lovely and of good report.

The founders, and for many years the leaders, of the Democratic party in this country were honest men, who sincerely and earnestly labored for the welfare of the people.

Something of the character of the DEMOCRACY which they taught, may be learned from the following definition, taken from Kendall's Expositor:

"The Democracy we advocate is justice between man and man; between state and state; between nation and nation. It is morality. It is giving every man his due. It is doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It advocates the banishment of falsehood, fraud, and violence, from the affairs of men. It is the moral code of Him 'who spake as never man spake.' It is the perfection of reason and the law of God."

And still further from the following resolutions, adopted at a Democratic State Convention at Worcester, Sept. 22, 1847:

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party and creed are the party and creed of truth and freedom, whose fundamental tenets are the inborn,

heaven-granted freedom and equality of all men (to deny which is to destroy republicanism), the limited powers of all government, and their derivation from the people as the fountain of political authority.

“*Resolved*, That the corner-stone of all republican institutions is the inalienable freedom and equality of all men; that the American Revolution, and all the political blessings thereby secured to our country, were the legitimate results of the adoption of that great principle by our fathers; and that we ought never to forget or fail to declare our undying attachment to this chief tenet in the creed of Democracy.”

For the prosperity and success of such Democracy, every man should be willing to labor and sacrifice. It is in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, and adopted by our Revolutionary fathers — which holds as “self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and “to *secure* these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;” and “that, whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or *abolish* it.”

This is Jeffersonian and Revolutionary Democracy. It is on just such Democracy as this that the government of these States was founded: viz., a recognition of the right of the people to “*abolish*” the government, whenever it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established.

It is not affirmed here that the exigency for such a step has yet arisen. It is only asserted that the Democracy which our fathers inaugurated leaves the decision of such exigencies wholly to the *people*, and has confidence in their ability to decide righteously. Our fathers not only *held* to the right of revolution,

but *exercised it*; and they transmitted both the *right* and the right of its *exercise* to their children. And they form an inestimable part of our inheritance to-day.

Our fathers were jealous of *power*, and carefully guarded themselves against its encroachments. They knew how insidious were its workings, its hostility to freedom and the rights of man. They looked abroad over the world, and saw that everywhere the iron rule of despotism crushed down the masses of the people. They saw that nowhere on the face of the earth, except in secluded Switzerland, had republican Freedom found a resting-place for the sole of her foot. So they built the temple of liberty here, on this Western Continent; and established what they intended should be an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, through all coming time. It is true that slavery was here, right in their midst, and many of them were supporters of the system; but they were comparative strangers to its deep and damning depravity. But many of them, among whom were Franklin,* Jefferson,† Patrick Henry,‡ and others, labored earnestly for its entire abolition. But in sustaining the toils, perils, and sacrifices of the Revolu-

* See Franklin's petition "to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States," on behalf of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, February 3, 1790.

† Mine (sentiments on the subject of the slavery of negroes) have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain. — *Jefferson's letter to Edward Cole, Esq., August 25, 1814.*

‡ I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. If not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence of slavery. — *Letter of Patrick Henry to R. Pleasants, January 18, 1773.*

tion, and securing its glorious results, the fathers had done their work; and in the abolition of slavery, and the completion of the work which they so nobly commenced, they trusted that their children would accomplish theirs.*

Such was the Democracy of the fathers—jealous and watchful for liberty; a foe to tyrants, but true to God and humanity. “But the spirit of *liberty* which animated their bosoms departed with them, and its place is occupied in the bosoms of their sons by the spirit of *trade*. So that what the fathers regarded, according to the laws of God, as a *crime* to be repented of and forsaken, is regarded by their sons, according to the laws of trade, as only a fit subject for their *ledgers*.” And it may now be asked, with great pertinency, is the Democracy of the fathers one and the same with that which now reigns supreme in the national councils, and which asks you to assist in maintaining its supremacy?

In all ages of the world, and throughout all periods of human history, the representatives of ABSOLUTE POWER, have seized upon those names and ideas dearest to the people, as the readiest and safest means of leading them blindfold to their ruin. They know that “a lie shall keep its throne a whole age longer if it skulk behind the shelter of some fair-seeming name.” And accordingly, the bloodiest crimes on record have been committed in the sacred name of *religion*; and now, and

*I hope it will not be conceived, from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it. . . . And this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting. — *Letter of Geo. Washington to Robert Morris.*

here in our own beloved country, tyrants and oppressors are perpetrating crimes at which humanity shudders, in the almost equally sacred name of *Democracy*.

There is a terrible POWER in this country; subtle, despotic, and tyrannical in its very nature and essence; the "SLAVE POWER" — for slavery and despotism are one in spirit the world over — which insidiously, by secret bribe and open threat, has gradually won over the entire Democratic party of the Union to its side, and has so allied itself to, and obtained such a complete influence over, that party, as to dictate and govern its entire policy, and through it the policy of the government itself.

The spirit of *slavery* in our country is the same in essence with that despotic spirit which crushed the liberties of Greece, trampled out the lifeblood of Poland, overwhelmed freedom in Hungary, Italy, and France, and which, by means of hired butchers and assassins of liberty, now holds the people of the old world in the grip of absolutism.

It is proposed to show the truth of this statement; and, as the highest testimony is that which a criminal volunteers against himself, the principal witnesses in the case will be slaveholders themselves, and their testimony is voluntary, neither bribes nor threats having drawn it forth. Moreover, many of the witnesses are well known, and their evidence is unimpeachable.

The first point to be established is, that

SLAVEHOLDERS *look with sovereign CONTEMPT upon all LABORING MEN; and, so far as they can safely, treat them as SLAVES; and are aiming at the subjugation of the entire WORKING CLASSES, North as well as South, to a condition of Absolute Bondage.*

The first witness is

B. WATKINS LEIGH, VA.

“In every civilized country under the sun, some there must be who labor for their daily bread, — men who tend the herds, and dig the soil, — who have no real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. I have as sincere feelings of regard for that people as any man who lives among them. But I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe that those who depend on their daily labor for their daily subsistence, can, or do, ever enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can.” — *Speech in Virginia Convention, 1829.*

F. W. PICKENS, S. C.

“All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and laborers. The former will own the latter, either collectively through the government, or individually in a state of domestic servitude, as exists in the Southern States of this confederacy. *If laborers ever obtain the political power of a country, it is in fact in a state of revolution.*” — *Speech in Congress, January 21, 1837.*

CHANCELLOR HARPER, S. C.

“Would you do a benefit to the horse, or the ox, by giving him a cultivated understanding, a fine feeling? So far as the mere laborer has the pride, the knowledge, or the aspiration of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation. If there are sordid, servile, laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile, laborious beings to perform them? Odium has been cast upon our legislation on account of its forbidding the elements of education being communicated to slaves. But, in truth, what injury is done them by this? *He who works during the day with his hands does not read in the intervals of leisure, for his amusement, or the improvement of his mind; or the exception is so very rare as scarcely to need the being provided for.*” — *Southern Literary Messenger.*

GEORGE M'DUFFIE.

“If we look into the elements of which all political communities are composed, it will be found that servitude in some form is one of the essential constituents. . . . In the very nature of things, there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society,

from the highest to the lowest . . . *Where these offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is obviously introduced by the body politic. . . . Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being an evil, IS THE CORNER-STONE OF OUR REPUBLICAN EDIFICE.*—*Message to S. C. Legislature, 1835.*

ROBERT WICKLIFFE, KY.

