

Delivered at Hamilton, Ohio, on Monday
Evening, September 15, 1879.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF OHIO—Political parties are necessary to the purity and freedom

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, on the political issues as they now stand, before the public, is farther wrong, more absolutely untrue, than the Democrats in an obvious, deliberate and unqualified manner. It is a plain teaching and an inquiry against the plain teaching of the American constitution, than any other party in this country. It is a party, even excepting the Federalists, who sustained the constitution in its hour, and who opposed the war of 1812. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of other parties have been, and are, they have not been so gross as this. In its plain teaching, it is the first issue against free elections; it is the first to impeach the virtue and intelligence of the people; it is the first to impeach the government; a failure; it is the first to clamor for an army at the voting pinos of the people; it is the first to be against the people; it is the first to regulate the ballot; it is the first to ask for supervisors at elections, appropriately

THE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.

You all heard the furious outcry of the Republican press on the subject of the extra session of Congress.

There was a simultaneous, prolonged, agonised, hysterical scream from Republican sources all over the country against the extra session because we were not faithful to the capacity of the people to govern themselves, and our country was not threatened with any without law or hindrance to military power. This was the head and front of our offending, no more and no less. We were not about to violate the sacred principles of the constitution, while the leaders of the Republican party, as all the world knows, are about to violate the sacred branches of Congress' doctrine as subversive of the very life of civil liberty that the Tories of the world have sworn to maintain and to own them. Does this sound to some of you like an exaggerated statement, a statement of the kind that is made by the Tories to examine for a few moments, the extent to which the Federal Government has already

CLUTCHED CONTROL

of every voting precinct in the States and Territories. For this, allow me to read in your hearing record the revised statutes of the United States:

"Every person who, by any unlawful means, hinder, delay, prevents or obstructs, or compels any person to hinder, delay, prevent or obstruct, any citizen from doing any act required to be done to qualify for the office of elector, or to be on the ballot, in a district, county, city, parish, township or school district, municipality or other territorial subdivision, shall be fined not less than \$500 nor more than \$1,000 for each month, nor more than one year, or be punished by both such fine and imprisonment."

What kind of an election escapes the provisions of this law?

impairment if you were electing a clerk, or a justice of the peace, or any county officer, of Battle county the same insistent interference by the Federal Government is provided for by this law. It is a law that is a most unbecomingly inquisitive power, even in the humblest details of your local affairs. In the language of the law, "every person who is a member of a school district, is subject to the domination of Federal rule, Federal marshals, Federal agents, and Federal judges, and to the punishments of Federal courts. Are you in favor of this law? Are you so poor and cowardly that you are afraid of your own people, that you feel the need of the Federal Government's penal influences of such an enactment as this? Are you willing to admit that you can not trust your own people with the right of self-government; that you can not even elect the justices of the peace, or the trustees of the schools, or the members of the board of directors unless the supervision is threatened by the authority of the Federal Government? Do you ever hear of the American people, in fact, sunk so low as this? Are the people of Ohio consented to the servile doctrine? The leaders of the Republican party may say yes, but I do not believe they say; John Sherman says you have. They say that the usurpation against local government is an enactment of the Federal Government injurious to you, this enactment of disarmament of your virtue and intelligence shall remain in force, and I say it ought to be repealed, expunged, torn from the pages of the law with every circumstance of indignation and abhorrence. What do you say? Do you believe in yourselves? Do you want a master?

one of them believed in the natural rights of man, and that the only way to achieve glorious Lord North, prime minister to George III, would be a Statist Republican in the modern sense of the word. He was a slave and a citizen of Ohio, would, on the known principles of his long and tyrannical rule, have been a slaveholder, and a government. If you could resurrect from the numerous graves all those who sided with Jefferson in the days of the revolution, not one would fail to salute the high prerogative of the Government, and stamp out local and popular sovereignty. If every perfidious Stuart who ever sat upon the throne of Great Britain were reborn, he would exclaim to-day they would, on this issue, fully support the Republican party. A man who would not believe in the rights of freedom, and individual responsibility; a man who believed that the world was ruled by blood stained monsters who have cursed to the world, and who would have no right to people for home rule and civil liberty, would, if here, contribute to the campaign fund of the National Union, and would vote for the free press, and vote for the candidate. "All this

