

banded, two weeks prior to the election, the result would, I think, be placed beyond all doubt.

"With much respect,

"*The President.*

"W. C. PATTERSON."

This letter was sent to the Secretary of the Navy by the President with his indorsement:

"September 15, 1853.

"The inclosed letter from Colonel Patterson, of Philadelphia, is submitted to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy.

J. R."

The Secretary of the Navy, in compliance with this sweet hint, and in defiance of law, awarded the contract to Merrick & Sons over other responsible and lower bidders, and the votes of the "450" mechanics were secured for the President's nominee, Florence, who now represents the Philadelphia Navy Yard district in Congress.

The manner in which Buchanan secured Pennsylvania in 1856, was this: The "People's Party" were in a vast majority, many thousands, at the preceding State election. Before the State election of October, 1856, it was known that the People's Party would again be in the majority if there were no cheating. So, cheating was determined on. Large sums were contributed from New York and other places by merchants who sell their cloths and consciences together to the South; and one of the causes of complaint against Buchanan now by the friends of Douglas is, that Douglas not only gave way for Buchanan's nomination at Cincinnati in 1856, but out of his own pocket contributed \$40,000 to the election fund. By this means, and the levies made upon office-holders, and the expectants of fat contracts, like Swift, the State was carried by a trifling majority for the Democracy, and thus the prestige assured for the November election of President, there and in other States. As the result of the votes showed there was huge perjury and swindling, Mr. Mann, who was cheated out of his election as District-Attorney of Philadelphia, contested the matter before the appropriate tribunal, and decision was given in his favor, and the frauds revoked. But the perjurers and swindlers had achieved their purpose in representing Pennsylvania as Democratic at the State election of 1856; and with this vantage-ground, and the means of extemporizing votes through fraudulent naturalization papers, in any quantity, at the November election, the State was carried for Buchanan. But it was necessary also to deceive to any extent in another form: He was elected as in favor of "Free Kansas," so stated in the political placards and newspapers of Pennsylvania, seen by the author.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE WIDE-SPREAD DEPRAVITY AND CRIMINALITY OF DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS.

THE life-long practice of ruffianism or criminality of any grade, does not debar the perpetrator from any political consideration which the slave-democracy have power to bestow. The party more corrupt, debased, criminal, and insensible to its infamy.

The Empire Club was considered preëminent, in securing Mr. Polk's election in 1844. Among its members were felons, and, at least, one murderer. Polk received them with distinction at the White House. These facts were brought before Congress. The captain, Rynders, holds the very responsible

position of marshal, whose business is to arrest United States criminals and slave pirates. The Mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, was recommended to office by merchants and bankers, who petitioned the legislature to allow masters to bring their slaves into New York, and here hold them, who organize "Union meetings," where Charles O'Connor, Esq., defends Slavery upon principle, and who pay black mail to a southern press, to be put in a "white list." Wood, not mentioning his official character, which split the party, was exposed by the Hon. John McKeon, ex-district attorney, and by the press, as convicted in a civil suit, under charges of "fraud, forgery, and falsification"—damages awarded against him, \$7,000. Mr. McKeon said, at the Cooper Institute Havemeyer Meeting, Dec. 3, 1859: "He is an all but convicted felon; he "was indicted for false pretences, and escaped by money, to quash the indictment, on the ground that the indictment was one day too late in being found "by the grand jury." Wood was received in Washington and Charleston with honor. The Charleston Courier, April 25, says:

"A large, and highly respectable number of our citizens assembled last evening, in front of the Mills House, with a band of music, to compliment the Mayor of New York with a serenade."

Mr. Wood was called out, and spoke, and Colonel Seymour, an eminent citizen, made a speech of welcome: "Sir," said he, "we feel honored, in having "the opportunity to hear from you what we have so often read." He complimented Wood, and said, "If the convention would even now throw the mantle "over the shoulders of Mr. Wood"—the mantle of the Presidency over Fernando Wood! Comment is superfluous.

In the New York city election, for December, 1859, there was a split in the Democratic party, a portion claiming to be the more respectable wing, supporting Havemeyer against Wood, who was successful. In order to show what is considered democratic respectability, there were eight candidates for aldermen on that ticket: of these, four, or one-half, were under indictments for various crimes. And, of the 24 candidates for councilmen, on the same ticket, one was under indictment for murder; two, for illegally disposing of the city's property, and several others were notorious ruffians, although not at the moment under indictment.

The grand juries of New York city perform a deal of useless labor in bringing in bills of indictment against such Democrats. We have city judges truckling to, and letting felons go free: ticket swindlers appointed to office; and as for official, murderous brawls, with arms, the fashion caught from the South, the number is too large for citation. The slave-democracy can show similar characteristics elsewhere. These narrations would fill many volumes: we can only hint at them here.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LINCOLN AND HAMLIN.