“Gentlemen wanted to drive out the black population, that they may obtain *white* negroes in their places. White negroes have this advantage over black negroes, they can be *converted* into voters; and the men who live upon the sweat of their brow, and pay them but a dependent and scanty subsistence, can, if able to keep ten thousand of them in employment, come up to the polls, and change the destiny of the country.”

“How improved will be our condition when we have such *white negroes* as perform the servile labors of Europe, of old England, and he would add now, of New England; when our body servants, and our cart drivers, and our street sweepers, are *white* negroes instead of black? Where will be the independence, the proud spirit, and the chivalry of the Kentuckians then?”—*Speech in Kentucky.*

This “chivalrous” Kentuckian seems to have no higher estimate of the intelligence of the great body of working men — or what he calls “white negroes” — than to suppose that they must “go it blind,” and vote just as their “employers” tell them to. But then, as they might not *always* fully understand their employers’ wishes, and sometimes *vote wrong*, to avoid all risks, it is thought best, by him and his compatriots, that both black and white negroes should not vote at all.

But little comment is needed upon the atrocious doctrines of these slaveholding gentry, which they have so openly stated and boldly avowed. For these sentiments were not whispered in secret, but “proclaimed from the house-tops.” It will be noticed that not one

of these witnesses makes any allusion whatever to *color* or *race*, except the last. But *slaves* and *laborers* are spoken of in the same connection, and as belonging to the same *class*. Both are denied the right of voting, or of taking any part whatever in political affairs.

Those *innocent* Northerners, who have supposed that none but "*black negroes*" ever were, or are ever to be, subjected to the lash of slavery, will find themselves most egregiously mistaken. Mr. Leigh tells us that those who depend on their daily labor for their subsistence "never do, never will, never can" "enter into political affairs." And Mr. Pickens adds that, if "laborers ever do obtain political power, the country is in a state of revolution." And Mr. McDuffie declares that, where those who "discharge all the different offices of society, from the *highest to the lowest*," are allowed to vote, "*a dangerous element is introduced by the body politic.*" And Mr. Pickens further says, in the same speech:

"Hence it is, that they must have a strong federal government to *control the labor* of the nation. But it is precisely the reverse with us. We have already not only a right to the *proceeds* of our laborers, but *we own a class of laborers themselves*. But, let me say to gentlemen who represent the great class of capitalists at the North, beware how you drive us into a separate system, for, if you do, as certain as the decrees of Heaven, you will be compelled to appeal to the sword to maintain yourselves at home. It may not come in your day; *but your children's children will be covered with the blood of domestic factions, and a PLUNDERING MOB contending for power and conquest.*"

The plain English of which is, that if "laborers" — in other words, those who create and diffuse all the wealth of society — are allowed to vote and exercise

political power, they will so direct the affairs of government, as to secure a just share in the products of their own toil; and the only way in which "capitalists" can prevent this, and safely plunder the laborer, so as to get the "lion's share," is to rob him of both his vote and himself together: in other words, make a slave of him. And "capitalists at the North" are warned that they can never enjoy anything like repose until they not only "have a right to the proceeds of the laborers," but "*own*" the laborers themselves.

It was doubtless this view of the case, which drew out that remarkable declaration from

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

"We regard slavery as the most safe and stable basis for *free institutions* in the world. It is impossible with us that the conflict should take place between labor and capital. Every plantation is a little community, with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative."

A mighty convenience, truly. No wonder John Mitchel sighed for "a plantation of fat negroes," whom he could occasionally "larrup," in the overflowing exuberance of his "patriotism."

That such sentiments are not confined to the South, and the class technically called "slaveholders," will be shown by the following brief extract from the

NEW YORK DAY BOOK,

a journal which aspires to the leadership of the Democratic forces of the entire country. In its issue of June 21, 1856, in an article on "Sewardism," occurs the following, among other passages of a similar import:

“*Negro ‘slavery’ is the basis of American DEMOCRACY; or the subordination of an inferior race has secured, and always will secure, the equality of the superior race.*”

In its campaign prospectus, of the same date, occurs the following portentous announcement:

“We have enlisted for the *war against abolitionism* and its impostures, and we do not intend to stop until we ‘*subdue*’ them.”

The “abolitionism” which the *Day Book* is going to “*subdue*” is no other than the “Democracy” of Jefferson and the “fathers.” It is justice between man and man, between state and state, between nation and nation. It is giving to every man his due. It is doing unto others as we would have them do to us. It advocates the banishment of falsehood, fraud, and violence, from the affairs of men. It is the moral code of Him “who spake as never man spake.” It is the perfection of reason and the law of God. With what success the *Day Book* meets, in its attempts to subdue it, we shall learn in due time; let *us* be patient.

The following article, in relation to the late murder at *Willard’s Hotel*, Washington city, bears upon the point just stated, that *slavery knows nothing of race or color*; that *condition* is the only ground on which it bases all its arrogant assumptions of superiority. It is from the

CHARLESTON (S. C.) STANDARD.

“HERBERT AND KEATING. — Any provocation that may have been given for the assault upon him by the body of waiters, was at the most a provocation of words, and such a provocation as a servant should not have a right to resent; and, if white men accept the offices of menials, it should be expected that they will do so with an apprehension of their relation to society, and the disposition quietly to encounter both the responsibilities and the liabilities which the relation imposes.”

Mr. J. C. Underwood, who was recently prohibited from returning to Virginia, in consequence of a speech which he made at the Philadelphia Convention, addressed a Fremont meeting in New York on Thursday evening, July 17. Referring to the domestic slave trade, which has been created as a result of the law of 1808 declaring the foreign slave trade piracy, Mr. Underwood said that the number of slaves now annually sold in Virginia was between 20,000 and 25,000, and the price they brought was from \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000. The traffic is attended, too, by horrors as great as any that marked the African slave trade. Of the condition of the white laborers of Virginia, Mr. Underwood drew the following sad picture :

“He would ask, what were the influences of slavery upon the white man? and upon this subject he could not help feeling more for his own countrymen than for the poor children of Africa. He had white laborers around him in Virginia—the families of eight poor white men—sober and industrious tenants. He had employed them because he preferred them to slaves. He could have inherited slaves if he had but said the word; but upon his first reflections he had resolved that the sweat of no slave should moisten his fields. (Great applause.)

“What did they think were the wages of laboring men in Virginia? They only received from eight to ten dollars a month, with the exception of a little time in harvest—some fifty cents a day; and the fare allotted to them was far inferior in every respect to that furnished by the farmers of the North to their laboring men. The white laborers in Virginia were not invited to the great house to take their meals, but they must take them under the shade of a tree, sometimes in the same group with the slaves, and sometimes in a little group by themselves. The white laborer at the South did not get from his employer tea, coffee, sugar, butter, wheat bread, or anything of the kind, for his support. He would tell them some of the other disadvantages under which the white laborers of Virginia were placed. They were not permitted to enjoy the advantages of district schools. It was true, there was a small fund for common-school education, but, before any

man could be allowed to have a participation in it for the benefit of his children, he must be willing to acknowledge himself a pauper, and ask for his share of the fund upon the ground of his poverty. They all had heard the maxim that pride and pauperism walked together, and the poor white men of Virginia were too proud to accept of the fund upon such terms, and the result was that there were seventy-five thousand men and women in Virginia unable to read and write. These were some of the consequences resulting to the white laborers at the South from the influences of slavery; and the question for Northern laboring men to decide was, whether such influences should be extended over the territories of the great West—whether the white men who go there shall fare like the slave laborers of the South, or whether, like the white laborers of New York, they shall be permitted to enjoy the rights of freemen, the right of education for their children, and a reasonable compensation for their labor.”