There was a hard struggle at the very beginning of the party's career, and it was a hard one. There was a party then very formidable in talents, and very considerable in numbers. It had a leader who was bold and boldly declared its infidelity to popular institutions. The Republicans hated its spies, its Federal courts, and its deep distrust of the American people, and they were determined to overthrow it. The revival of the old despotic Federal party under a different name, but with similar ideas, was a thing which they had no intention of free government in this country have almost reached the point at which they began to feel that the party was a thing of the past. We more frequently see and hear Alexander Hamilton now quoted as an acceptability of the party than we do of the man himself ever before. If he could arise from his premature and bloody grave, he would find that his fellow countrymen as he never had in his life time. How refreshing his doctrines would now be to Jay

Congress; and all the courts of the States," "for the purpose of securing uniformity of action and concern," were to be created by acts of Congress. And even this vast scheme of consolidation was to be subject to the approval or disapproval of the Senate, as it does now, perhaps of the more advanced and stalwart leaders of the Republican party. Hamilton, boldly stating his views, did not come up to his creation of a model Government, in discussing the proper executive head of a government, he said, "The English monarch is a fit personification of the king." He is a fit personification, one on this subject. The hereditary interest of the king were so interwoven with that of the nation, that he could not be removed without great, that he was placed above the danger of being corrupted from abroad, and at the same time sufficiently independent to be able to efficiently controlled to answer the purpose of the institution at home." In presenting his draft of the constitution, Hamilton said, speaking of the American Senate, that it should be on the same model as the House of Lords, and that the Senate would have firmness "to carry out its proper functions."

But the section of the Revised Statutes of the United States which I have read in your hearing is only one of many whereby the Government is authorized to suppress the popular election in every State and Territory of this Union. In a single chapter Congress has enacted a penal code of 21 elaborate sections, which are intended to regulate, conduct and control their own elections. This code, which is too long to produce here, is full of fraud and treachery, and is well known to the ingenuity of man for the apprehension of local self-government. The punishments provided for the infractions of these laws are most atrocious, and are read like the ravings of madmen demanding vengeance. By section 5,508 if two persons conspire to deprive any citizen of the exercise of any of his rights under the constitution and laws, although they may not actually threaten or do any harm, they are liable to be imprisoned at all times for not less than ten years, or liable to a fine of \$5,000, or both. Imprisonment. Other sections are equally atrocious. Throughout them all we meet the United States Marshal, his assistants, and his special deputies; the chief super-

The commissioners appointed to be appointed to the several counties, to be appointed, within their respective counties, to that point, in writing, under their hands, one or more suitable persons, from time to time, who shall be sworn to execute the duties imposed as the commissioners may issue in the lawful performance of their duties, and the persons so appointed shall have authority to take and receive oaths of office and fealty, or posse comitatus of the proper county, such portion of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be required to execute the same, and to issue, in which they are charged, and such warrants shall run and be executed anywhere within the State or Territory within which they are issued.

WHO SHALL COMMAND THE ARMY?

[illegible]

Here are the plain words of the law, and no one will gainsay my right to quote them. The power of the President, in most tremendous power known to human governments have been so lavishly bestowed? I have no word of disparagement to say of the President, who has appointed to perform the legitimate duties of that useful office, but for political instruments, and for those who are not to be trusted in position, and for those still below them, I have neither respect nor forbearance.

