

forgotten ; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people ; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

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## FIFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 6TH, 1872.

The Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the City of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country :

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at low rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Meriting foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of

which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity, the essential qualification for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful

people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all of our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through efforts of the Republican Party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the right of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued, careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities, and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican Party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction ; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.



**SIXTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.****ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 15TH, 1876.**

WHEN, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican Party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles :

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican Party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if need be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican Party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all of its citizens in the free enjoyment of all of their rights is a duty to which the Republican Party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide

for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to those duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all

citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparring.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European Governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican Party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern



the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all of the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic Party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation, and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic Party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing

financial questions ; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation ; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government ; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

Upon the reading of the resolutions, Edward L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out the eleventh resolution ; which, after debate, was disagreed to—yeas 215, nays 532.

Edmund J. Davis moved to strike out the fourth resolution and substitute for it the following :

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed. Which, after a brief debate, was disagreed to on a *viva voce* vote.

The candidates were : Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President ; William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President.

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## SEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 5TH, 1880.

THE Republican Party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration : It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert

the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent to the par value of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railways have increased from thirty-one thousand miles in 1860 to more than eighty thousand miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from seven hundred millions to eleven hundred and fifty millions in the same time; and our exports, which were twenty millions less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$488,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at a lower rate, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican Party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has

been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace so gained should be cherished; that the discovered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation, while others are denied the States. But the boundary between powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate intelligence of the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition on the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.



5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railroad or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory, and their perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority for regular immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of R. B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic Party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of

office and patronage ; that to obtain possession of the National Government and State Governments, and the control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage ; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the majority of the States in the House of Representatives ; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons ; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriations, upon whose passage the very movements of the Government depend ; have crushed the rights of the individual, have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimably good results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal steady and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, is the first duty of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe method by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression ; and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican Party to use all legitimate means to restore all States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible. And we submit to the prac-

tical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

The Republican Party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co operation of the legislative with the executive department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

EARLY REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

BY

CHARLES T. CONGDON.



## EARLY REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

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THERE is abundant evidence that slavery in America was never germane to the sentiment and conscience of the American people. The plea sometimes adduced during the anti-slavery discussion, that the slaves were forced upon the colonies by the commercial cupidity of the mother country, was not without a modicum of truth. It is historically true that both Virginia and South Carolina, in the eighteenth century, sought to restrict the importation of slaves. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania pressed the adoption of similar measures, but in each instance the veto of the colonial governor was interposed. It must be understood that, notwithstanding slave labor was in many of the colonies found profitable, there was always sturdy protest against it. The constant testimony of the Quakers against it is of record. John Wesley had denounced it as the sum of all villainies; Whitefield had spoken to the planters of "the miseries of the poor negroes;" Dr. Hopkins, the eminent theologian, had fitly characterized the traffic in its very centre, and to the faces of the Newport merchants engaged in it. The Continental Congress in 1774 had pledged the United Colonies to discontinue altogether the slave trade. Several of the slave colonies themselves joined in the declaration against the trade. These facts are worth remembering, because they show that even at that time there was a strong and conscientious feeling against slavery and in favor of justice and humanity. The defence of slavery upon moral, theological, and political grounds came afterward.

It is nearly a hundred years since the establishment of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Benjamin Franklin was made its president. There were other and similar societies in different States. The first anti-slavery national convention was held in 1795.

Perhaps the earliest abolitionist intimately connected with the anti-slavery agitation which culminated in such great results was Benjamin Lundy, a member of the Society of Friends, who, born in New Jersey in 1789, in 1815 had established an anti-slavery association called "The Union Humane Society," at St. Clairsville, Va. Lundy wrote, travelled, lectured, and everywhere maintained his crusade against the institution. In 1821 he started the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the office of which he removed to Baltimore in 1824. Having made the acquaintance of William Lloyd Garrison, he engaged the assistance of that gentleman in the editorial management of the newspaper. Lundy was the first to establish anti-slavery periodicals and deliver anti-slavery lectures. It is stated that from 1820 to 1830 Lundy travelled twenty-five thousand miles, five thousand on foot, visited nineteen States, made two voyages to Hayti, and delivered more than two hundred addresses.

The first number of Mr. Garrison's *Liberator* was published in Boston, in January, 1831. The history of the agitation which was then begun has already been partially written and is familiar to many still living. From this time forth to the bloody issue, and the final triumph of right and of justice, slavery began to be felt in the politics of the country. Undoubtedly a vast majority of both the Whig and Democratic Parties were upon its side. Upon the other there were two classes. There was that which would keep no terms with slavery, but at all times and seasons yielded not one jot or tittle, but demanded its immediate abolition. There were others who took more moderate ground; who doubted the policy of instant abolition; who ad-

hered to the parties with which they found themselves allied ; but who nevertheless insisted upon the right of free discussion and the right of petition. The great champion of this right in the House of Representatives was John Quincy Adams. He had gone from the White House to the House of Representatives with no special feelings of kindness for the Southern States or for their political leaders. But he was always careful to declare that personally he was not in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District, while he deemed the right of petition " sacred and to be vindicated at all hazards." His position must not be misunderstood. Asserting energetically the right of the petitioners to be heard, he had no sympathy with their opinions. He did not regard the question of slavery in the District as of much consequence. He took no humanitarian ground. He fought the battle, and fought it nobly, but it was as a constitutional lawyer, and not as an abolitionist. He argued the matter as he argued the famous *Amistad* case, upon strictly legal principles. Fortunately they happened to be upon the right side, and Mr. Adams's services at this time were unquestionably of great value to the cause of freedom.

Among the few who took an entirely different ground, and who avowed their sympathy with the prayer of the petitioners, was William Slade, of Vermont, who was in the House from 1831 to 1843, and afterward Governor of Vermont. He said, with manly precision and courage, " The petitioners wish the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ; so do I. They wish to abolish the slave-trade in the District ; so do I." But protest at such a time was vain, and the petitions were laid upon the table by a great majority. Agitation must at any cost be arrested. Tranquillity must by any expedient be secured. In the Senate at the same time a similar controversy was going on. Singularly enough, the champion of the right of petition here was Mr. James Buchanan, who spoke and voted for the reception of the petitions, though he also advocated the instant

rejection of their prayer ; and he actually succeeded, to the great indignation of Mr. Calhoun, in carrying his point. Mr. Morris, of Ohio, vindicated the right, and declared that " no denial of it by Congress could prevent them from expressing it." Similar ground was taken by Mr. Prentiss, of Vermont. Mr. Webster, not then so regardless of the popular opinion as he afterward became, advocated the reference of the petitions to the proper committees.