The next point to be established is, that *slaveholders habitually exercise a haughty, overbearing demeanor toward those who are in every respect their equals.*

The following extract from a letter of THOMAS JEFFERSON to *M. Warville*, Paris, Feb., 1788, will enable us to understand the origin of this peculiarity. In speaking of the intercourse between master and slave, he says :

“The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, GIVES LOOSE TO HIS WORST PASSIONS; and, thus *nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.”

Hon. LEWIS SUMMERS, Judge of the General Court of Virginia, and a slaveholder, said, in a speech before the Virginia Legislature, in 1832 (see *Richmond Whig*, Jan. 26, 1832) :

“A slave population exercises the *most pernicious influence* upon the manners, habits, and character of those among whom it exists.

Lisping infancy learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts, the *embryo tyrant* of its little domain. The consciousness of *superior destiny* takes possession of his mind at its earliest dawning, and *love of power and rule* 'grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength.' Unless enabled to rise above the operation of those powerful causes, *he enters the world with miserable notions of self-importance, and under the government of an UNBRIDLED TEMPER.*"

These "odious peculiarities" become quite prominent on too many occasions. Those who are at all acquainted with the comparative merits of the "North and the South," in regard to the industrial enterprises, the diffusion of knowledge and general intelligence, the piety, morality, and general prosperity of the two sections, will be able to appreciate the spirit of the following article from the

RICHMOND ENQUIRER.

"The relations between the North and South are very analogous to those which subsisted between Greece and the Roman Empire after the subjugation of Achaia by the consul Mummius. The dignity and energy of the Roman character, conspicuous in war and in politics, were not easily tamed and adjusted to the arts of industry and literature. The degenerate and pliant Greeks, on the contrary, excelled in the handicraft and polite professions. We learn, from the vigorous invective of Juvenal, that they were the most useful and capable of servants, whether as pimps or professors of rhetoric. Obsequious, dexterous, and ready, the versatile Greeks monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and manufacturing, in the Roman Empire — allowing their masters ample leisure for the service of the State, in the senate or in the field. The people of the Northern States of this confederacy exhibit the same aptitude for the arts of industry. They excel as clerks, mechanics, and tradesmen, and they have monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and peddling."

The chief point in the "analogy" here drawn seems to be, that, while we of the North are good mechanics,

manufacturers, "*pimps*," (?) and peddlers, and so create and diffuse nearly all the wealth of the nation, our "dignified" Southern masters are thereby "allowed ample leisure for the service of the State in the senate or in the field." The amount and *kind* of service they have rendered the "State," in either department, but especially in the "field," may be learned by consulting the records of history.

The same paper, in its issue of June 2, 1856, holds the following language, in reference to the murderous assault of Preston S. Brooks upon the Hon. Charles Sumner :

"In the main, the press of the South applaud the conduct of Mr. Brooks, without condition or limitation. Our approbation at least is entire and unreserved. We consider the act good in conception, better in execution, and best of all in consequences. These vulgar abolitionists in the Senate are *getting above themselves*. They have been humored until they forget their position. They have grown *saucy*, and *dare to be impudent to gentlemen*. Now they are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit and honor as a pack of curs. Intrenched behind 'privilege,' they fancy they can slander the South and its representatives with impunity."

"The truth is, they have been suffered to run too long without *collars*. They must be *lashed into submission*. Sumner, in particular, ought to have nine-and-thirty early every morning. He is a great strapping fellow, and could stand the *cowhide* beautifully. Brooks frightened him, and, at the first blow of the *cane*, he bellowed like a bull-calf.

"There is the blackguard Wilson, an ignorant Natick cobbler, swaggering in excess of muscle, and, absolutely dying for a beating. Will not somebody take him in hand? Hale is another huge, red-faced, sweating scoundrel, whom some gentleman should *kick* and *cuff* until he abates something of his impudent talk.

"We trust other gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Brooks, that so a curb may be imposed upon the truculence and audacity of abolition speakers. If need be, let us have a *caning* or *cowhiding* every day. If the worst come to the worst, so much the sooner, so much the better."

During the debates on the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," in the U. S. House of Representatives, the following language was addressed to the opponents of that measure by

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, OF GA.

"Well, gentlemen, you make a good deal of clamor on the Nebraska measure, but it don't alarm us at all. We have got used to that kind of talk. You have threatened before, but never *performed*. You have always *caved in*, and you will again. You are a *mouthing, white-livered* set. Of course you will oppose: we expect that; but we don't care for your opposition. You will rail; but we don't care for your railing. You will hiss; but so do adders. We expect it of adders, and we expect it of you. You are like the devils that were pitched over the battlements of heaven into hell. They set up a howl of discomfiture; and so will you. But *their fate was sealed, and so is yours*. You must **SUBMIT TO THE YOKE. BUT DON'T CHAFE.** Gentlemen, *we have got you in our power*. You tried to drive us to the wall in 1850; but times are changed. *You went a wooling and CAME HOME FLEECED.* *Don't be so IMPUDENT as to COMPLAIN.* *You will only be SLAPPED IN THE FACE.* *Don't RESIST; you will only be LASHED INTO OBEDIENCE."*

The frequent allusions, in these "elegant extracts," to the modes and instruments employed by their authors to coerce submission from their *slaves*,—by "*beating*," "*kicking*," "*cuffing*," the "*yoke*," the "*lash*," the "*cane*," the "*collar*," and the "*cowhide*,"—prove that they have been apt learners in the *school* described by *Mr. Jefferson*.* And yet, in all this, the people of the North are only "eating the fruit of their own doings;" they have "sown the wind and are reaping the whirlwind." The race of *Doughfaces* has become so numerous, and has so long flattered, caressed, and quietly submitted to all the whims, caprices, insults, and out-

* Letter to Warville.

rages of the slaveholders, that they have come to regard a continuance of these favors as among their *rights*; and, like spoiled children, they storm and threaten whenever they are liable to be crossed in any of their darling schemes.

Slavery, being a despotism, must resort to the means of self-defence employed by other despotisms. Hence a terrible "*public opinion*," and in many instances *barbarous statutes*, make it a penal offence to "print, publish, or utter" the sentiments or doctrines of freedom; so that free speech is crushed and the press muzzled throughout the South. There are many persons in the South who feel cursed by the existence of slavery, and would gladly do something for its overthrow; but a fearful "reign of terror" keeps them quiet.

The following extract from a letter recently published in the *Chicago Tribune* will throw some light on this point:

"PENSACOLA, Leake Co., Miss., July 2, 1856.

"*Editors Chicago Tribune:*

"* * * I, in common with many Southern men, feel a deep interest in your success in the Kansas struggle, as well as in the ensuing Presidential election; but we dare *do* nothing, as we should thereby expatriate ourselves or suffer intolerable persecution from the slaveholders and those under their influence. I long, however, to mount the stump and tell my Northern friends what many Southern men really do think of public affairs in the present crisis. But we are tongue-tied,—speechless,—and dare not open our mouths in defence of equal rights and free labor, without falling under the merciless displeasure of the 'Oligarchy,' as you Northerners correctly call them. Yet many of us would brave their anger and malevolence, but for our families and relations that would suffer on our account the ruthless vengeance of the public oppressors of our fair land.