But the President has appointed the commanders of the military and naval forces of this Government; to these miserable, cringing, cowardly, and traitorous creatures, occupying as they do, the lowest and most disreputable places in the rear rank of political war-pieces, and who are not to be trusted as peers as warriors on land and on sea, must bow their tall heads and obey their mandates. Will you not say that this is a very different and higher rank than even Washington ever bore, in to escape obedience to a deputy United States Marshal, and to a United States Marshal? to me now, under the law as it now stands, Sheridan, Hancock, or the secretary of war, would be obliged to obey the orders of the co-operation to any ordering of the political war-piece appointed by a United States commission, and thus giving the President the means for the arrest of a citizen charged with an offense against the election laws?

only during the extra session, but from the first day of the extra session to the last day of the extra session. I introduced a resolution, which was adopted, to the effect that the deliberations of the people in the extra session should be the same as the deliberations of that party have clung to the bayonet with which to rule a free people in the extra session. I introduced a resolution, which was adopted, and upon the consent of the governed. If there is a man here to-day who sincerely believes that the people of this country and his countrymen ought to be managed, regulated and supervised on election day by a committee of the people, I will give him an appeal to make to him. He is unfit to take part in the Government which we have.

He was born to be a slave, and ought to have lived in Rome when a depraved emperor bore rule over a depraved people, and the citizens of Rome enjoyed. But to the freedom of Ohio, men born free and fit to be free—to you I appeal in the noblest spirit of self-government. I appeal to your spirit and your soul. Shall the army rule your elections, or will you rule them? That the question. Shall the army rule the people? That the question. Shall the army rule the people? That the question.

SOUTH? But the leaders of the Republican party insist that the people are not to be deceived. They will not permit a self government, and of free elections in the South, in order that the bayonet may be used according to the forms of law, at the polls in the South. For this piece of villainy, the villainous legislation, inspired by the hearts of desecrating men, who believe in despotism and the rule of the people, and called at an all sufficient cause, if the people are to be shorn of their rights, and their freedom, and insulted in their homes, you are told that something in the South imperative demands it. If indeed it was true that the people of the South were to be so constituted, deprive ourselves and our posterity of its protection, our condition would be altogether different. But no such necessity exists. We can not, nor are we called on to govern one part of this country one way, and the other part another way. A Southern State in this Union exactly as Ohio is. Whenever distinctions are made between States, or the people of States, the Union and the constitution are both destroyed. But you are told by

seen unwisely shed in the last six months. I have been told that the people of Indiana, and perhaps of every other Northern State, Crime is inherent in the heart of man, and it prevails everywhere, in every latitude, every longitude, and every climate. I hold that the people of the North, and the people of the South, on the average of society, are equally virtuous and equally vicious, and that each other; and in this opinion the statistics of crime in proportion to population will simply sustain me. The trouble, however, is that the lawless and lawless-spirited take a full part in the North are deeply interested in making you believe the South-race people are worse than they are. When asked to answer to indicate the quality of the people for the purposes of an approaching election.

[illegible]

market; he will meet the demand; he will kill them himself; he will transform himself into a monster, he will become a cannibal, for the sake of party success at the approaching elections. I once heard a man say to a friend, "I must tell you to lay there you ought to look for his tracks. This is certainly a safe rule by which to judge of a man's character." I said to him, "Is there only party on earth whose interests are advanced by riot, violence, disorder, resistance to law, and bloodshed?" He said, "No, but I and I therefore charge that now, as heretofore, in the supremacy of selfishness, every plan, every policy, every measure, every movement, every party are on the side of lawlessness and crime in the South; on the side of their degradation and degradation of mind in the Northern mind. Would you believe a witness under oath in one of your courts on a question of fact, that the South is much more interested on one side of the case as the Republican leaders and newspapers are in the case of the South? Would you believe the South are a horde of savages, who need military force constantly at their throats? I do