TRACTS and journals have already made the Life of Lincoln so familiar, that a few words on it here may suffice. A century and a half since, his family resided in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and belonged to the mild and prudent Society of Friends. About that period, his great grandfather removed to Rockingham County, Vir-

ginia. There his father and himself were born. His grandfather went thence to Kentucky; and was, while clearing a farm, killed by Indians: his widow being left with five children. When he was twenty-one, his father and family emigrated to Illinois, and cleared a settlement for a farm. Young Lincoln then became a flatboatman down the Ohio and Mississippi; and next took charge of a store and mill. In 1832, he became a captain in the Black Hawk war. In 1834, he became, for the second time, a candidate for the Legislature, and succeeded in being elected. He was twice reelected—in 1836 and 1838. In 1834, he began the study of the law, and pursued it amid great pecuniary difficulties and privations, too poor to buy a candle to study by night. In 1842, he married Miss Todd, daughter of the Hon. R. S. Todd, of Kentucky. Mr. Lincoln was sent to Congress by an immense majority. When the Missouri Compromise was shattered, he held public discussions with Douglas, and showed himself as much intellectually as he is morally the superior of that person. A majority for the first time opposed to the Democratic Administration was elected to the Legislature. The anti-Nebraska Democrats would not join with the Whigs in that body. The latter nominated Mr. Lincoln as U. S. Senator—Mr. Trumbull, finally, at the magnanimous suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, was chosen. Mr. Lincoln was active in the preparations for the canvas of 1856, and his name was up before the Convention at Philadelphia, for Vice-President. He was chosen to answer Douglas in discussion in 1857. In 1858, the Republican State Convention unanimously nominated Mr. Lincoln for U. S. Senator, to succeed Douglas. Mr. Lincoln challenged his opponent to a discussion throughout the State; Mr. Douglas agreed to speak so at seven places, which was done. This discussion is reported in a large volume, and will give as good a sample of Mr. Lincoln's keen intellectual abilities as his friends could desire. So, too, will the masterly address he made this year at New York—a specimen of close reasoning and narration, original, too, and striking. After the discussion was over, Mr. Lincoln spoke more than fifty times in public during the canvass.

Mr. Hamlin was born in Oxford County, Maine, in 1809. He is a lawyer by profession. From 1836 to 1840, he was in the Legislature of Maine, and for three years was Speaker of its House. In 1843, he was elected to Congress, and reelected the next term. In 1847, he was again in the Legislature. In 1848, he was elected to the U. S. Senate, to fill a vacancy. In 1851, he was reelected for the full term, but resigned on being chosen Governor of Maine, in 1857. In the same month he was again elected to the U. S. Senate, resigning the Governorship. He is still in the Senate. Up to 1854, he acted with the Democratic party, and then quit it for its treachery. Mr. Hamlin, besides his Senatorial ability, is distinguished for executive talent.

CHAPTER XXX.

POPULAR VOTE, FALSELY SO CALLED, FOR PRESIDENT IN 1856;

WITH THE NUMBER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS IN EACH STATE IN 1860.

It will be observed, that in four Southern States, on the borders of the Free States, 1,122 votes were permitted to be cast for the Republican ticket, and those directly in contact with the free voters to protect them; except these, no free vote was allowed in the South at all; under the terrorism of the oligarchs, the election was for two tools of the slave-power, Buchanan and Fillmore, the latter receiving the vote of one whole State for threatening disunion if the Republicans succeeded, and for betraying the interests of free-labor.

States.	Fremont, Republican.	Ruchanan, Democrat.	Fillmore, American.	Electors, 1860.
Alabama .....	.....	46,789	28,552	9
Arkansas .....	.....	21,910	10,757	4
California	20,691	53,865	36,165	4
Connecticut	42,715	84,925	2,615	6
Delaware.....	308	5,004	6,175	3
Florida .....	.....	6,259	4,533	3
Georgia .....	.....	56,551	42,439	10
Illinois	96,150	105,843	87,444	11
Indiana	94,375	118,670	22,856	13
Iowa.....	43,254	56,170	9,150	4
Kentucky	314	74,642	67,416	12
Louisiana .....	.....	22,164	20,709	6
Maine.....	67,199	59,150	3,225	5
Maryland	251	89,115	47,450	8
Massachusetts	105,190	89,240	19,626	13
Michigan.....	71,762	52,136	1,660	6
Minnesota.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Mississippi .....	.....	355,346	54,195	7
Missouri.....	.....	58,164	48,524	9
New Hampshire	38,545	52,759	422	3
New Jersey.....	28,538	46,943	2,413	7
New York	276,004	195,578	124,604	23
North Carolina .....	.....	48,246	38,256	10
Ohio	157,497	170,574	28,121	23
Oregon.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Pennsylvania.....	147,963	230,772	62,262	27
Rhode Island.....	11,467	6,650	1,675	4
South Carolina	Chosen	by the	Legislature.	8
Tennessee .....	.....	73,636	66,117	12
Texas .....	.....	31,160	15,639	4
Vermont	39,561	10,569	545	5
Virginia.....	291	587,6	60,310	13
Wisconsin.....	66,090	52,543	550	5
Total.....	1,341,514	1,528,232	574,707	303

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE POLITICAL PLATFORMS OF 1860.