"Many a *silent* but *earnest* prayer will be uttered for your complete success in November, by true-hearted patriots south of Mason and

Dixon's line, who will work and vote for Fillmore as the least of two evils, trusting that their thralldom may be overthrown by the success of Fremont. He is our hope and morning star. If he sets in darkness our last hope expires, and leaves us in gloom. May God in his mercy avert such a calamity from our land. His success will revive the smouldering fires of freedom in the breasts of tens of thousands of non-slaveholders by compulsion. Before his four years end, there will be a powerful, gradual emancipation party organized in all the Northern slave States on Clay's plan; while we, further South, in the cotton and sugar region, will enjoy the right of Free Speech, and of subscribing to and receiving such newspapers as we please. Work and pray for Fremont; but be sure and work, whether you pray or not.

"Yours truly,

* * *"

The name of the writer is withheld for reasons which appear in the extract.

The following paragraph appears in the

MOBILE ADVERTISER.

"There are men here in Alabama, and in this county, who are not ashamed to own a preference for Fremont, or any other abolitionist, to Buchanan. How can the South ever expect to maintain her self-respect, or obtain her just rights, if she even endures such persons on her soil, much less permits them to occupy influential positions within her borders?"

That slavery will not "*endure such persons*" on her soil is a well known fact. Mr. J. C. Underwood, of Virginia, whose recent speech in New York has just been quoted, attended the late Republican Convention at Philadelphia; and, for thus exercising a freeman's right to his political preference, was threatened with the most terrible vengeance if he returned, and he is now an exile on account of his opinions.

The following statement of facts, from the *Boston Chronicle*, not only shows that the cause of freedom has many zealous, active, and determined friends in

the slaveholding States, but indicates the means sometimes resorted to by the despots to crush them out :

“Some seven years ago William S. Bailey, a hard-working, ingenious mechanic of Newport, Ky., a machinist by trade, with a large family, and a hatred of slavery such as only an experience of its unspeakable oppressions on the white mechanic, as well as the negro, can engender, resolved to speak out, with such education as he has been able to pick up, through types of his own. In a slave State, where such men as Birney and Cassius M. Clay had been frustrated in their efforts to establish an anti-slavery press, the attempt of a mere mechanic was looked upon as hopeless. But he procured press and types, taught his own family to print, and went ahead. His paper met with favor among men of his own class. The slaveholders set on ruffians to mob him, but with his own workmen and friends he defended his printing apparatus successfully. They got up opposition papers and lost their money. Bailey, having a machine-shop with a good many hands in his employ, put his press and types in the upper story, and, when the ruffians came to attack his paper, the sturdy workers in the metals were ready to pitch into them. Finding no other way to subdue him, about four years ago they set fire to his shop and burnt down the whole. There was no insurance, and his loss, about \$6000, made him a poor man.

“By straining every nerve, and stretching his credit, he procured printing materials and revived his paper. It is now printed weekly and daily — bears the flag of Fremont and Dayton — having all its types set by the *proprietor's own family of ten children* — and is the only daily paper in Kentucky out of Louisville. It is a fixed living fact. It has a constituency. It is a political power in Kentucky. It has opened the eyes of tens of thousands — they are poor whites, to be sure, but many of them will vote the Freedom ticket at the risk of becoming poorer. Mr. Bailey is now in this city; and assures us that he verily believes, if Kentucky could be stumped for Freedom, and the mode of voting was such that the *non-slaveholders could vote their true wishes without jeopardizing their livelihood*, the State would give a decided majority for Fremont and Dayton.”

As “knowledge is *power*” to its possessor, one of the strongest defences of tyranny is, to surround its victims with a cloud of *ignorance*. Hence, —

The SLAVE POWER *not only* “forbids the elements of education being communicated to slaves,” but *arrays itself in deadly hostility to the cause of education among the people generally.*

It utters its maledictions against the New England common-school system, after this sort, through one of its organs, the *Richmond Examiner*, Dec. 28, 1855 :

“We have got to hating everything with the prefix *free*—from free negroes down and up, through the whole catalogue of abominations, demagogueries, lusts, philosophies, fanaticism, and follies, free farms, free labor, free niggers, free society, free will, free thinking, free love, free wives, free children, and free schools, all belonging to the same brood of damnable isms whose mother is Sin and whose daddy is the Devil—are all the progeny of that prolific monster which greeted Satan on his arrival at the gates of hell, which,

“ ‘— Seemed woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
With mortal sting : about her middle round
A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud and many
A hideous peal : yet when they list would creep,
If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there ; yet there still barked and howled
Within unseen.’

“But the worst of all these abominations—because, when once installed, it becomes the hotbed propagator of all—is the modern system of free schools. We forget who it is that has charged and proved that the New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of all the legions of horrible infidelities and treasons that have turned her cities into Sodoms and Gomorrahs, and her fair land into the common nestling-place of howling bedlamites. We abominate the system *because* the schools are *free*, and because they make that which ought to be the reward of toil, and earnest, ardent, and almost superhuman individual efforts, cheap, commonplace, prizeless, and uninviting. As there is no *royal* road to learning, so there ought to be no *mob* road to learning.

“A ‘little learning is a dangerous thing’—to the individual, to society, to learning itself, to all conservatism of thought and all stability

in general affairs. The sole function of the free school is to supply that 'little learning;' and thus it is charged to the brim with incendiaryisms, heresies, and all the explosive elements which uproot and rend and desolate society."

The obvious import of this last paragraph is, that, as "a *little* learning is a dangerous thing" (the converse of which is, "much learning hath made thee mad"), and the "free school" can only furnish a "*little*;" and as the "*mob*," which means the common people, are unable to send their children to *college* where "*much* learning" is to be had, said free school is a nuisance which must be abated; and said *mob* and their children shall have no learning at all. And so, as Hon. Charles Sumner truly said, slavery "imprisons pious matrons for teaching little children to read the word of God."*

That these infamous doctrines and practices have brought forth their legitimate fruits, is seen in the astounding fact that there are *seventy-five thousand free white adult men and women* in Virginia, unable to read or write. Nor is this state of things confined to Virginia, as will be shown by the following extract from the Georgia

FEDERAL UNION.

"A generous patriotism is startled by the fact as it stood in 1840: upward of 30,000 free white grown-up citizens in Georgia unable to read or write a word of their mother tongue! This number equals the entire adult population of the State as it stood seven years after the close of the Revolution. Ten years roll by, 1850 comes, and the number in that short time has swollen to 41,000! Many have looked with anxiety at these figures (and surely not without the best of rea-

* See Narrative of Margaret Douglas, who, with her daughter, was imprisoned one month in the jail of Norfolk, Va., in 1853, for opening a school in that city for the instruction of free colored children in reading and writing.

sons) who have not noticed the most distressing feature of the case. We refer to the rapidity with which the number of entirely uneducated freemen in Georgia increases. *It increases more rapidly than the entire population does.* By reference to the last census, it will be seen that between 1840 and 1850 the rate of increase of the entire white population was a little under 28 per cent. During the same time the rate of increase of the number of adult citizens in the State unable to read or write was over 34 1-3 per cent. It is only by distinctly observing this rapid increase that we see the facts in their appalling magnitude. This vast army of forty-one thousand *will be more than doubled in thirty years!* At the rate of the increase shown by the census, it will have within its ranks, in the year 1900, *one hundred and seventy thousand* of the citizens of Georgia. This is the rigid result yielded by the figures. The boy of to-day, who may live to old age, will see the time when this host of darkened, unlettered, uncared-for multitude in our State will have grown to over *two hundred thousand*, unless an entirely new and effective effort be made to drive this sore evil from the land."

Our fifth proposition is, that **SLAVERY** is an *incubus upon the INDUSTRY of the nation; crippling, paralyzing, or destroying the enterprise and prosperity of the people where it exists.*

On this branch of the subject little proof is needed. The facts are so patent to every eye as to need but little elucidation.

