upright, patriotic men in it,— a vast number of men who gave all and did all they should have given and done to uphold their government and their flag in the supreme and dire hour of trial. A vast number who imperilled their lives, as other Democrats laid down their lives for their country. Many Northern Democrats who cast all their weight and sympathy on the nation's side, after the war was over returned to their former party associations; many others never did so return. Were such Democrats to guide and influence a Democratic Congress and a Democratic administration, their party would not be "constituted and controlled" as it is. As the Democratic party is constituted, not the men of the North, not the men who were for the Union and the constitution, but the men of the South who were against the Union and the constitution, men whose policy and purposes are still hurtful to the country, are bound and predestined to control a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. In the Senate and in the House the South has an overwhelming majority of the Democratic members, and most of them are men who led in the rebellion. Every party measure in Congress is settled in party caucus by a party majority; thus the southern members hold absolute sway. In possession of the law-making power, of the purse, and of the power to confirm or reject treaties and appointments, the South is also to furnish all the votes to elect the Democratic candidates, save only the forty-seven votes which must be raffled, or certified, or produced from the northern States, particularly not excepting Oregon. Should the election be close, there is no knowing but the two Democratic Houses may find ground on which to throw out a part or all of any State's electors. With much unemployed leisure on their hands, with the danger which the electoral commission of 1877 alone overpassed, for that time, staring

the country in the face, these Democratic Houses have adopted no measure to ensure order and right in ascertaining the result of the presidential election. Should the controversy arise and the election be thrown into the House, there, the vote being taken by States, the South would cast nearly all the Democratic votes, and in the Senate the vote for vice-president would come from the same source. In every event of Democratic success the southern end of the Democratic party must be to the northern end as the locomotive is to the tender, as the horse is to the cart. This is as plain as any truth in gravitation or arithmetic. . . .

The resolution admitting Texas to the Union in 1845 provided for erecting out of Texas four additional States. The area and population are both sufficient. Such a proceeding would add eight to the number of southern senators, and add to Southern power in the electoral college. From New Mexico and other Territories, whose traditions and prejudices have descended from slaveholding influences, several new States may also be made. Schemes exist, not in embryo, but far advanced, to obtain "a slice of Mexico." Cattle stealing on the Rio Grande has been, and is, a fruitful occasion for incursions into Mexico. Special cavalry regiments of unusual size have been raised and stationed on the Texan frontier. It is an open secret that not long ago much exertion and alertness were needed to keep us out of another Mexican war. Without violating the constitution, or transcending the usages of the Republic, at least seven new States could be brought in, and in the case of some of them a very plausible case could be made. The project would become a high party measure. Its success would assure complete Democratic ascendency in the nation for a generation at least. It would put the government not merely in the hands of the Demo-

cratic party, but of the southern Democratic party. Why should not this be done? Who and what is to prevent it if the Democratic party is elected? The northern wing could never resist the southern wing in Congress were these new States brought forward for admission. The northern wing never could, never will, and never can withstand the pressure of the far stronger south wing. The past is pitiful in its warnings in this behalf. Despite pledges and northern indignation, northern Democrats in Congress united in voting down the Wilmot proviso in order to make California a slave State; united in voting for the Fugitive Slave Law; united in the mighty perfidy which overthrew the Missouri Compromise in order to fasten slavery on Kansas and other States, and united in defeating the Homestead Law — all at the behest of the southern majority. Mr. Van Buren at last, like Macbeth, would "go no further in this bloody business," and political destruction was his reward. Mr. Douglas at last made a brave stand against sectional aggression, and he was hunted to his grave. Caucus is king, and the avenging angel is hardly more inexorable in decree, or more unerring in retribution.

One of the main bulwarks of the Republic is the judiciary. The courts of justice are umpire, conservator, citadel. The Supreme Court is the final arbiter of many momentous controversies. This great tribunal is very obnoxious to Southern leaders in Congress and out. Mutterings deep and loud, breathings of dire longings to "go for" the court, have for years been gathering in volume. In the House of Representatives for two or three years this feeling has now and again found harsh voice in unseemly sinister words. Not only Kentucky, through the chairman of the judiciary committee, Mr. Knott, but Missouri, North Carolina, and other

States, assisted, I regret to say, by a representative from this city, have uttered language gross and calumnious of the court, aspersing its integrity and its decisions. "Mere drivel," "plausible sophistry," "packed, partisan, and demoralized," "packed tribunal," "decisions to be observed *pro tempore* only," "dirty work of its masters," "made a political decision to order," "fiery indignation of an inflamed people"—these are some of the buffetings to be found in the "Congressional Record," delivered sometimes from carefully written speeches, and sometimes received, the "Record" says, with "loud applause!" To what does all this pave the way? The "Congressional Record" will inform you. On the 26th of January, 1880, Mr. Manning of Mississippi — a State well known to be jealously sensitive to the pure administration of justice and the rigorous punishment of crimes, especially hideous, cowardly murder and massacre — introduced a bill to place twelve new additional judges on the Supreme Bench. What an easy, effectual, and withal plausible, disposition this would make of the court! Increased business would be such an innocent excuse — the court could sit by sevens for some purposes, and meet *in banque* for all large purposes when State sovereignty and State rights amendments to the constitution, and cotton taxes and the like are at stake. The circuit and district courts are obnoxious also. They are still more easy to deal with. . . . With courts revolutionized to conform to reactionary notions and dogmas, prejudices and interests, what may be the fate of questions affecting "commerce among the several States," revenue, bank and legal-tender currency, the taxation of government bonds, the currency in which these bonds are payable, civil rights acts, election laws, claims growing out of the war, claims for refunding the war tax on cotton, the late

amendments, and many other grave matters, no man can predict. . . .