THE Convention at Chicago was an immense gathering of respectable people. At Baltimore, however, the Democracy was thus described by *The Patriot*:

"The scenes that have been enacted in our midst since Monday last—the daily scuffles and nightly brawls—the quarrels, dissensions, and fights—the drunkenness, gambling, profanity, and other disreputable conduct, which has been visible for the past week—must, we think, lead all men to rejoice that the end is near. The peace of the city has been disturbed only by those non-residents, who were sent here to produce harmony and peace. Men occupying high position, members of Congress, have been arrested for open breaches of the peace and public decorum. Street fights have occurred almost every day. Pistols have been exhibited, dirk-knives used, and in and around the drinking-shops and gam-

bling rooms, excited knots of men, "clubs," have gathered in angry discussions, which has generally led to a knock-down and drag-out by the police, etc."

After thus seeing the parties, the reader will judge of the respective honesty of their platforms, which follow :

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY, 1860.

Resolved. That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

First. That the history of the nation during the last forty years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That we solemnly reassert the self-evident truths, that all men are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments are intended among men to secure the enjoyments of these rights. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of natural resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous *Lecompton Constitution* upon the protesting people of Kansas—in constraining the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a candiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm, the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries Slavery into any or all the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent vetoes by the federal governors of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting Slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be admitted as a State, under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth. That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to emigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

Fifteenth. The appropriation by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that as a preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the cooperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their assent and support.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, MAY, 1860.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that all platforms adopted by political parties have the effect to mislead and cause political divisions by encouraging geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That both patriotism and duty requires that they should recognize no policy or principles but those resting on the broad foundation of the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws (great applause, and six cheers); and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union party and of the country, they pledge themselves to maintain, protect, and defend these principles, thus affording security at home and abroad, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and posterity.

Adopted by acclamation.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED BY THE MARYLAND INSTITUTE CONVENTION, AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 23, 1860.

ORIGINALLY ADOPTED BY THE SECEDEES AT CHARLESTON, APRIL 30, 1860.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati, be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or injured by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by their admission into the Union, they stand on an equality with the people of other States, and a State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether the constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of Slavery.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

Resolved, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of the Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy connection between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of their constitutional authority, by Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practical moment.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE, 6, 1856.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to paralyze the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, Therefore, That entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of powers made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes, nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of this country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities, amply sufficient to guard

the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical dominion of the bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the principles of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute books.

And whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Convention, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of the union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and preëminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank, or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence, a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States:

1. That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take ineffectual steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1793, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799—that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on Slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union.

1. *Resolved,* That claiming fellowship with and desiring the coöperation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating the sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic Slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, 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 conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with Slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850, confirmed by both the Demo-

eratic and Whig parties in National Conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in 1854.

8. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and the admission of new States with or without domestic Slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compact of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it to form a constitution, with or without domestic Slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, *Finally*, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the Old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is involved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States—and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislations for the benefit of a few at the expense of the many, and by vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution—which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be—in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway, which nature as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the government of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Inter-oceanic Isthmus.

5. *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, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and, therefore, true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition he has maintained the laws at home, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad; and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ADOPTED BY THE FRONT STREET THEATER CONVENTION, AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 23, 1860.

ORIGINALLY ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON, APRIL 30, 1860.

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmation of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matter, and we recommend as our only further resolutions the following:

That inasmuch as difference of opinion exists in the Democratic party, as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the power and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of Slavery within the Territories.

Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens at home and abroad, and whether native or foreign-born.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific States, and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional enactment as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practical period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

On the last day of the session of the Douglas Democratic Convention at Baltimore, the following resolution was adopted and added to the platform.

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the Interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that during the existence of the Territorial Government, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution or the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations (as the same has been, or shall hereafter be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States) should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

[For Cincinnati platform, which is annexed to this, see the Maryland Institute platform, preceding this.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE people of those States where liberty is not stifled by cowardly and brutal force, have it in their power to insure political reform, and save the grand expanse of territory, of over one thousand million acres in the West, from the wreck and shame of Slavery. This they can do constitutionally, without infringing upon Southern privileges; and by so restricting the evil, and saving further land from its devastations, they will lead the way to yet higher achievements. Other nations beckon us on: England, her House of Lords roused by the memorable logic and eloquence of a Brougham, struck the chains off all her slaves, and each rising and setting sun does homage to the majesty of the achievement, over the hills and vales of her happy islands. Russia with twenty million serfs, is, at the fiat of her best Emperor, about to touch them with the Ithuriel spear of emancipation, so that their moral nature may reach the skies. Shall we, then, with such glorious examples of the good, the generous, and the right, retroact, absolve ourselves from our gallant past, cut off our brilliant future, and be stifled in essential barbarism? In this epoch, when science flies on the wings of love, can we sanction the worship of hate and cruelty? This, and not less than this, is contained in the solution of the great questions before us. We have either to succumb to, or to triumph over, the slave-power. There is no middle course. We must either have the black flag of Slavery, or one scintillating with freedom, to symbolize our home and country. Our irreversible word, then, should be for Liberty—circling our lakes and seas; traversing our mountains and prairies; covering our cities and villages; going forth in many ships over many waters: liberty for the poor, the exiled, and the oppressed; liberty of sense and soul, of thought and speech, of aspiration and action.

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