Those who will take the trouble to compare the present conditions of Kentucky and Ohio, and will at the same time remember that Kentucky is the oldest, and, in mineral and agricultural resources, the richest State, will find sufficient evidence on this point. But then, as confession in open court is better than mere argument, we have here the testimony of a few competent witnesses. The *Richmond Enquirer* tells us that—

"In no State of the confederacy do the facilities for manufacturing operations exist in greater profusion than in Virginia. Every condi-

tion essential to success in these employments is found here in prodigal abundance, and in a peculiarly convenient combination. First, we have a limitless supply of water-power — the cheapest of motors — in localities easy of access. So abundant is this supply of water-power that no value is attached to it distinct from the adjacent lands, except in the vicinity of the larger towns. On the Potomac and its tributaries; on the Rappahannock; on the James and its tributaries; on the Roanoke and its tributaries; on the Holston, and Kanawha, and other streams, numberless sites may be found where the supply of water-power is sufficient for the purposes of a Lawrence or a Lowell. Nor is there any want of material for building at these localities; timber and granite are abundant; and, to complete the circle of advantages, the climate is genial and healthful, and the soil eminently productive. * * * Another advantage which Virginia possesses for the manufacture of cotton is the proximity of its mills to the raw material. At the present prices of the staple, the value of this advantage is estimated at 10 per cent. Our railway system, penetrating into every part of the State, will facilitate the transfer of cotton to the most remote localities."

It is to be borne in mind that the "railway system," here spoken of, is only completed in *fancy*, and at every depot of such parts as are completed in *fact*, *guards* are stationed, to keep the "*laborers*" from taking advantage of the "*facilities*" they offer for making good their *escape*.

But, on this same head, hear the

LYNCHBURG VIRGINIAN.

"Her coal fields are the most extensive in the world, and her coal of the best and purest quality. Her iron deposits are altogether inexhaustible, and in many instances so pure that it is malleable in its primitive state; and many of these deposits in the immediate vicinity of extensive coal-fields. She has, too, very extensive deposits of copper, lead, and gypsum. Her rivers are numerous and bold, generally with fall enough for extensive water-power. The James River at Richmond affords a convertible water-power, immensely superior to that of the Merrimac at Lowell, and not inferior to that of the

Genesee at Rochester. The James River at her passage through the Blue Ridge, and the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, both afford great water-power. The Kanawha or New River has an immense fall. There is hardly a section of five miles between the falls of Kanawha and the North Carolina line, that has not fall enough for working the most extensive machinery. * * * * *

"A remarkable feature in the mining and manufacturing prospects of Virginia is the ease and economy with which all her minerals are mined; instead of being, as in England and elsewhere, generally imbedded deep within the bowels of the earth, from which they can be got only with great labor and at great cost, ours are found everywhere on the hills and slopes, with their ledges dipping in the direction of the plains below. Why then should not Virginia at once employ at least half of her labor and capital in mining and manufacturing? Richmond could as profitably manufacture all cotton and woolen goods as Lowell, or any other town in New England. Why should not Lynchburg, with all her promised facility of getting coal and pig-metal, manufacture all articles of iron and steel just as cheaply, and yet as profitably, as any portion of the Northern States? Why should not every town and village on the line of every railroad in the State erect their shops, in which they may manufacture a thousand articles of daily consumption, just as good and cheap as they may be made anywhere?"

Why not, *Mr. Virginian*? For the simple and plain reason that SLAVERY has made you too proud and too lazy to go to work, like honest men, and develop the rich agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing resources which a kind Providence has bestowed upon you in such "prodigal abundance." It is *slavery*, with its concomitants, pride, arrogance, and laziness, which has dilapidated your plantations, converted your fertile plains into "mullen and pine barrens," and sent such "blighting and mildew" throughout your borders that even the bondmen might stand up and laugh in his chains to see how slavery has smitten the land with ugliness.

It is this same *slavery, laziness, and pride*, which have

kept the entire South in the condition which the *Virginian* so truly describes in the following paragraph :

“ Dependent upon Europe and the North for almost every yard of cloth and every coat and boot and hat we wear ; for our axes, scythes, tubs, and buckets—in short, for everything except our bread and meat. It must occur to the South that if our relations with the North should ever be severed — and how soon they may be, none can know, (may God avert it long !) — we would, in all the South, not be able to clothe ourselves. We could not fell our forests, plough our fields, nor mow our meadows. In fact, we would be reduced to a state more abject than we are willing to look at, even prospectively. And yet, with all these things staring us in the face, we shut our eyes, and go on blindfold.”

We have thus hastily glanced at some of the more prominent traits of the SLAVE POWER, or that *form* in which the DESPOTIC ELEMENT is developed in this country. It is here seen that the most dangerous foe to our liberties does not reside east of the Atlantic, but is here in our very midst: an all-controlling, all-conquering POWER ; which *crushes labor, and enslaves it to “capital;”* which *insults, browbeats, bullies, and murderously assaults* the Senators and Representatives of the people in the halls of Congress, while engaged in their official duties ; which *muzzles the press ; which denies education to the common people ; which cripples and paralyzes the best interests of the country.* And this brings us to our sixth and last proposition, which is, that

The political leaders of the Democratic party of the nation have allied themselves to the Slave Power ; that they have left the ancient faith of the party, and, trampling on its former profession—“that the cornerstone of all Republican institutions is the UNALIEN-

ABLE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY OF ALL MEN,"—*they have adopted the monstrous and tyrannical dogma of McDuffie, "that DOMESTIC SLAVERY is the corner-stone of our Republican edifice."* And that the contracting parties—SLAVERY and the LEADERS of the DEMOCRACY—are now laboring to "SUBDUE" and "CRUSH OUT" the liberties of the people; and to extend the dominion and increase the power of the former, so as to give it the control of the government through all coming time.

The truth of this proposition is so apparent to all observers as scarcely to need any proof. Nevertheless, to avoid the charge of naked assertion, sufficient evidence will be adduced to establish the point beyond cavil.

We have already examined the character of the *Democracy* of the fathers, and found it true. It gave us the Declaration of Independence, with its noble assertion of human rights. It gave us the Revolution with its glorious results. It was everywhere the foe of tyrants and the friend of man. It abhorred slavery. Its apostles and leaders, as we have shown, were anxious for its extermination. Jefferson denounced it as "a bondage, *one hour* of which is worse than *ages* of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose." But the fathers *toiled, suffered, and sacrificed*, for the blessings of liberty, while the sons only *inherit* them. And, like many other mere *inheritors*, they have become *profligate*, and are now questioning the virtue and integrity, at any rate the wisdom, of the fathers, and doubting whether, after all, they were not a little "*insane upon the absurd dogma of universal liberty.*"

THE CHARLESTON (S. C.) MERCURY,

it is well known, is a zealous and prominent supporter of both *Slavery* and *Democracy*. ("And how can two walk together except they are agreed?") A writer in that paper, whose articles are indorsed by its editor as indicating "a wide study of politics," philosophizes on the matter as follows :

"The revolution of 1776 constituted a great epoch, at which the mind of the Caucasian race, among much that was wise and good, *began to show symptoms of insanity upon the absurd dogma of universal liberty*. The leaders of the revolution, not content with giving freedom to America, and 'scattering torrents of light,' vainly believed that freedom might be given to the world. . . . And even the slaughter of six millions of the human race upon the soil of Europe failed to dispel the sad and fatal delusion."

By referring to the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention at Worcester, quoted in the early part of this work, it will be seen that the "chief tenets" in the "Democratic creed" are there declared to be, "the inborn, heaven-granted freedom and equality of *all men* (to deny which is to destroy republicanism)." Here these "chief tenets" are "denied," and pronounced a "sad and fatal delusion."

THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER

is confessedly the most able and influential journal south of "Mason and Dixon's line;" it is, also, a powerful supporter of both *Slavery* and *Democracy*; and a zealous advocate of the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency. It talks (of the Kansas question) in this strain :

"The South once thought its own institutions wrongful and inexpedient. *It thinks so no longer—and will insist that they SHALL BE PROTECTED AND EXTENDED BY THE ARM OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, EQUALLY WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE NORTH.*"

But it may be urged that this change of sentiment is confined to the South, and is not tolerated by the Democracy of the North. It is to be remembered that there is no longer any such distinction as *Northern* and *Southern* Democracy. The party North and South is one. It is united upon one platform, and follows one standard-bearer. The greatest unanimity prevails among its leaders. Indeed, they glory in the fact that they are a "national" and not a "sectional" party. Now, *not one Democratic statesman, orator, or journal has been known publicly to condemn or reject these sentiments of their "Southern brethren."* So far from it, they both *silently assent to and publicly APPROVE them.*

THE NEW YORK DAY BOOK,

a recognized leader of the party, and a journal of wide circulation and influence, indorses these sentiments after this fashion :

"*The subordination of an INFERIOR race has secured, and always will secure, the equality of the SUPERIOR race.*" It has been shown that "laborers" are regarded as an "*inferior race,*" and that all those who by hook or by crook can become "capitalists" are regarded as "*the superior race.*" And the "subordination" of the *laborers* or *working men* is now considered, by the political leaders of the Democratic party, as the only means of securing the supremacy and "equality" of "*capitalists.*" We thus find them arraying themselves on the side of "capital" against labor, and they are convicted out of their own mouths of plotting with the SLAVE POWER to "destroy republicanism."

The Hon. Rufus Choate, an "old line" Whig of the "straightest" sect, has just gone over to the camp of

the leaders of the Democratic party. In order to prepare the way for such a step, he wrote them a letter, in which he sneers at "the glorious declaration of our revolutionary fathers," as "the glittering and high-sounding generalities of natural right which make up the Declaration of Independence."

The history of the "Kansas struggle" is full of instruction on this point. *Despotism*, under all forms, is always *aggressive*; and not the least so is *slaveholding* despotism. It is always anxious and watchful of opportunities to extend its domains and increase its power; and here, on the virgin soil of Kansas, the two *forces* met in open conflict. On the one side was Freedom, with her schools, her churches, her presses, her free speech, and free men, with the hum of their busy machinery, and all those industrial pursuits which give prosperity and strength to a nation; and on the other side stood Slavery, with its chains, and whips, and gags, and thumbscrews, and trained bulldogs, and hunters of men, — with its ignorance, and insolence, and imbruted "labor." Both were there, anxious to possess the country. The latter had already been forbidden to enter by solemn statute. But the SLAVE POWER demanded a repeal of the restriction, and the demand was complied with; and the territory was "opened up" to the inroads of slavery, by a *professedly Democratic* Congress, and approved by a *professedly Democratic* President. And this was done out of a pretended regard to "popular sovereignty" in the territories; or, in the language of the bill, from a professed desire "to leave the people thereof *perfectly free* to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution."

Whether they were left "perfectly free," "subject only to the Constitution," is seen from what followed. Having thus proclaimed the right of the people "to form and regulate their own domestic institutions," the act proceeds to rob them of the right to choose their own Governor, Secretary, Chief Justice, Associate Justices, Attorney, and Marshal, — all of whom were sent from Washington, and *all supposed to be in favor of making Kansas a Slave State*. As it would appear too barefaced to rob them of the right to choose their own Delegate, and the members of their own Legislature, by special statute, other methods were resorted to, which are described by eye-witnesses, some of whom were participators in the outrages.

As a prelude to the atrocities which followed, a few days after the passage of the organic act, and as soon as its passage could be known on the border, leading citizens of Missouri crossed into the Territory, held squatter meetings, and then returned to their homes. Among their resolutions are the following :

"That we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of this Territory.

"That we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and advise slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible."

Similar resolutions were passed in various parts of the Territory, and by meetings in several counties of Missouri.

On the 29th of November, 1854, an election for Delegate to Congress took place, when swarms of the hired minions of slavery, ready to do its bloodiest work, were poured into the Territory from Missouri, who with

bowie, bullet, and superiority of numbers, elected Whitfield, the candidate of slavery. An eye-witness, General Pomeroy, of superior intelligence and perfect integrity, thus describes this scene :

“The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impending force. So bold and reckless were our invaders, that they cared not to conceal their attack. They came upon us, not in the guise of voters to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly to snatch it with a strong hand. They came directly from their own homes, and in compact and organized bands, with arms in hand and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and, when their work was done, returned whence they came.”

The same trustworthy eye-witness says, of one locality :

“Baggage-wagons were there, with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field-pieces, ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their State.”

Of another locality, he says :

“The invaders came together in one armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and, the night before election, pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls ; and, having appointed their own judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence.”

This testimony is from an anti-slavery witness. We will hear now from some of the other side :

“On the 30th of March, 1855, the first election was to be held under the organic act for members of the Territorial Legislature, when an armed multitude from Missouri entered the Territory. . . . On they came, as an ‘army with banners,’ organized in companies,

with officers, munitions, tents, and provisions, as though marching upon a foreign foe, and breathing loud-mouthed threats that they would carry their purpose, if need be, by the bowie-knife and revolver. Among them, according to his own confession, was David R. Atchison, belted with the vulgar arms of his vulgar comrades."

Here is what Stringfellow said *before* the invasion :

"I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the Slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal."

Here is what Atchison said *after* the invasion :

"Well, what next? Why, an election for members of the Legislature to organize the Territory must be held, . . . and, cold and inclement as the weather was, I went over with a company of men, . . . and the Abolitionists of the North said, *and published it abroad, that Atchison was there, with bowie-knife and revolver; and, by God, it was true! I never did go into that Territory—I never intend to go into that Territory—without being prepared for all such kind of cattle.*"

That these men spoke the truth is confirmed by the contemporaneous admission of the *Squatter Sovereign*, a paper published at Atchison, and at once the organ of the President and of these Borderers, which, under date of 1st April, thus recounts the victory :

"INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI, March 31, 1855.

"Several hundred emigrants from Kansas have just entered our city. They were preceded by the Westport and Independence brass bands. . . . They gave repeated cheers for Kansas and Missouri. They report that not an anti-slavery man will be in the Legislature of Kansas. *We have made a clean sweep.*"*

* From Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner.

The report of the Kansas Investigating Committee shows that, of 2871 votes cast at the election for Delegate, 1729 were illegal, leaving but 1142 legal votes. And of the 6320 votes cast at the election for members of the Legislature, 4908 were illegal, leaving but 1412 legal votes.

Thus were the people of Kansas robbed of every right except the right to choose slavery. This was leaving them "perfectly free," with a *vengeance*!