Among those who in those dark days of Northern subserviency nobly stood up for free speech and a free press, was Governor Joseph Ritner, of Pennsylvania, who in one of his messages said . " Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land, or any part of it." Thaddeus Stevens, then chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Pennsylvania House, took ground equally brave and independent. The Southern Legislatures had asked of the Northern States the enactment of laws for the suppression of free discussion. " No State," said Mr. Stevens, " can claim from us such legislation. It would reduce us to a vassalage but little less degrading than that of the slaves." But in no State can the progress of this great controversy be more satisfactorily observed than in Massachusetts. There the abolitionists were most uncompromising and determined, and so respectable were they in numbers and character that those who were opposed to their opinions and proceedings were not long afterward glad enough to get their votes in seasons of particular emergency. But Massachusetts respectability, taking its tone from Boston, as the tone of Boston was governed by its commercial interests, was then ready for almost unconditional surrender, of all which it should have held most dear, to the slave power. Edward Everett was Governor of the State, and went so far as to suggest that anti-slavery discussion " might be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law." This part of Governor Everett's message was referred to a committee of which Mr. George Lunt was chair-



man. Before this committee appeared in their own defence such abolitionists as Ellis Gray Loring, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Charles Follen, Samuel J. May, and William Goodell. It is almost impossible now to conceive of the indignities as possible to which these gentlemen were subjected by the chairman, Mr. Lunt. Dr. Follen, one of the mildest and most amiable of men, was peremptorily silenced. "You are here," said Mr. Lunt to Mr. May, "to exculpate yourselves if you can"—as if the remonstrants had been criminals at the bar of public justice. Such treatment excited great indignation among those who were present merely as spectators. Dr. William Ellery Channing—the story is still related in Boston—walked across the room to offer Mr. Garrison his hand, and to speak to him words of sympathy and encouragement. From that day the progress of anti-slavery opinions in Massachusetts went on almost without cessation. They colored and affected the action of political parties; they broke up and scattered an organization which had held the State in fee for more than a generation; they proved themselves superior to all the reports and resolutions which such men as Mr. Lunt could bring forward; they won for their supporters all the distinction which place and popular confidence could confer, and reduced those who rejected them to the leanest of minorities. All things worked together for good. The murder of Lovejoy, at Alton in 1837, was a triumph of slavery which proved in the end one of the most fatal of its misfortunes. It sent Dr. Channing to Faneuil Hall to protest against such an outrage upon law and justice. It sent there Wendell Phillips to make his first speech, which rendered him at once famous. It created a public sympathy in Boston and throughout the State which was never lost, which the immense influence of Mr. Webster was unable to overcome, and which prepared the way, first for the Free Soil and then for the Republican Party. Boston conservatism occasionally made a good deal of noise afterward, but it never carried another election. "Politics,"

said Mr. Franklin Pierce about that time in the Senate, "are beginning to mingle with that question." And "he profoundly regretted that individuals of both parties were submitting to the catechism of the abolitionists." Mr. Pierce was right; but there was a good deal more to come.

The intense hostility of a portion of the Northern people to the measures and methods of the early abolitionists did not and could not prevent a gradual change in the temper and the opinions of vast numbers of reflecting and conscientious men, who saw the sole remedy only in political action. The audacity of the slave power, never for a moment satisfied, gave its friends at the North no opportunity of appealing successfully to Northern interests. The most imprudent of mankind were always doing something which fanned the slumbering embers again into a blaze. They would not let well enough alone. They would not temporize even when to do so would have been greatly to their advantage. South Carolina, for instance, had been for years in the habit of imprisoning colored seamen during their detention at Charleston. Massachusetts appointed Samuel Hoar, of Concord, the agent of the State to prosecute suits to test the legality of these imprisonments. Mr. Hoar was not only a gentleman of great personal worth, but he belonged to one of the oldest families in the State, and for many years had been respected as a jurist of great ability and integrity. To what indignities he was subjected, and how he was expelled from the State, the history of those times will never fail to tell. One result of this was to make abolitionists of a great number of highly respectable people who otherwise might never have been moved from the path of the strictest conservatism. The admission of Texas as a slave State brought into the anti-slavery ranks, ill-defined as they were, great numbers of persons who otherwise might have kept silence forever. It caused a meeting of protest in Faneuil Hall, over which Charles Francis Adams presided. The resolutions were drawn up by Charles Sumner. They were pre-

sented by John G. Palfrey. Garrison and Phillips were there, and for once the anti-slavery men of the non-political and the political schools worked together. The matter was discussed in the colleges and the law schools, in the factories and work-shops; it was then that the great political revolution in so many States began. Above all, it sharply defined the line between those Whigs and Democrats who, after a political wrong had been accomplished, were willing quietly to submit, and those who thought that the wrong should be a fair warning against others of a similar character. If the motive of annexation was the preservation of slavery, then there was all the more reason for watching slavery closely.\*

The case of Mr. Giddings is an excellent illustration of the folly by which the Whig Party alienated many of its best friends. If he was anything, Mr. Giddings was every inch a Whig. He clung to his political organization when many another man would have left it in disgust. He was, while Mr. John Quincy Adams survived, the steady and able ally of that statesman in the House of Representatives. But neither this nor his strong anti-slavery sentiments prevented him from being a warm friend and supporter of Henry Clay. He clung to his party until his party nominated General Taylor. This was a supposed submission to the slave power, though it did not turn out to be afterward, which, sent Mr. Giddings into the Free Soil ranks in 1848. What men went with him, and what came of that movement, even after it had to all appearance utterly failed, is well enough known. No wonder Mr. Giddings felt that the North should have different men in the public councils, when with a large majority it could not shield him from outrages in the House to which the lowest of men would hardly have submitted outside of it.

The Democratic Party often exhibited as little wisdom. It had not, for instance, a stronger and more able soldier than Mr. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire. Personally very popular, he

was an excellent debater, never found wanting in an emergency, and one who was alike equal to attack or defence. He was, however, foremost in his denunciation of the plan for the annexation of Texas—a measure which he characterized as “eminently calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of Heaven.” He had already been nominated for the next Congress by the Democrats of his district, but another convention was called, and the name of Mr. Hale was taken from the ticket. It is to tell the whole historical story to say that this day’s absurd action made Mr. Hale a Senator of the United States. This is the story everywhere. The Whig National Convention, which treated with such utter contempt the protests of anti-slavery Whigs, was the last which met with any prospect of good fortune before it. The day was pregnant with great events, and great political changes were at hand. The Barnburner revolt in New York assisted in forwarding the great reform. There were yet to be defeats, and men’s minds were not entirely fixed: but both great parties in 1848 sealed their political doom with suicidal hands. Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts, had said in the Whig National Convention, “It is evident the terms of union between the Whigs of the North and the Whigs of the South are the perpetual surrender by the former of the high offices and powers of the Government to their Southern confederates. To these terms, I think, sir, the free States will no longer submit.” Mr. Wilson declared that he would “not be bound by the proceedings of the convention:” and Mr. Stanley, of North Carolina, with far-seeing sagacity, retorted that he was “injuring no one but himself”—a declaration which in the light of subsequent events seems sufficiently amusing.

Before the dissatisfied delegates went home the Buffalo Convention was decided upon. The first State Convention of the new party in Massachusetts was held in Worcester, and was attended by men who have since been often enough heard of—by Henry Wilson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, E.



Rockwood Hoar, to mention no others. The action of the Buffalo Convention in nominating Mr. Van Buren for President brought a great portion of the Democratic Party to the new organization, especially in Massachusetts, and in that State the party has never fairly recovered from the events of that campaign. The nomination of Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President was deemed a sufficient concession to the bolting Whigs. It was a ticket for an honest man to support, although no prospect of success was before it. The campaign started with great spirit in Ohio, being led by Chase, Giddings, Root, and other distinguished men. The new party went through a campaign which resulted in entire defeat and—in victory! But it had cast two hundred and ninety-thousand votes for freedom: it had defeated a candidate the avowed supporter of slavery: and it had secured the election of another who, although a slaveholder, was at least not a trimmer and a doughface.