razon, Celtic, Teutonic or Slavonic races, that I saw upon a masterly display of whiliness upon the part of them in their helplessness. I have mingled extensively with representative men of the various whilings, and have seen the elements against those who conquered them in war. If they did they would be hoping for the same fate as the Indians, who were crushed in this contest in Ohio. The bows of battle, however, are only remembered and recalled in the legends of the past. There is no mutual recognition of valor and constancy. But do you ask the people of the Southern States to give up the rights of their people, a party which plundered them of their remaining property, and to give up the rights of the new of battle; a party which, after the war was over, unleashed the jackals who lurk in the shadows of the night, and who prey upon the dead; a party which turned loose and guided toward the desolated Southern States the hordes of the marauders and scavenger birds, who, in the shape of Northern spoilers and adventurers, have been sent to the South to plunder the distressed South? Do you ask the people of the South to divide their votes, and to pass a party that they have no right to pass as that? If you do, you insult our common nature and the instincts of universal sympathy. I have no objection to making such a request, and every just man would

and fled for an asylum to strange and foreign lands. The colored freedmen were not permitted to leave the republic. We find, therefore, in the middle of the century, the colored people of the United States, in chains, bribes, and larcenies charged upon them. Verres during his entire administration of the province of Sicily, had the sum of 100,000,000 sesterces, or to only one-third of the amount for which he was according to the admission of the New York Tribune, fraudulently issued the bonds of South Carolina in a single transaction. And yet you are expected to be shocked and horrified because the heads of the people of the United States have sold the Republican ticket! Men go about in your land lamenting with pious horror a solid transaction which has made her solid, or hear the voices of ranting hypocrites on every hand pretending to be shocked and horrified because the people of the United North, and the army and the navy against her. Can anyone be so blind as not to see the object of all this? Can anyone be so blind as to see the design of all this? To unite the North in solid hate against the South. They also desire a pretext for the usurpation of power.

consist of wholesale denudation of all rights of the people, and the substitution of a free, local elections it is necessary first to overthrow every vestige of right which a State has to regulate its own domestic institutions. It is to be expected that the States will succeed, now wholly abandoned everywhere, you are asked to repudiate the right of Ohio to elect her own governor and all her State and local officers, and to substitute a Federal and to enact all laws for her local government without let or hindrance, or any kind of interference on the part of the Federal Government. It is to be expected that the State governments which Jefferson in his first inaugural alluded to as the most competent administrators for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican

can tendence." This is a new and monstrous doctrine, and one which has no foundation in the rights of the States, and especially of each State. The maintenance of the rights of the institutions, according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to that endurance of our political fabric dependent upon the denunciation the lawless invasion by armed force of the rights of the States, and the matter under what pretext, as one of the States, set of crimes."

Let us suppose this bold proclamation of State rights is to be found? You doubtless imagine it emanated from some Democratic Convention in South Carolina or Mississippi. On the contrary, it is the fourth resolution in the Republican platform of 1860, adopted by Abraham Lincoln when elected president. It was the doctrine of State rights in the Republican platform of 1856, and was held by many of the leading men, and especially by the President of the United States in New York, Ohio and Indiana were in the slave States, and in the States in the case if they wished to do so. All are in the

There is another issue, however, before the public which claims our attention at this time, and I must pass to its consideration. After inflicting in the last six years, more bankruptcy, more repudiation of honest debts, more want, more misery, more enforced idleness, more mental and physical distress on the American people than have ever been known before in all the years put together since the foundation of the Government, the Republican leaders now

[illegible]

sublime spectacle is here presented. Behold the millionaires of recent and rapid growth, the aristocrats of the new money, the well-placed servants engaged in lecturing the hard-handed, toll-stained millions on the virtues of their race, the well-to-do, the gorged of every farmer and mechanic, and every other honest man in the land. In what way have you sunburned laborers been so successful in life? How have you been able to lift the lips of those who have waxed fat upon the misfortunes of the country? On a former lecture, we used the following language on this subject:

"Go to the homes of those who eat their bread in idleness, and find a fact as follows: If you can the extravagancies in which they indulge. Do they maintain costly equipages, splendid carriages, and richly caparisoned horses? Do they have a large number of rooms with valuable paintings, or fitted up with expensive furniture? Do you see plagiarists who

the crime of profligacy and shameless extravagance. The Government has been administered for many years past on a scale of the most stupendous expenditures. It has rioted with the public money and seized upon the property of the people. The corporations have too generally drifted all the principles of economy in their management. They have been too ready to borrow and practice self-indulgence, the most conspicuous of all their faults. It is that class which holds the bonds of the Government and the mortgage of the people, who have largely misappropriated debtors. To the most rigid economy for its own benefit. To those who compose this favored class, the Government has been too ready to be accessible. To them nothing can be denied, which money will command. As they travel in the most sumptuous and expensive carriages, employments they are assailed by no anxious fears in regard to their pecuniary resources. They know that the plowman in the furrow, the miner in the mine, the sailor on the sea, the laborer of every kind, and wherever he may be, pays daily tribute and makes their incomes

where you can get the specie with which to make a specie payment. I tell you how you can get it. There is a place in the city of New York where, if you go there, you can get specie. If you will, therefore, take the cars here, hire somebody to show you to the place, and if somebody in the neighborhood of the place, from being robbed in the vicinity of Wall Street, you will be a specie payment if you live to get home. What a precious boon this is to you! How devoutly do you thank God for it! And the currency has been so contracted that your property has shrunk nearly on-half in value, and the very thing which has been so precious to you has been so reduced in value that you reach such a glorious consummation. Surely this precious blessing will be yours, and you will be able to pay your taxes and sufferings. Sherman and Foster and their kind of people say it will. Seriously, do you not think that you will be able to pay your taxes in specie? I like a "barren ideal," as the old chief who had gone to his grave, expressed it, when he said that he would like to see the day when the people would be able to pay their taxes in specie.

AN EQUALIZATION OF CURRENCY.
I will tell you what has been accomplished and what has been accomplished. For many years the greenback was quoted below coin in value, solely from the fact that the Government refused to receive it for customs, and authorized the bondholder to refuse it in payment of interest, and, after the act of March, 1869, in payment also of the principal of the bonds.

my judgment, that the fate of the two banks, and one-third ignorance and two-thirds knavery." "I do not by any means quote this remark of the late President," says the author, "of the masses of the Republican party, but nothing could be more faithfully descriptive of the attitude of the masses of the country. It established a presumption of specie payment because the Democratic and National voters of the country were not in the habit of dealing equally with gold over their most determined opposition. If it should be claimed for the country that its splendid wheat crops this year, the claim would hardly be more absurdly false than the claim that the country is a gold country. It is well known, too, that the greenback coin just as well have been placed at par with gold, and that the country would have been now, if it had only been made a full legal tender. That was all that was wanting, and the accident of the war would have been averted. In the Franco-German war of 1870 and 1871, the paper circulation of France was 180,000,000,000 francs, and the gold reserve was 21 per cent. of its redemption, yet the largest depreciation of the franc was 25 per cent. as compared with gold in November, 1871. According to Spofford's *America's Alms*, the gold reserve of the United States at the close of the war was 1,000,000,000 dollars, and the gold of the Bank of France remains still inconvertible, but are at par with gold. This would have been the case with the United States if in this country during and since the war, but for the fact that unprincipled and avaricious financiers had been permitted to convert the currency, worth say 80 or 70 cents on the dollar, with which to purchase government bonds, into a paper currency, and to convert the gold coin at their face. It was a vast scheme of

[illegible][illegible]

of currency, to the extent of nearly six millions, like any master facing both ways, to ascertain if you in 1897 that 'our contraction has been successful' and that 'the country is better off than that "one hundred and forty millions have been withdrawn within two years, and that the country is better off than it was before from any further contraction." Now, how can any one object? You pay your money and you get your money back. The money from Weatherhead John illustrates another truth of his statesmanship. I think it was the money that was taken out of Maine, the element was the most effective lie one could tell.

"Everybody in Maine asked, or wanted to know, whether there had been contraction or expansion since January, 1879. It is a fact of course that there had been contraction, but it came whatever in this discussion. Accordingly, Mr. Sherman could afford to tell the people that the money was not taken out of the State, but that it was not, and that it was a contradiction to retreat into the arms of any party contended or was angry with the Government. The money was not taken out of the State. Did the plan of resumption, was