That the Government does not shrink from the responsibility of these atrocities, may be seen from the fact that the ruffians have six newspapers in the Territory, all sustained more or less by the administration at Washington. The only Free State paper not yet suppressed as a nuisance by order of Judge Le-compte, is the *Tribune*, at Topeka, which, since the recent troubles, publishes only an occasional half-sheet. As a specimen of the defiant and monstrous spirit of the administration organs of the Territory, take the following, from the *Squatter Sovereign*, which is supported by United States advertising, and has the names of Buchanan and Breckenridge at its head:

"Several parties have inquired of us why the law has not been put in force at Topeka, as well as at Lawrence, against abolition newspapers? Topeka is no better than Lawrence; it is also demoralized; but it is not so well known abroad. If both Topeka and Lawrence were blotted out, entirely obliterated, it would be the best thing for Kansas that could happen. The sooner the people of Topeka sound their *death-knell* the better; they are too corrupt and degraded to live. We would like to be present and *raise our Ebenezer in the funeral*. It is silly to suppose for an instant that there can be peace in Kansas as long as one *enemy of the South lives upon her soil, or one single specimen of an Abolitionist treads in the sunlight of Kansas Territory.*"

Here is the law to which the "several parties" referred. It is the twelfth section of an act entitled, "an act to punish offences against slave property." It exhibits the character of the *bloody code* by which *Slavery* finds it necessary to hedge itself about; and to which the *freemen* of Kansas are required to bend their necks in *silence*, on peril of *fines*, IMPRISONMENT, and DEATH.

"SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain *that persons have not the right to hold slaves* in the Territory, or shall introduce into Kansas, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into the Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the rights of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years."

It is the refusal to submit passively to such an act, that the political leaders and journals of the Democratic party throughout the country have denounced as "*treason and rebellion* against the government and laws of the United States;" thereby approving and indorsing this atrocious statute. But still stronger proof of the agreement between the Slave Power, and the leaders of the so-called Democracy, is furnished in both the *platform* and the *candidate* of that party.

Before examining the platform, it may be well to take a brief survey of the workmen who built it. The picture is drawn by Col. Thomas H. Benton. It will be seen that the Cincinnati Convention was not composed of the people, but of "a garrison of office-holders," who have very little sympathy with them. But hear Col. Benton relate what he saw there :

"I found a garrison of office-holders inside of the Convention, and a besieging army of the same gentry on the outside of it. Packed delegates were there, sent to betray the people. Straw delegates were there, coming from the States which could give no Democratic vote. Members of Congress were there, although forbid by their duties from being at such a place. A cohort of office-holders were there, political eunuchs in the federal system, incapable of voting for the smallest federal office, yet sent there by the Administration to impose a President upon the people. * * * * *

"Such was the composition of nearly one-half of the whole convention, — custom-house officers, postmasters, salaried clerks, packed delegates, straw delegates, political eunuchs, members of Congress, district attorneys, federal marshals. The place in which they met, and which had been provided by a packed administration committee, was worthy of the meeting. It was a sort of den, approached by a long narrow passage, barricaded by three doors, each door guarded by armed bullies, with orders to knock down any person that approached without a ticket from the committee, and a special order to be prepared with arms to repulse the Missouri delegation which came to vote for Buchanan — a repulse which they attempted, and got themselves knocked down and trampled under foot.

"This den had no windows by which people could look in, or see, or the light of the sun enter — only a row of glass like a steamboat skylight, thirty-five feet above the floor. It was the nearest representation of the 'black hole' in Calcutta, and like that hole had well nigh become notorious for a similar catastrophe. The little panes of glass above were hung on pivots, and turned flat to let in air. A rain came on, drove into the den; and, to exclude it, the panes were turned up. Smothering! smothering! was the cry in the den; and the glass had to be turned up again. Over this place was a small box for the admission of spectators, its approach barricaded and guarded, and entrance only obtained upon tickets from the same packed committee, — and to whom they gave tickets was seen when the first votes were given for Buchanan, and when each State that voted for him was hissed — even Virginia; and the hissing only stopped by a threat to clear the galleries. Such is the pass to which the nomination of President is now brought."

First in the platform, superficially, it looks like a

tolerably *innocent* platform, and few persons, not acquainted with the wiles of Slavery, would discover any mischief in it; but the practised eye sees the *lurking devil* through every chink in its planks. Let us lift up but a couple of these planks, and the monster is revealed. The *language* of both is ambiguous and obscure, but there is no mistaking their *meaning* after all. The first was as follows :

“ *Resolved*, That the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union; non-interference by Congress with slavery in States and Territories.”

Here “the American Democracy” recognize and adopt the principles contained in the “Kansas-Nebraska act,” and of course all the legitimate consequences of that act, as “the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question.” The plain meaning of which is, that the only sound and safe way to settle the great *conflict* which always *will*, and, in the very nature of things, always *must*, arise between *freedom* and *slavery*, is, not only *to let slavery go just where it pleases, but to help it by every lawless, brutal, and murderous means in your power!* That this is no perversion is proved by the next clause, and all the facts in the case: “*Non-interference* by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories.” “*Non-interference*” means simply *not to interfere* — *to let it alone*; to let it go just *where*, and do just *what*, it pleases. It does not say “*non-interference*” with *Liberty*; it does not mean to let *Liberty* alone, to go where *it* pleases. O

no! The spurious "American Democracy" intends to "SUBDUCE" that — to "CRUSH IT OUT." Let it not be forgotten, there is a *genuine* Democracy which "still lives" in this country.

Let us lift up the other plank. It reads as follows :

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico — to maintain a permanent protection of the great outlets through which is emptied into its waters the products raised upon our soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people in our western valleys and the Union at large."

The talk about maintaining "a permanent protection to the great outlets," etc., is all very well; that is quite innocent in itself. But the phrase, "*to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico*," contains still more of this brooding mischief. The Hon. Harry Hibbard, a leading Democrat, and a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention, made a speech at a mass meeting of the New Hampshire Democracy, at Concord, on June 17, 1856, in which he declares the meaning of that clause to be, the "*acquiring of the Island of Cuba*."

Secondly, in the CANDIDATE. JAMES BUCHANAN, also, *looks* like a very innocent candidate, personally considered. But we are not to look at him *personally*, but officially, as a "candidate" for the Presidency. He attended the "Ostend Conference" and signed the famous "Ostend Circular," the following extract from which explains how and on what conditions the Island of Cuba is to be "acquired:"

"After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished

Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, *then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power.* And we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us."

The following brief recurrence to history will explain *how* "Cuba, in the possession of Spain, might endanger our internal peace," etc.:

"While Mexico and the South American Republics were struggling for their independence, as 'Cuba was at a short distance, devoted to the royal cause, and affording a depot for the royal forces ready to prey on their commerce, Mexico and Colombia proposed to invade this island with the view of throwing off the royal authority.' But this government, true to those slaveholding instincts which had guided and controlled all its foreign relations, saw nothing but mischief in the proposed measure.

"On the 22d of October, 1829, Mr. Van Buren, then Secretary of State, wrote a letter of instructions to Mr. Van Ness, Minister to Spain, in which he says: '*Considerations connected with a certain class of our population make it the interest of the Southern section of the Union that no attempt should be made in that island to throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence; the first effect of which would be, the sudden emancipation of a numerous slave population, whose result could not but be sensibly felt on the adjacent shores of the United States.*'"

Thus it appears, after all, that what is meant by "endangering our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union," is, "endangering the internal peace and existence of our cherished" SLAVERY.

The following extract, from the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury*, not only explains the motives for acquiring Cuba, but proves that James Buchanan has always been the *steadfast and unwavering friend of the Slave Power*:

“But, in order that the absurdity of the charge of Mr. Buchanan’s being a ‘free-soiler’ may, if possible, become apparent, we need only cite the fact, that, two years ago, he signed the Ostend Manifesto, a document whose sole object was to acquire Cuba, *out of which two or three slave States could have been formed*. Here, then, is his record. The champion of the admission of Arkansas, the champion of the annexation of Texas, the champion of the acquisition of Cuba — where is the taint or suspicion of free-soilism in all this? *Whatever are Mr. Buchanan’s prejudices against slavery, his votes and his acts are with us.*”

Here we not only discover “two or three slave States” hidden *under* the platform, but a candidate *on* the platform, ready to unmask them by “WRESTING” *Cuba from Spain*, “*if we possess the POWER.*”

That Mr. Buchanan has sufficient devotion to slavery to do this, if he has the “*power,*” will be learned from the following *record* of his political life by the

RICHMOND ENQUIRER.

