

at a later day they were Roundheads under Cromwell or Cavaliers under Charles? When were the passions of men ever more excited than in the civil wars of Rome, that followed the passage of the Rubicon and ended only when the victory at Actium placed the imperial diadem upon the brow of Octavius? Yet more than three centuries elapsed before the empire was divided, and it was not until nearly eleven centuries more had rolled around that Mahomet II placed the Crescent above the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia and put an end forever to the Empire of the East.

But why dwell upon particulars when every nation that exists or has ever existed presents an example of the forgiveness or forgetfulness of injuries given and received. A wise Providence has ordained that hate shall not reign "eternal in the human breast." The violent passions of our nature may dominate for a time, but the strain is too great to last, and in the end the better and gentler emotions prevail. Every revolving year, though it may not blot out the memories of the past, will soften their asperities, and the time may come, more speedily than the most sanguine now hope, when a fraternal feeling will animate the breasts of all who find shelter and protection under the ægis of the republic.

SENATOR CHANDLER



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, American Senator, was born at Bedford, N. H., Dec. 10, 1813, and died at Chicago, Ill., whither he had gone to deliver a political speech, Nov. 1, 1879. He obtained his education in the common schools and at a seminary. Removing in 1833 to Detroit, Mich., he there became a wealthy merchant, and in 1851 was mayor of that city. From 1857 to 1875 he was United States Senator from Michigan. In Congress he was noted for his opposition to slavery and the extension of slave territory, and at the opening of the Civil War was outspoken in his advocacy of a vigorous prosecution of the war. In 1875, he was defeated in a senatorial election, but was appointed Secretary of the Interior, retiring from office in 1877. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1868 and again in 1876, and in February, 1879, he returned to the Senate, where in the following month he trenchantly denounced Jefferson Davis.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

[The following is a portion of Mr. Chandler's last speech, delivered at McCormick Hall, Chicago, on the evening of Oct. 31, 1879:]

WE have a matter under consideration to-night of vastly more importance than all the financial questions that can be presented to you, and that is, Are you, or are you not a nation? We had supposed for generations that we were a nation. In 1857 treason raised its head upon the floors of Congress. They said, "Do this, or we will destroy your government. Fail to do that, and we will destroy your government." One of them repeated this threat to old Ben Wade, and he straightened himself up and said, "Don't delay it on my account."

Careful preparations were made to carry out this treason. Arms were sent to the South. Ammunition and accoutrements followed; the navy was scattered; the credit of the government, whose six per cent bonds in 1857 sold for 122, was so utterly prostrated and debased that in February, 1862

— four years afterward — bonds payable, principal and interest, in gold, bearing six per cent, were sold for eighty-eight cents on the dollar, and no buyers for the whole amount. Careful preparations were made for the overthrow of your government, and when Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as President of these United States there was nothing to protect the national life.

Yet with all these discouragements staring us in the face, the Republican party undertook to save your government. We raised your credit; we created navies; raised armies; fought battles; carried on the war to a successful issue, and finally when the rebellion surrendered at Appomattox they surrendered to a government. They admitted that they had submitted their heresy to the arbitrament of arms, and had been defeated, and they surrendered to the government of the United States of America. They made no claims against the government, for they had none. In the very ordinance of secession which they signed they had pledged themselves, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the overthrow of this government, and when they failed to do it they lost all they had pledged. They asked, as a boon, that their miserable lives might be spared to them. We gave them their lives.

They had forfeited all their property — we gave it back to them. We found them naked and we clothed them. They were without the rights of citizenship and we restored to them those rights. We took them to our bosoms as brethren, believing that they had repented of their sins. We killed for them the fatted calf and invited them to the feast, and they gravely informed us that they had always owned that animal, and were not grateful for the invitation. By the laws of war, and by the laws of nations, they were bound to pay every

uollar of the expense incurred in putting down that rebellion. But we forgave them that debt, and to-day you are being taxed heavily to pay the interest on the debt that they ought to have paid. Such magnanimity as was exhibited by this nation to these rebels has never been witnessed on the earth since God made it, and, in my humble judgment, it will never be witnessed again.

Mistakes we undoubtedly made, errors we committed, but, in my judgment, the greatest mistake we made, and the gravest error we committed, was in not hanging enough of these rebels to make treason forever odious. To-day, in Congress, the men have changed but not the measures. Twenty years ago they said: "Do this, or fail to do that, and we will shoot your government to death." If I am to die, I would rather be shot to death with musketry than starved to death. These rebels — for they are just as rebellious now as they were twenty years ago, there is not a particle of difference — I know them better than any other living mortal man; I have summered and wintered with them; these rebels to-day have thirty-six members on the floor of the House of Representatives, without one single constituent, and in violation of law, those thirty-six members represent 4,000,000 people, lately slaves, who are as absolutely disfranchised as if they lived in another sphere, through shot-guns, and whips, and tissue-ballots, for the law expressly says that wherever a race or class is disfranchised, they shall not be represented upon the floor of the House. And these thirty-six members thus elected constitute three times the whole of their majority upon the floor.