Here as well as anywhere may be considered the distinctive character of those who early engaged in this war against slavery extension. It need not be said that coalition was necessary, and coalition always implies the co-operation of those who find each other useful, but who may be governed by widely different motives. Those who had conscientiously entertained a hatred of slavery found an opportunity of alliance with others, whose hostility was at least recent, and who had managed to get along with the South so long as that section conceded to them a fair share in the Government. The Democratic wing of the Free Soil Party made great pretensions to anti-slavery sentiment. Among those who were loudest was John Van Buren, of New York. He went so far as to say at Utica, in the Barnburners' Convention, "We expect to make the Democratic Party of this State the great anti-slavery party of this State, and through it to make the Democratic Party of the United States the great anti-slavery party of the United States." Subsequent events showed that this meant very little save the desire for revenge

on the part of a son who was irritated by what he regarded as the personal wrongs of a father. Not many years elapsed before John Van Buren was again in the Democratic Party, when it was even more thoroughly than before the servant of slavery, with the immoral aspects of the institution more fully developed. With him returned to their allegiance many thousands of Democrats. He was supple, clever, and adroit. As a platform speaker he had few equals; but that he was altogether sincere perhaps it would be too much to say.

No man is personally identified more historically with the Republican Party than Henry Wilson. He had great virtues and great faults of character. His natural impulses were warm and generous. He had absolute physical courage, and when his passions were aroused he was a formidable enemy. He could put a personal injury in abeyance if he thought it for his advantage to do so; but he had a long memory, and although he might forgive he never forgot. He had great skill in party manœuvre, and a perfect faith in party management. It was perhaps his real misfortune that his first political successes of any importance were secured by coalitions. It is true that many of these were originated by himself, but he was not, it must be said in his defense, the originator of the opportunity. He was perfectly frank in his avowal of what he thought to be not only the expediency but the virtue of joining in any political movement which would advance his own political opinions, without much regard for appearances. Others acquiesced in such bargains—Mr. Wilson went farther, for he believed in them. There was no nicety, no moral scrupulosity in his constitution. This made it easy for him to act with anybody or everybody; and to this easy political virtue he owed his first election to the United States Senate. He joined the Know-Nothing Party without in the least accepting its particular tenets. He did not hesitate to receive Democratic votes. In Massachusetts the Whig Party was in his way, and in the way of the anti-slavery

views which he undoubtedly entertained, and he determined upon its destruction. He never apologized for alliances which others thought to be immoral. He was a leader of those who regarded slavery as sinful and impolitic; he himself undoubtedly shared in their opinions; but he did not hesitate in an emergency to act with those whose views were widely different. After his success was definitely assured he became more independent, and, it must be added, more consistent. His capacity for public affairs was of a first-rate order, and he had entirely risen above the defects of his early education. He was a born political soldier, and did quite as much as any man to bring the Republican Party to compactness and coherence.

Mr. Charles Sumner was of a character widely different from that of his colleague. The latter, with all his merits, was ingrain a politician; Mr. Sumner was perhaps the worst politician in the United States. While the struggle which resulted in making him a Senator of the United States was going on in the Massachusetts Legislature, he kept resolutely aloof from the contest, and neither by word nor by deed indicated his approval or disapproval of the coalition. Even when the prolonged contest resulted in his election, he left the city of Boston that he might avoid the congratulations of his supporters of either sort. He followed what he called "a line of reserve." In a letter to Mr. Wilson he thanked that gentleman for "the energy, determination, and fidelity" with which he had fought the battle, and said, "For weal or woe, you must take the responsibility of having placed me in the Senate of the United States." It is doubtful whether Mr. Sumner did entirely approve the means which were used to make him in the first instance a Senator; but, like other anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, he acquiesced. So sturdy a man as Robert Rantoul, Jr., accepted a seat in the Senate under precisely the same conditions, and he was elected to the House of Representatives in the same way. Even Horace Mann defended the coalition.

Mr. Sumner's career in the Senate was never in the least influenced by the necessity of conciliating Democrats at home ; and long before his re-election anything like coalition had, by the march of events, been made unnecessary. Ultimately Mr. Sumner's hold upon the hearts of the people of Massachusetts became so strong that the efforts of a petty clique to unseat him, could not under any circumstances probably have been successful. He was regarded, especially after the felonious assault upon him in the Senate Chamber, as a martyr to the cause. He was a great man for great occasions ; and by long familiarity with the business of the Senate he became much more practically useful than he was at first ; but he could not be considered a popular member, and there were those who thought him somewhat arrogant. He never worked well in the traces of party, and there was something of the virtuoso in his character, which his less refined associates did not relish. His speeches were very carefully prepared, but they were often loaded with learning, and the more elaborate portions of them smelt of the lamp. His name, however, is inseparably and most honorably connected with the greatest of events, and he will doubtless be remembered long after he ceases to be read.

Charles Francis Adams had been among the earliest of the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts. His distrust of the South and of the slaveholder was natural, for he had received a large inheritance of family grievances, real or supposed. None of them, however, prevented him from permitting his name to be used with that of Mr. Van Buren, and he accepted the nomination for the Vice-Presidency from the Buffalo Convention with perfect complacency. But if his passions were strong, his political tastes were occasionally fastidious, and probably he never thoroughly relished the Massachusetts Coalition. He exhibited on many occasions the same remarkable mixture of ardor and conversatism which characterized his illustrious father. He could lead sometimes with special ability, but he



could not be easily nor often led. Party harness sat very easily upon his shoulders, and he could throw it off whenever he pleased. But of the new party he was an invaluable member, for his training for public affairs had been first-rate; the historical associations of his name were interesting and attractive; he was very wealthy; and he was a master of political science. Opposed as he was to the coalition which elected Mr. Sumner, he shared that opposition with Richard H. Dana, Jr., Samael Hoar, John G. Palfrey, and some other eminent Free Soilers. Ultimately, of course, these differences of opinion subsided; but Mr. Adams has shown, with other members of the party, that the same freedom of judgment which had led to its formation still guided many of its choicest spirits. Of the brilliant career of Mr. Adams, subsequent to these events, it is unnecessary here to speak. The present time finds him a member of that Democratic Party which he has so often and so bitterly denounced. The fact is to be most pleasantly regarded as evidence of the perfect independence of his character.

All the temptations which led several prominent Whigs to repudiate the nomination of General Taylor in 1848 had no effect upon Mr. William H. Seward. His time had not yet come, but it was well known that his political opinions were of an anti-slavery color, and that he was particularly sensitive upon the point of surrendering fugitives from slavery. These views began to develop more definitely after his election to the United States Senate in 1849. In the debate upon the admission of California into the Union in 1850, he used the phrase "*higher law* than the Constitution," a part of which has become proverbial. He fought the compromises to the last. In his speech at Rochester in 1858 he had alluded to the "irrepressible conflict," and this phrase also has become famous, as well as the declaration that "the United States must and will become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation." In 1860 in the Senate he avowed that his vote should never be



given to sanction slavery in the common territories of the United States, "or anywhere else in the world." His services as Secretary of State during the Rebellion were of the first order, and especially his management of our foreign relations. Undoubtedly his wisdom and forethought saved us upon more than one occasion from a foreign war. His adherence to office under President Johnson did much to injure his popularity; and perhaps he was not sorry definitely to retire from public life in 1869, and to find a new and rational pleasure in prolonged foreign travel. 277. Seward was a man of fine literary tastes, of no mean literary skill; he had the faculty of acquiring and of keeping friends; and in the social circle he was devoted and affectionate. The disappointment of his public life, which considered altogether was eminently successful, was his failure to secure the Presidency; but it must have been an alleviation to know that he shared this with so many eminent men. His public career was peculiarly consistent, and perhaps of all public characters of his time he was oftenest found upon the side of the oppressed and the unfortunate, even in cases which had no political significance.