The army, too, is envied — its "offence is rank." It has been reduced to a skeleton, and whenever a scare, a pretence, a speck of war on the Mexican border or elsewhere can be discovered, the army must be increased and filled up. Filled up by whom? That depends on the approaching election. If Garfield and Arthur are chosen, by Union men always for the Union to the core. If Hancock and English and the Democratic party get in, by men who "went with their States." Confederate soldiers would flock to the standard of military as well as of civil service reform, and flock in a fervor of magnanimity and devotion, ready to let by-gones be by-gones, and to forgive the "usurpations of Lincoln" and the "unconstitutional coercion of sovereign States." Why shouldn't they? Who would be warranted to assert that a Confederate soldier was false or immodest in professing patriotic intentions while seeking rank in the army of the Republic. No man ought to assert it, and yet all fair men would agree that, other things being equal, preferments in the army should be given to those who fought in that army, rather than to those who assailed it in the dread extremity of the nation's life.

The recent amendments to the constitution and the laws made in pursuance of them are objects of unabated Democratic wrath — a wrath going to such excess as to compel the belief that free fraud in elections is deemed the only adequate means to party success. These amendments of freedom, especially the thirteenth and fourteenth, are constantly and flagrantly defied in more than half the Democratic States, and have been for years. The laws enacted under them have been denounced in every form, and denounced as

null and void, even since the Supreme Court has solemnly decided otherwise. It was to get rid of these laws that the revolutionary plot was laid last year to stop the wheels of government, to close the courts and post-offices, and put out the beacon lights on the sea and on the lakes unless a repeal was yielded. With a thoroughbred Democratic President, whatever may happen in form to the amendments, they will become more a dead letter than a quickening spirit, and the laws made to enforce them will be swept like leaves before a gale. Should these laws be swept away, and should the spirit which assails them in the South, and which called them into being, continue to rage, mildew will follow in the wake. When Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation, men and women in this city were maddened by being made to believe that the slaves set free would swarm to the North, crowd out white labor, and cut down its wages. The draft riots were largely incited by this wicked, insane pretence. Throughout the North this was the appeal to the laboring-man, and many members of Congress who had supported Lincoln were defeated at the ensuing election. Vainly we pleaded for reason. We said no; men do not fly from liberty; they fly from slavery and wrong. Events have vindicated the logic of freedom. Once more I repeat the argument and the warning. The black man wants to remain by the graves of his fathers, but let persecutions go on, and the story of Pharaoh and of Egypt will be repeated. An exodus, not of a few despairing souls, but a real exodus will begin, depriving Southern fields of the hands that should and would till them, and bringing to the North and West a population not inured to Northern climes, and not adapted to usefulness and advantage here which fairly treated would come from them in the South.

The national banking system is another eyesore to the opposition. Their national conventions have denied all power of Congress to authorize banks. By votes and speeches in Congress, by declarations of conventions and leaders, by studied amendments offered to the bills, under which the national debt has been refunded, the national banking system has been struck wherever a blow could be put in. This fabric of banking is now inwrought not only with the business of the country, but with the maintenance of specie payments,— it stands a lion in the path of fiat money, inflation, and all the long train of financial heresies which possess the Democratic mind, especially in the South. In unnumbered ways, direct and indirect, this vast interest is constantly exposed to the action of Congress. The Cincinnati convention seems to have felt the need of a little caution on this point when it nominated Mr. English for Vice-President. He is president of a national bank. They nominated a Union general as a blind to the soldiers, and a bank officer as a blind to the bankers. Evidently it is thought the Northern Democratic team drives better with blinders. But even blinders do not always answer. In 1864, after solemnly asserting, just when the rebellion was gasping its last, that the war for the Union was a failure, the Democratic convention, at instigation coming then from the sheltering refuge of the Canadian shore, the same instigation which prompted a like expedient now, put up a Union general. That general did not issue order No. 40 in the midst of lawlessness and butchery, which civil authority could not arrest. No, he issued orders arresting the legislature of Maryland, a State which had not seceded, and he issued orders proclaiming martial law and suspending the habeas corpus at election time, and placed soldiers as supervisors of the polls. But

even with such a Union general the disguise was too thin. . . .

War claims upon the treasury have been and will be a subject fruitful of much agitation. I am moved to refer to it by the wholly groundless assertion in regard to it now going the rounds of party journals. The fashion of this assertion seems to have been set by Mr. Randall, the speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. Randall is one of the ablest and most intelligent, as he is one of the most courageous men of his party, and I speak of him with much respect. In several speeches he has taken up the matter of southern claims, always to say that they are barred by the fourteenth amendment of the constitution. It puzzles me to see how so discerning a man can have fallen into such an error. The proceedings over which he presides constantly refutes the assertion. In the fourteenth amendment stand these words: "Neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void." The claims which stand in staggering totals in bills already before Congress, and in other bills said to be waiting, are not touched by this section of the constitution. For example, it is insisted that the direct tax imposed by the nation on all States in 1861 should as to the seceded States be refunded. The amount claimed is $2,492,110. Again, it is said the war tax laid on cotton should be refunded. The argument is that cotton, like wheat and corn, is a product of the earth, and that wheat and corn were not taxed, and, therefore, cotton should not have been taxed. There is plausibility in this; but petroleum is a product of the earth also, and that was heavily