This is not only a violation of the law, but it is an outrage upon all the loyal men of the United States. It ought not to be. It must not be. And it shall not be. Twelve members

of the Senate — more than their whole majority — occupy their seats upon the floor by fraud and violence; and I am saying no more to you than I said to those rebel generals. With majorities thus obtained by fraud and violence in both houses they dared to dictate terms to the loyal men of these United States.

With majorities thus obtained they dared to arraign the loyal men of these United States, and say they want honest elections. They are mortally afraid of bayonets at the polls. We offered them a law forbidding any man to come within two miles of a polling-place with arms of any description, and they promptly voted it down, for they wanted their Ku-Klux. They were not afraid of the Ku-Klux, but of soldiers. In all the northern States there is less than one soldier to a county. There is about two thirds of a soldier to a county, and, of course, about two thirds of a musket. Wouldn't this great county of Cook tremble if it saw two thirds of a soldier with two thirds of a musket approaching.

But they (the South) are afraid of inspectors. Why? The law creating inspectors is imperative that one must be a Democrat and the other a Republican. They have no power whatever except to certify that the election is honest and fair. They are afraid of marshals at the polls. The inspectors can't arrest. The marshals, under the orders of a court, can arrest criminals; therefore, they said, "We will have no marshals." When we told them we could not have courts without marshals, they said, "We don't want marshals at all." And they don't. Marshals interfere with their "moonshiners" — the men who distill whiskey in the mountains of North and South Carolina, and Georgia; and they don't want any courts, because the courts interfere with their Ku-Klux at the polls.

It is a false assumption on their part. What they want is not free elections, but free fraud at elections. They have got a Solid South by fraud and violence. Give them permission to perpetrate the same fraud and violence in New York City and Cincinnati, and New York and Ohio, with the Solid South, will give them the presidency, and that once obtained by fraud and violence, they would hold it for a generation. To-day 8,000,000 of people in the southern States control the legislation of the country through caucus dictation, as they controlled their slaves when slavery existed.

When the Republican party took the reins of government we were the derision of the world. We had but one friend — little Switzerland. Not a nation but hoped and prayed that the government might be overthrown. Not a nation poor enough to do you reverence. We fought the battle through. We raised the national dignity and the national honor, power, and strength, until to-day, after eighteen years of Republican rule, there is no nation on earth strong enough not to do you reverence. Your credit stands higher than that of any other nation on the face of the earth. We saved the national life and the national honor.

Notwithstanding all this, there are persons who say that the mission of the Republican party is ended, and that it ought to die. If there ever was a political organization on the face of the earth which, so far as a future state of rewards and punishment is concerned, is prepared to die, it is that old Republican party. But we aren't going to do it. We have made other arrangements. The Republican party is the only party that ever existed that had not one single, solitary unfulfilled pledge left. I defy its worst enemy to name a single pledge it ever gave to the people who created it which is not to-day a fulfilled and established fact.

If we should die to-day, or to-morrow, our children's children, to the twentieth generation, would boast that their ancestors belonged to the old Republican party that saved the nation and wiped slavery from its escutcheon. Ben Hill said in my presence that he was an ambassador from the sovereign State of Georgia to the Senate of the United States. Suppose he should go into Africa or India and get into a little difficulty, do you think he would raise the great flag of Georgia over his head and say, "I claim protection?"

Take the biggest ship that sails the ocean, put on board of her the flags of all the States that were lately in rebellion, raise to her peak the Stars and Bars, and start her, with all her bunting flying, on a cruise around the world, and she wouldn't get the salute of one pop-gun. But take the smallest ship that floats, mark her U. S. A., raise to her peak the Stars and Stripes (the flag of this glorious Union), and start her around the world, and there is not a fort nor a ship-of-war of any nation on God's footstool that would not receive her with a national salute.

We took your government when despised, and raised it to this high position among the nations of the earth; and yet we are told that we ought to die. I tell you that the mission of the Republican party is not ended. Furthermore, that it has but just begun. And furthermore, that it will never end until you and I, Mr. Chairman, can start from the Canada border and travel to the Gulf of Mexico, making Black Republican speeches wherever we please, and vote a Black Republican ticket wherever we gain a residence, and do it exactly with the same safety that a rebel can travel throughout the North, stopping wherever he has a mind to, and running for judge in any city. [This reference to the rebel lieutenant, Adolph Moses, provoked the wildest kind of enthusiasm.] I hope

after you have elected him judge he will not bring in a bill for lost time.

You are going to hold an election next Tuesday that is of importance far beyond the borders of Chicago. The eyes of the whole nation are upon you. By your verdict you are to send forth greeting to the people of the United States, saying either that you are in favor of honest men, honest money, patriotism, and a national government, or that you are in favor of soft money, repudiation, and rebel rule. I want every single man in this vast audience to consider himself a committee of one, to work from now until the close of the polls; to go to the polls early and stay late; and let every mother's son of you decide that you will take one man besides yourself to the polls, who would not otherwise go. Find a man who might stay away, and see to it that he and yourself vote the Republican ticket.

If you cannot find just such a man, try to convert some sinner from the error of his ways. You have too much at stake to risk it at this election. The times are too good. You cannot afford to turn this government over to the hands of the repudiating rebels. Shut up your stores. Shut up your manufactories. Go to work for your country and spend two days, and on the night of the election send me, Mr. Chairman, a dispatch that Chicago has gone overwhelmingly Republican.