The man who even before 1846, and in that year, argued that slavery was local and dependent upon State law, was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and nothing could be more astonishing than the changes which ultimately placed such a lawyer upon the bench of the Supreme Court, and in the place just before occupied by Chief-Justice Taney. He was one of the few remarkable men to whom the old Liberty Party was indebted for an existence, to which the Republican Party also owes something. He was the first or among the first to propose the Free Soil movement and the Buffalo Convention in 1848, and over this body he presided. He too was sent to the United States Senate by a coalition of Free Soil members and Democrats of the Ohio Legislature in 1849; but the Ohio Democrats in their State Convention had already declared slavery to be a national evil, which rendered the coal-

tion at least not absurd and contradictory. Mr. Chase made haste to disavow all connection with the Democrats after the nomination of Mr. Pierce in 1852, upon a pro-slavery platform. With his record and strong opinions upon the subject of slavery he came naturally into the Republican Party, and into the Cabinet of President Lincoln as Secretary of the Treasury in 1861. As Chief-Justice of the United States, his great learning, his sense of equity, and his liberal views of important public questions won him a permanent reputation as a lawyer. He did not always agree with the policy of the Republican Party, and he was even talked of as a candidate of the Democrats for the Presidency—a nomination which was not accorded to him, but which it was understood that he was willing to accept under certain conditions. He is an excellent instance of what the reader of this chapter must have observed—the tendency, during stormy political seasons, of really able men to cut loose the bonds of party and to seek in new affiliations the accomplishment of cherished purposes and the vindication of profound convictions. Judge Chase, in his own State, was a man of unbounded popularity. This was never shaken by any course which he thought fit to pursue; and to the last no man ever doubted his integrity.

Not as President, but as one of the leaders who made the Republican Party possible, the career of Abraham Lincoln before he was elected to the office in which he died a martyr to his principles, ought here to be alluded to. In Congress, which he entered in 1848, he doubted the constitutionality of slavery in the District of Columbia; he suggested the expediency of abolishing the slave-trade there; and he warmly advocated the Wilmot Proviso. When the project for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was brought forward, he found his place in the great contest at once. His platform duels with Douglas in Illinois will never be forgotten, and his speech at Springfield utterly demolished the sophistry of the "great principle" which asserted that a man in Nebraska might not only govern

himself, but also govern other persons without their consent. He too declared that no government could endure permanently which was "half slave and half free." How well he demeaned himself in his high office it is unnecessary to say. He grew larger and larger under the pressure of the terrible situation; he was as tender as a woman, and as stern as a Roman; he thought, planned, acted, always with perfect caution, with native sagacity, with a perfect appreciation of the situation. It was no accident, it was the impulse of character and the prompting of the heart which led Abraham Lincoln into the Republican Party, of which he was a defender and ornament. In the most doubtful days, if there be a party which is on the side of justice and humanity, a man with a heart is sure to find it; and if there be another, its exact opposite, pledged to oppression, to selfishness, and to corruption, the man without a heart is sure to drift into it.

In this chapter many honored names have been necessarily omitted. The object has been to refer to only a few of the most prominent as examples of fidelity to great principles and to ideas worthy of the support of the American people. After all, more have been omitted than mentioned. We might have spoken of Horace Mann, the uncompromising philanthropist, the profound scholar, and the life-long advocate of popular education; of John G. Palfrey, who was among the first of Massachusetts Whigs to risk all save the reward of a good conscience for the sake of the slave; of the young and eloquent Burlingame, first known as a popular speaker, but who afterward developed into a most able diplomatist; and we might have added something of the magnetic influence which drew the young men of the North about the banner of freedom, and awakened an enthusiasm which made the strict lines and the self-seeking policy of the old parties distasteful to their generous natures. Happy will the nation be should any such great emergency again arise, if once more the old honesty shall be awakened and the old enthusiasm stimulated!

# REPUBLICAN VICTORIES.

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THE POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE AT EACH  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SINCE THE  
FORMATION OF THE  
REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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Reduction of the Public Debt.

## POPULAR VOTE OF 1856.

STATES.	James Buchanan, Democratic.		John C. Fremont, Republican.		M. Fillmore, American.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama.....	46,739	18,187	.....	.....	28,532	.....	75,291
2 Arkansas .....	21,910	11,113	.....	.....	10,787	.....	32,697
3 California.....	23,265	*17,200	20,691	.....	35,165	.....	110,221
4 Connecticut.....	31,965	.....	42,715	5,105	2,615	.....	60,385
5 Delaware.....	8,001	1,521	38	.....	6,175	.....	14,487
6 Florida.....	6,358	1,525	.....	.....	4,833	.....	11,191
7 Georgia.....	56,578	14,350	.....	.....	42,218	.....	98,896
8 Illinois.....	105,348	†9,159	96,180	.....	37,444	.....	228,981
9 Indiana.....	118,670	1,909	94,375	.....	22,226	.....	235,131
10 Iowa.....	36,170	.....	43,951	‡7,784	9,180	.....	109,301
11 Kentucky.....	74,642	6,912	314	.....	67,416	.....	142,372
12 Louisiana.....	22,164	1,455	.....	.....	20,709	.....	42,873
13 Maine.....	39,080	.....	67,379	21,974	3,325	.....	109,784
14 Maryland.....	39,115	.....	251	.....	47,460	8,064	86,826
15 Massachusetts.....	39,240	.....	109,190	49,324	19,626	.....	197,056
16 Michigan.....	52,136	.....	71,762	17,906	1,600	.....	125,504
17 Mississippi.....	35,446	11,251	.....	.....	21,195	.....	59,641
18 Missouri.....	58,101	9,640	.....	.....	48,521	.....	106,662
19 N. Hampshire.....	27,789	.....	38,245	5,134	422	.....	71,556
20 New Jersey.....	46,942	*18,605	28,238	.....	21,115	.....	90,396
21 New York.....	195,878	.....	276,007	‡80,129	124,604	.....	596,487
22 N. Carolina.....	49,246	11,360	.....	.....	26,886	.....	85,132
23 Ohio.....	170,874	.....	187,497	‡16,623	28,126	.....	386,497
24 Pennsylvania.....	220,710	1,025	147,510	.....	82,175	.....	450,395
25 Rhode Island.....	6,680	.....	11,497	3,112	1,675	.....	19,822
26 S. Carolina.....	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis-	lature.	.....	.....
27 Tennessee.....	73,628	7,460	.....	.....	66,178	.....	139,816
28 Texas.....	31,169	15,530	.....	.....	15,639	.....	46,808
29 Vermont.....	10,769	.....	39,561	28,417	545	.....	70,675
30 Virginia.....	89,706	29,105	291	.....	60,310	.....	150,307
31 Wisconsin.....	52,648	.....	66,080	12,628	679	.....	119,512
Total.....	1,538,169	142,358	1,841,264	146,730	874,531	8,0644	4,053,967
Buchanan's Plurality.....	†496,905	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

\* Plurality over Fillmore. † Plurality over Fremont. ‡ Plurality over Buchanan.



ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1856.

STATES.	PRES.					Total.	STATES.	PRES.					Total.	
	Buchan n.	Fremont.	Fillmore.	Breckinridge.	Dayton.			Donelson.	Buchanan.	Fremont.	Fillmore.	Breckinridge.		Dayton.
1 Alabama ..	9			0		9	17 Mississippi	7			7		7	
2 Arkansas..	4			4		4	18 Missouri..	9			9		9	
3 California.	4			4		4	19 N. Hampshire		5			5	5	
4 Connecticut		6			6	6	20 New Jersey	7			7		7	
5 Delaware.	3			3		3	21 New York..		35			35	35	
6 Florida....	3			3		3	22 N. Carolina	10			10		10	
7 Georgia....	10			10		10	23 Ohio.....		21			21	21	
8 Illinois....	11			11		11	24 Pennsylvania	27			27		27	
9 Indiana....	13			13		13	25 R. Island..		4			4	4	
10 Iowa.....		4			4	4	26 S. Carolina.	8			8		8	
11 Kentucky .	12			12		12	27 Tennessee..	12			12		12	
12 Louisiana..	6			6		6	28 Texas.....	4			4		4	
13 Maine....		8			8	8	29 Vermont....		5			5	5	
14 Maryland..			8		8	8	30 Virginia...	15			15		15	
15 Massachusetts		13			13	13	31 Wisconsin..		5			5	5	
16 Michigan...		6			6	6								
							Total...	174	111	8	174	114	8	296

## POPULAR VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	A. Lincoln, Republican.		S. A. Doug- las, Ind. Dem.		J. C. Breckin- ridge, Democratic.		John Bell, Const. Union		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama			13,651		48,831	7,355	27,825		90,507
2 Arkansas			5,227		28,732	3,411	20,091		54,053
3 California	19,173	*657	38,516		34,331		6,817		118,837
4 Connecticut	43,682	10,228	15,522		14,611		3,291		77,114
5 Delaware	3,815		1,231		7,517	†3,483	3,861		16,497
6 Florida			367		8,543	‡2,739	5,437		14,347
7 Georgia			11,500		51,889	†9,003	42,886		106,365
8 Illinois	172,161	5,639	160,215		2,404		3,913		338,693
9 Indiana	130,033	5,923	115,509		12,295		5,306		263,143
10 Iowa	70,469	12,187	55,111		1,018		1,763		129,341
11 Kentucky	1,364		25,651		53,143		66,058	‡12,915	146,216
12 Louisiana			7,635		22,681	†2,477	20,204		50,510
13 Maine	62,811	27,704	26,661		6,398		2,016		97,918
14 Maryland	2,251		5,906		42,182	†722	41,769		92,502
15 Mass.	106,533	43,891	34,372		5,949		22,331		169,175
16 Michigan	88,480	22,213	65,057		805		405		154,747
17 Minn'sota	22,069	9,339	11,920		718		62		34,799
18 Mississ'pi			3,283		40,797	12,174	25,040		69,120
19 Missouri	17,628		58,801	†429	31,317		58,372		165,518
20 N. Hamp.	37,519	9,085	25,881		2,112		441		65,953
21 N. Jersey	58,324		62,801	4,477					121,125
22 New York	362,616	50,136	312,510						675,156
23 N. Carolina			2,701		48,329	618	44,990		96,020
24 Ohio	231,610	20,779	187,232		11,405		12,194		442,441
25 Oregon	5,270	*1,377	3,951		3,006		183		12,410
26 Penn.	268,039	59,618	16,765		178,871		12,776		476,142
27 R. Island	12,244	4,537	7,107						19,951
28 S. Carolina	Electors	chosen	by the	Le-	gisla-	ture.			
29 Tennessee			11,350		61,709		69,274	‡4,565	142,923
30 Texas					47,548	32,110	15,438		95,096
31 Vermont	33,808	21,772	6,819		1,969		218		53,817
32 Virginia	1,929		16,200		74,323		74,681	‡35	157,223
33 Wisconsin	86,110	20,040	65,021		888		161		152,180
Total	1,896,372	326,391	1,375,157	4,477	817,511	58,737	587,820		4,676,853
Lincoln's Plurality	*491,195								

\* Plurality over Douglas. † Plurality over Bell. ‡ Plurality over Breckinridge.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.				Total.
	A. Lincoln, of Ill.	J. C. Breckinridge, of Ky.	John Bell, of Tenn.	S. A. Douglas, of Ill.	H. Hamlin, of Maine.	Joseph Lane, of Oregon.	Edward Everett, of Mass.	H. V. Johnson, of Cal.	
1 Alabama		9				9			9
2 Arkansas		1				1			1
3 California	4				4				4
4 Connecticut	6				6				6
5 Delaware		3				3			3
6 Florida		3				3			3
7 Georgia		10				10			10
8 Illinois	11				11				11
9 Indiana	13				13				13
10 Iowa	4				4				4
11 Kentucky			12				12		12
12 Louisiana		6				6			6
13 Maine	8				8				8
14 Maryland		8				8			8
15 Massachusetts	13				13				13
16 Michigan	6				6				6
17 Minnesota	4				4				4
18 Mississippi		7				7			7
19 Missouri				9				9	9
20 New Hampshire	5				5				5
21 New Jersey	4			3	4			3	11
22 New York	35				35				35
23 North Carolina		10				10			10
24 Ohio	23				23				23
25 Oregon	3				3				3
26 Pennsylvania	27				27				27
27 Rhode Island	4				4				4
28 South Carolina		8				8			8
29 Tennessee			12				12		12
30 Texas		4				4			4
31 Vermont	5				5				5
32 Virginia			15				15		15
33 Wisconsin	5				5				5
Total	180	72	30	12	180	72	19	12	203

## POPULAR VOTE OF 1864.

STATES.	Abraham Lincoln, Republican.		Geo. B. McClellan, Democratic.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Majority.	
1 Alabama*					
2 Arkansas*					
3 California	62,134	18,203	43,841		105,975
4 Connecticut	41,691	2,406	42,285		16,976
5 Delaware	8,135		8,767	612	16,922
6 Florida*					
7 Georgia*					
8 Illinois	159,493	39,794	118,720		349,226
9 Indiana	150,422	20,189	130,233		280,655
10 Iowa	89,075	59,479	49,596		138,671
11 Kansas	16,411	12,750	3,691		20,122
12 Kentucky	27,786		64,301	36,515	92,087
13 Louisiana*					
14 Maine	61,807	17,592	44,211		66,014
15 Maryland	40,133	7,411	32,729		72,862
16 Massachusetts	1,67,712	77,991	48,745		175,487
17 Michigan	91,521	16,917	74,604		166,125
18 Minnesota	25,660	7,685	17,975		42,435
19 Mississippi*					
20 Missouri	72,770	41,072	31,698		104,428
21 Nevada	9,26	3,232	6,591		16,400
22 New Hampshire	56,409	3,529	32,871		69,271
23 New Jersey	107,221		68,024	7,391	128,747
24 New York	308,755	6,749	301,986		700,741
25 North Carolina*					
26 Ohio	255,154	59,586	205,568		477,622
27 Oregon	9,888	1,431	8,457		18,345
28 Pennsylvania	296,391	29,075	267,316		572,707
29 Rhode Island	13,692	5,222	8,470		22,162
30 South Carolina*					
31 Tennessee*					
32 Texas*					
33 Vermont	42,419	29,038	13,321		55,740
34 Virginia*					
35 West Virginia	23,152	12,764	10,388		33,540
36 Wisconsin	83,458	14,574	68,884		149,342
Total	2,216,067	417,770	1,808,725	41,423	4,024,792
Lincoln's Majority		407,312			

The eleven States marked thus (\*) did not vote.