“In private as well as in public, Mr. Buchanan has *always stood on the side of the South*. The citizen and the statesman are one and the same individual. He supported the rights of the South when in office; he vindicated and maintained those rights when out of office. He protested against the prohibition of the jails in Pennsylvania to Federal officers for the confinement of captured slaves. He denounced the Wilmot Proviso. He approved the Clayton Compromise of 1847. And, to sum up in single sentence, *he has at all times and in all places exerted the authority of his high character and great talents to uphold the Union, defend the Constitution, and protect the South.*

“To recapitulate:

“1. In 1836, Mr. Buchanan supported a bill *to prohibit the circulation of Abolition papers through the mails.*

“2. In the same year he proposed and voted for the admission of Arkansas.

“3. In 1836-7, he denounced and voted to reject petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

“4. In 1847, he voted for Mr. Calhoun’s famous resolutions, defining the rights of the States and the limits of Federal authority, and *af-*

firming it to be the duty of the Government to protect and uphold the institutions of the South.

"5. In 1838, '39, and '40, he invariably voted with Southern Senators against the consideration of anti-slavery petitions.

"6. In 1844-5, he advocated and voted for the annexation of Texas.

"7. In 1847, he sustained the Clayton Compromise.

"8. In 1850, he proposed and urged the extension of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean.

"9. But he promptly acquiesced in the Compromise of 1850, and employed all his influence in favor of the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

"10. In 1851, he remonstrated against an enactment of the Pennsylvania Legislature for obstructing the arrest and return of Fugitive Slaves.

"11. In 1854, he negotiated for the acquisition of Cuba.

"12. In 1856, *he approves the repeal of the Missouri restriction, and supports the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.*

"13. *He never gave a vote against the interests of Slavery, and never uttered a word which could pain the most sensitive Southern heart."*

"The American Democracy," as it impudently styles itself, has not only discovered another "*Naboth's Vineyard*" in the "Island of Cuba," but has got an "*Ahab*" on its platform, ready to "take it if he has the power," — as the foregoing record of his devotion to the Slave interest abundantly attests.

The mass meeting at Concord, just referred to, thus indorses both the platform and the candidate :

"*Resolved*, That the Democracy of New Hampshire most heartily and unreservedly indorse the principles of the Cincinnati platform, and will join hands with the Democracy of the whole country in their maintenance. That creed embodies the most cherished principles of our party, and must commend itself to the patriotism and good sense, not only of every Democrat, but of every citizen who prefers the Union to anarchy, and esteems the Constitution a better chart than the doctrines of 'the higher law.'

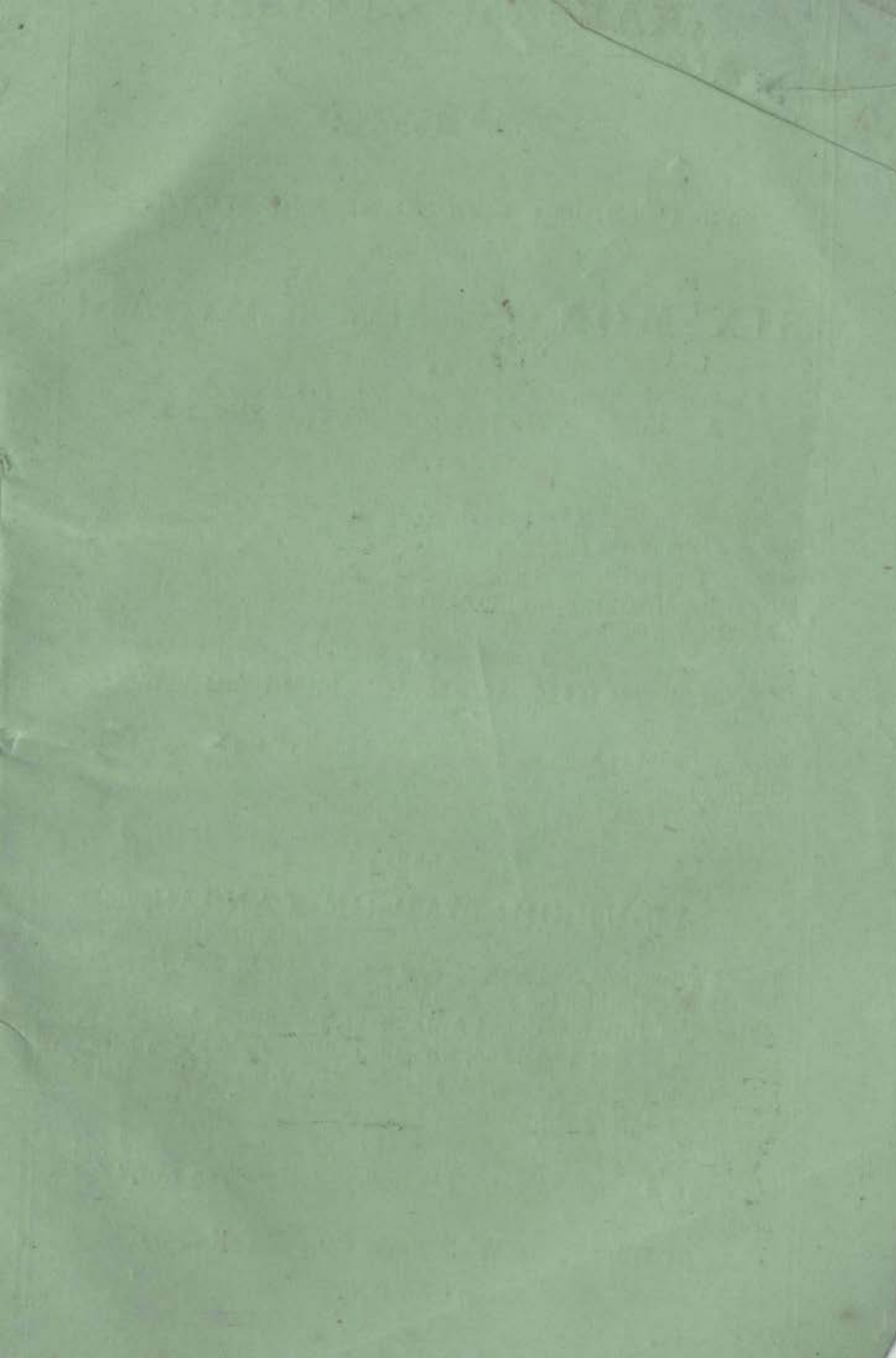
The population of additional territory from Mexico, Cuba, and several other West India islands, and that those regulations will no longer be deemed for slaves or "laborers," but for the sake of such laborers will be from the average of one thousand up to three, four or five thousand dollars, and the same would be a system well known to all.

That, then, is the fact, as the result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population.

That, then, is the fact, as the result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population. The result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population. The result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population.

If you wish to see the result of LIBERTY, you will find it in the fact that all over the world, and in every country, the result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population.

But if, on the contrary, you wish to see the result of LIBERTY, you will find it in the fact that all over the world, and in every country, the result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population. The result of a single act to your country, and the result of which is to "abolish" and "GIVE OUT LIBERTY" to the whole population.



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