## POPULAR VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	Ulyses S. Grant, Republican.		Horatio Seymour, Democratic.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Majority.	Vote.	Majority.	
1 Alabama .....	76,366	4,278	72,088	.....	148,454
2 Arkansas .....	22,112	3,034	19,078	.....	41,190
3 California .....	54,583	506	54,077	.....	108,660
4 Connecticut .....	50,995	3,043	47,952	.....	98,947
5 Delaware .....	7,623	.....	10,920	3,357	18,543
6 Florida .....	Electors	chosen by	the Legi-	lature.	.....
7 Georgia .....	57,124	.....	102,722	45,598	159,846
8 Illinois .....	270,363	51,160	199,143	.....	449,446
9 Indiana .....	176,548	9,568	166,980	.....	343,528
10 Iowa .....	120,399	46,359	74,040	.....	194,439
11 Kansas .....	81,048	17,058	13,960	.....	45,088
12 Kentucky .....	39,596	.....	115,890	76,294	155,486
13 Louisiana .....	83,263	.....	40,225	46,062	113,488
14 Maine .....	70,493	28,633	42,460	.....	112,953
15 Maryland .....	50,433	.....	62,357	31,919	92,795
16 Massachusetts .....	195,477	77,069	79,468	.....	195,885
17 Michigan .....	128,550	81,491	47,069	.....	225,619
18 Minnesota .....	43,545	15,470	28,075	.....	71,620
19 Mississippi .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20 Missouri .....	86,869	21,232	65,637	.....	152,489
21 Nebraska .....	9,729	4,290	5,439	.....	15,168
22 Nevada .....	6,140	1,262	5,218	.....	11,698
23 New Hampshire .....	38,191	6,967	31,224	.....	69,415
24 New Jersey .....	80,131	.....	83,001	2,870	162,132
25 New York .....	419,883	.....	429,883	10,000	849,766
26 North Carolina .....	96,769	12,168	84,601	.....	181,370
27 Ohio .....	250,221	41,617	238,604	.....	518,829
28 Oregon .....	10,961	.....	11,125	164	22,086
29 Pennsylvania .....	842,280	28,898	313,282	.....	1,155,562
30 Rhode Island .....	12,063	6,415	6,548	.....	19,511
31 South Carolina .....	62,301	17,074	45,227	.....	107,528
32 Tennessee .....	56,628	30,499	26,129	.....	82,757
33 Texas .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
34 Vermont .....	41,167	22,122	12,045	.....	56,212
35 Virginia .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
36 West Virginia .....	29,175	8,869	20,306	.....	49,481
37 Wisconsin .....	108,857	21,150	84,707	.....	193,564
Total .....	3,015,071	522,612	2,709,613	217,184	5,724,684
Grant's Majority .....	.....	305,458	.....	.....	.....

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.			V.-PRESIDENT.			STATES.	PRESIDENT.			V.-PRESIDENT.			
	U. S. Grant, of Ill.	H. Seymour, of N. Y.	Vacancies.	S. Colfax, of Ind.	F. P. Blair, of Mo.	Vacancies.		U. S. Grant, of Ill.	H. Seymour, of N. Y.	Vacancies.	S. Colfax, of Ind.	F. P. Blair, of Mo.	Vacancies.	
1 Alabama .....	3			3			20 Missouri.....	11			11			
2 Arkansas.....	5			5			21 Nebraska.....	3			3			
3 California.....	5			5			22 Nevada.....	3			3			
4 Connecticut...	6			6			23 N. Hampshire.	5			5			
5 Delaware.....		3			3		24 New Jersey....							
6 Florida.....	3			3			25 New York.....		33			33		
7 Georgia.....		9			9		26 N. Carolina....	9			9			
8 Illinois.....	16			16			27 Ohio.....	21			21			
9 Indiana.....	13			13			28 Oregon.....		3			3		
10 Iowa.....	4			4			29 Pennsylvania.	26			26			
11 Kansas.....	3			3			30 Rhode Island..	4			4			
12 Kentucky.....		11			11		31 South Carolina	6			6			
13 Louisiana.....		7			7		32 Tennessee.....	10			10			
14 Maine.....	7			7			33 Texas.....			6		6		
15 Maryland.....		7			7		34 Vermont.....	5			5			
16 Massachusetts	12			12			35 Virginia.....		10			10		
17 Michigan.....	7			7			36 West Virginia.	5			5			
18 Minnesota.....	4			4			37 Wisconsin.....	8			8			
19 Mississippi...														
							Total.....	214	40	23	214	80	23	317

## POPULAR VOTE OF 1872.

STATES.	F. S. Grant, Republican.		H. Greeley, Dem. & Lab. Rep.		O'Co- nor, Dem.	Black, Tempe- rance.	Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Vote.	
1 Alabama..	90,272	10,828	79,444	.....	.....	.....	169,716
2 Arkansas..	41,373	3,416	37,957	.....	.....	.....	79,290
3 California	51,020	12,334	40,718	.....	1,068	.....	95,806
4 Connecticut	50,628	4,348	45,280	.....	204	206	96,918
5 Delaware..	11,115	422	10,693	.....	487	.....	21,808
6 Florida...	17,763	2,346	15,417	.....	.....	.....	35,190
7 Georgia...	62,550	.....	76,256	9,806	4,000	.....	142,806
8 Illinois...	241,944	123,948	184,538	.....	3,058	.....	429,940
9 Indiana...	187,147	21,098	163,052	.....	1,117	.....	351,196
10 Iowa.....	131,566	58,119	71,196	.....	2,221	.....	201,983
11 Kansas...	67,048	33,182	32,970	.....	536	.....	104,614
12 Kentucky..	88,766	.....	90,955	8,855	2,374	.....	191,135
13 Louisiana..	71,663	14,031	57,029	.....	.....	.....	1,8,692
14 Maine.....	61,422	52,335	29,087	.....	.....	.....	90,779
15 Maryland..	66,760	.....	67,687	908	19	.....	134,466
16 Mass.....	133,472	71,212	59,260	.....	.....	.....	192,732
17 Michigan..	178,455	55,964	78,355	.....	2,861	1,271	220,912
18 Minnesota..	55,117	20,691	31,424	.....	.....	.....	89,510
19 Mississ'pi.	82,175	34,887	47,288	.....	.....	.....	129,463
20 Missouri..	119,196	.....	151,424	29,709	2,129	.....	273,079
21 Nebraska..	18,329	10,517	7,812	.....	.....	.....	26,141
22 Nevada...	8,413	2,177	6,236	.....	.....	.....	14,619
23 N. Hamp..	37,168	5,414	31,424	.....	100	200	68,892
24 N. Jersey..	91,656	14,570	76,176	.....	620	.....	108,742
25 New York..	440,736	51,800	387,281	.....	1,154	201	829,672
26 N. Carol'a.	91,769	21,675	70,094	.....	.....	.....	164,863
27 Ohio.....	281,252	34,268	244,321	.....	1,163	2,100	529,436
28 Oregon....	11,819	8,517	7,730	.....	572	.....	20,121
29 Penn.....	319,589	135,918	212,041	.....	.....	1,630	563,260
30 R. Island..	13,665	8,336	5,329	.....	.....	.....	18,991
31 S. Carol'a.	72,290	49,400	22,704	.....	187	.....	95,180
32 Tennessee..	85,055	.....	94,391	8,736	.....	.....	180,046
33 Texas.....	47,406	.....	66,590	16,595	2,479	.....	116,405
34 Vermont..	41,481	29,961	10,927	.....	293	.....	53,001
35 Virginia...	93,468	1,772	91,694	.....	42	.....	185,164
36 W. Virg'a.	32,315	2,264	29,151	.....	600	.....	62,960
37 Wisconsin	164,997	17,686	86,477	.....	834	.....	192,308
Total...	3,597,070	825,326	2,834,079	74,709	29,408	5,608	6,466,165
Grant's Majority....		727,975					

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1872.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.					VICE-PRESIDENT.					Total.						
	Ulysses S. Grant, of Ill.	T. A. Hendricks, of Ind.	B. Gratz Brown, of Mo.	C. J. Jenkins, of Ga.	D. Davis, of Illinois.	Not Counted.	H. Wilson, of Mass.	B. G. Brown, of Mo.	G. W. Julian, of Ind.	A. H. Colquhoun, of Ga.		J. M. Palmer, of Illinois.	T. E. Brandt, of Ky.	W. S. Grovesbeck, of Ohio.	W. B. Mather, of Ky.	N. P. Banks, of Mass.	Not Counted.
1 Alabama	10					5											
2 Arkansas						5											
3 California	5																
4 Connecticut	5																
5 Delaware	3																
6 Florida	4																
7 Georgia		6		2		3			3								
8 Illinois	12																
9 Indiana	11																
10 Iowa	11																
11 Kansas	5																
12 Kentucky		2	4			7						3		1			
13 Louisiana																5	
14 Maine	7																
15 Maryland		2							2								
16 Massachusetts	11																
17 Michigan	11																
18 Minnesota	3																
19 Mississippi	3																
20 Missouri		6	3		1				6	3	3		1				
21 Nebraska	3																
22 Nevada	3																
23 New Hampshire	3																
24 New Jersey	9																
25 New York	35																
26 North Carolina	10																
27 Ohio	21																
28 Oregon	3																
29 Pennsylvania	23																
30 Rhode Island	4																
31 South Carolina	7																
32 Tennessee		12															
33 Texas		8															
34 Vermont	5																
35 Virginia	11																
36 West Virginia	5																
37 Wisconsin	10																
Total	286	12	18	2	1	17	286	17	5	5	3	3	1	1	1	11	306

POPULAR VOTE OF 1876.

STATES.	S. J. Tilden, Democratic.		R. B. Hayes, Republican.		Peet Cooper, Cassaback	G. C. Smith, Cassaback	Scattering.	Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.				
1 Alabama...	102,002	31,772	68,220					170,222
2 Arkansas...	58,071	19,113	38,958		289			97,271
3 California	76,335		29,269	2,738	4		19	106,346
4 Colorado	Electors chosen by Legislature							
5 Connecticut	61,934	1,712	59,031		771	878	33	123,423
6 Delaware.	13,481	2,623	10,152					24,256
7 Florida...	22,923		21,819	926				45,768
8 Georgia...	130,088	79,612	50,119					259,819
9 Illinois...	258,601		218,222	1,571	17,223	141	26	486,664
10 Indiana...	214,536	5,513	208,011		9,573			432,120
11 Iowa...	112,029		171,127	50,191	1,001	26		284,253
12 Kansas...	37,902		78,322	22,511	7,775	110	23	124,712
13 Kentucky	179,920	39,772	97,156		1,914	518		289,706
14 Louisiana.	70,598		75,135	4,927				145,760
15 Maine...	49,873		66,300	15,814	623			116,796
16 Maryland	91,780	19,756	71,981		25	10		163,541
17 Massachusetts	108,177		150,023	40,123	779	21		259,000
18 Michigan...	141,095		166,531	15,512	9,029	766	71	317,934
19 Minnesota	48,199		72,062	21,780	2,311	72		123,324
20 Mississippi	112,173	19,528	62,653					174,754
21 Missouri...	293,077	81,289	115,029		3,493	64	97	381,867
22 Nebraska.	17,551		31,916	10,226	2,320	1,500	117	53,214
23 Nevada...	9,308		10,283	1,075				20,666
24 N. Hampshire	28,709		41,539	2,554	76			70,828
25 New Jersey	115,962	11,690	103,517		712	43		221,214
26 New York	521,919	26,568	489,207		1,987	2,359	1,828	1,014,861
27 N. Carolina	125,127	17,010	108,417					242,554
28 Ohio...	323,182		320,638	2,717	3,057	1,626	76	648,689
29 Oregon...	11,119		15,206	517	510			26,835
30 Pennsylvania	266,158		284,122	9,375	7,187	1,319	83	561,067
31 Rhode Island	10,712		15,787	4,947	68	60		26,527
32 S. Carolina	90,505		91,870	164				182,379
33 Tennessee.	133,166	43,620	89,716					222,502
34 Texas...	104,755	59,955	44,800					149,510
35 Vermont...	20,251		44,022	23,838				64,273
36 Virginia...	129,670	44,112	95,758					225,540
37 W. Virginia	56,455	12,384	42,698		1,373			100,527
38 Wisconsin.	123,927		120,628	6,205	1,549	27		245,131
Total	4,254,157	545,672	4,053,920	248,501	81,740	9,522	2,636	8,412,607
Tilden's Majority	156,909							





REPUBLICAN FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

OFFICIAL TREASURY STATEMENT, SHOWING THE ANNUAL REDUCTIONS IN THE Principal, Interest, AND Per Capita Amount OF THE Public Debt, FROM 1865 TO 1880.

	Total interest-bearing debt.	Annual interest charge.	Debt on which interest has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.
1865.....	2,221,311,918 29	137,742,617 43	1,245,771 20	458,000,180 25
1865—Aug. 3d....	2,281,730,294 96	150,977,097 87	1,503,020 00	481,616,311 51
1866—July 1st....	2,332,331,207 60	146,068,196 29	935,092 05	439,969,874 04
1867.....	2,248,067,387 66	138,892,451 89	1,840,615 01	428,218,101 20
1868.....	2,202,088,727 63	128,459,598 14	1,197,340 89	408,401,782 61
1869.....	2,162,090,522 39	125,523,998 81	5,260,181 00	421,131,510 55
1870.....	2,046,455,722 39	118,784,960 24	8,704,611 00	430,508,064 42
1871.....	1,934,606,750 00	111,949,330 50	1,948,102 26	416,565,680 06
1872.....	1,814,794,100 00	103,968,463 00	7,926,796 26	430,539,431 52
1873.....	1,710,483,050 00	98,049,804 00	51,929,710 26	472,069,832 04
1874.....	1,738,940,750 00	98,796,064 50	3,246,590 26	509,543,128 17
1875.....	1,722,676,300 00	96,855,600 50	11,125,820 26	498,182,411 69
1876.....	1,710,685,450 00	95,104,269 60	3,902,420 26	465,807,166 89
1877.....	1,711,888,500 00	93,160,643 50	16,648,890 26	476,764,031 84
1878.....	1,704,735,670 00	91,654,472 50	5,591,560 26	455,875,682 27
1879.....	1,797,643,700 00	83,773,778 50	37,015,930 26	410,835,741 78
1880.....	1,723,993,100 00	79,033,981 00	7,621,455 26	388,800,815 37

	Outstanding principal.	Cash in the Treasury July 1.	Total debt, less cash in Treasury.	Population of the United States.	Debt per capita.	Interest per capita.
1865.....	2,680,617,869 74	5,852,012 98	2,674,815,856 76	31,718,000	76 98	3 97
1865—	2,841,619,626 50	88,218,055 13	2,756, 31,571 43	35,228,000	78 25	4 29
1866—	2,773,336,173 69	137,800,000 85	2,635,536,173 84	35,469,000	74 32	4 12
1867.....	2,678,126,103 87	169,974,892 13	2,508,151,211 69	36,211,000	69 26	3 81
1868.....	2,611,687,851 19	130,831,437 96	2,480,856,413 21	36,973,000	67 10	3 48
1869.....	2, 88,452,213 94	155,680,340 85	2,422,771,873 09	37,756,000	64 43	3 32
1870.....	2,480,672,327 81	149,502,471 60	2,331,169,856 21	38,558,371	60 46	3 08
1871.....	2,353,211,352 32	106,217,263 65	2,246,994,088 67	39,555,600	56 81	2 83
1872.....	2,253,251,328 78	103,470,774 43	2,149,780,550 35	40,604,000	52 95	2 76
1873.....	2,231,481,993 20	129,020,912 45	2,102,461,080 75	41,704,000	50 49	2 25
1874.....	2,251,090,464 43	147,541,314 74	2,104,149,153 69	42,876,000	49 10	2 31
1875.....	2,232,284,531 95	142,243,361 82	2,090,041,170 13	44,060,000	47 44	2 19
1876.....	2,180,395,067 15	119,469,726 70	2,060,925,340 45	45,316,000	45 48	2 10
1877.....	2,265,301,892 10	186,025,060 73	2,079,276,831 37	46,624,000	43 31	2 10
1878.....	2,258,295,892 53	258,823,612 08	1,999,472,280 45	47,083,000	41 67	1 97
1879.....	2,245,495,072 01	249,070,167 01	1,996,424,905 03	48,335,000	40 42	1 69
1880.....	2,120,415,370 63	201,048,622 88	1,919,366,747 75	50,858,000	37 74	1 56

LIFE OF

JAMES A. GARFIELD

OF OHIO.

# LIFE OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

PROBABLY it was the rather German-looking face of General Garfield that led a German paper in St. Louis to trace for him a Teutonic ancestry, by an ingenious etymological study of his name. What his forefathers were in remote times nobody knows, for the household traditions, like those of most New England families, do not go beyond the Atlantic. The name seems to be broadly English enough, in spite of the possibility of its being a corruption of Garfelder, or Gerbefelder, to be followed back to an Anglo-Saxon source, and we shall doubtless hear before long of an abundance of remote English cousins ready to claim kinship with the Republican candidate. There is nothing like a nomination for the Presidency to broaden a man's family ties. But whether the original stock be Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic, the American offshoot is as free from any foreign grafts as the purest Puritan blood of New England.

On both his father's and his mother's side General Garfield comes of a long line of New England ancestry. The first of the American Garfields was Edward, who came from Chester, England, to Massachusetts Bay as early as 1630, settled at Water-

town, and died June 14th, 1672, aged ninety-seven. His son, Edward, Jr., had two wives ; first Rebecca —, the mother of all his children, and second, Joanna, the widow of Thomas Buckminster, of Muddy River (Brookline), and the maternal ancestor of Colonel Joseph Buckminster, of Barre, who commanded a regiment in the battle of Bunker Hill, where he acquired a reputation for prudence and bravery. Edward Garfield, Jr., died in 1672, and his inventory amounted to £457 : 3 : 6. He was one of the earliest proprietors of Watertown, and was selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1652.

His son, Captain Benjamin Garfield, born in 1643, admitted freeman in 1690, was representative of Watertown to the Great and General Court nine times between 1689 and 1717 ; and he held numerous municipal appointments. He had two wives, Mehitabel Hawkins and Elizabeth Bridge, and eight children ; by the second wife he had a son Thomas, born December 12th, 1680, who was a prominent and leading citizen of Weston. He married Mercy Bigelow, daughter of Joshua and Elizabeth (Flagg) Bigelow, and had twelve children. The third, Thomas, married Rebecca Johnson, of Lunenburg, and had the following children : Solomon, born July 18th, 1743, and married May 20th, 1766, to Sarah Stimson, of Sudbury—these were the great grandfather and grandmother of General James A. Garfield ; Rebecca, born September 23d, 1745, married, October 31st, 1765, David Fiske ; Abraham, born April 3d, 1748, died August 15th, 1775, in the Revolutionary army ; Hannah, born August 15th, 1750 ; Lucy, born March 3d, 1745. The General's great-grandfather Solomon Garfield, was married in 1766 to Sarah Stimson, a widow, with children by her first husband, and went to live in the town of Weston, Massachusetts. Abraham Garfield, a brother of Solomon, was in the fight at Concord Bridge, and was one of the signers of the affidavits sent to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia to prove that the British were the aggressors in that affair and fired twice



before the patriots replied. It seems that the skirmish was regarded somewhat as if it had been a case of assault and battery, and the patriots were desirous of justifying themselves by showing that the other fellows began the fight. After the Revolutionary War closed there was a large emigration from Massachusetts into the wilderness of Central New York. Solomon Garfield packed his household goods upon a wagon, joined the "movers," and went to Otsego County. He bought wild land in the township of Worcester, and reared a family of five children—Thomas, Solomon, Hannah, Rebecca, and Lucy.

One of Solomon Garfield's sons, Thomas, was the grandfather of General Garfield. He grew up in Worcester, married Asenath Hill, worked hard on a stony farm, had four children—Polly, Betsey, Abram, and Thomas—and died at thirty (when his youngest son Abram was two years old) of small-pox, which he contracted during a journey he made to Albany with a load of produce. His son Abram, born in 1799, was bound out to James Stone, a relative on his mother's side. At the age of fifteen he left his guardian and went to Madrid, St. Lawrence County, New York, where he worked by the month on a farm for three years. Afterward, when eighteen years old, he made his way to Newburg, Ohio, where he got employment chopping and clearing land. His guardian's wife was an aunt of Eliza Ballou, the girl whom he was afterward to marry. The mother of Eliza moved from Richmond, New Hampshire, with her family, after the death of her husband, and her children and the Garfield children got their education in the same district school-house in Worcester Township.

Eliza Ballou's father was a cousin of Hosea Ballou, the founder of Universalism in this country. Eliza was born in 1801. The Ballous are of Huguenot origin, and are directly descended from Maturin Ballou, who fled from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and with other French Protestants joined Roger Williams' colony in Rhode Island, the only American col-