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'Duty to Sustain the Republican Party.'

SPEECH

-OF-

HON. JOHN DAVIDSON,

-DELIVERED IN THE-

OPERA HOUSE, ELIZABETH, N. J.,

SEPTEMBER 30th, 1874.

*"Remember, O, my friends, the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power delivered down
From age to age by your renowned forefathers,—
So dearly bought, the price of so much blood:
Oh, let it never perish in your hands!"*

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Published by the Republican City Executive Committee.

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From age to age by your hands for others,—
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Oh, let it never perish in your hands!"*

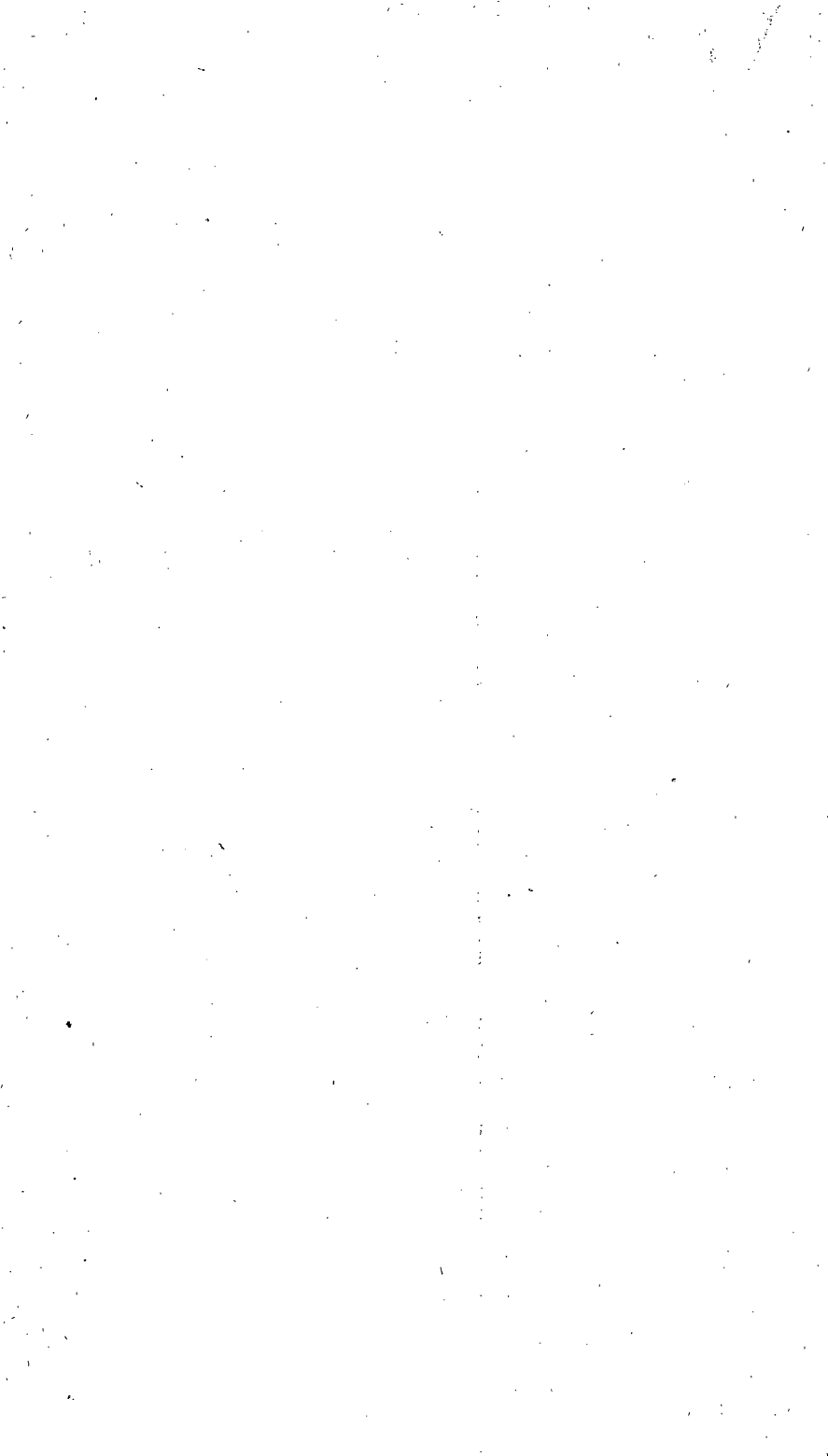
MAR 11 1968
185 W. State Street
Trenton, N. J.

Published by the Republican City Executive Committee.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Fellow Citizens :

I congratulate you as members of the Republican party that you are alive to your duty in representing yourselves to-night, in such large numbers, and in not hesitating to show on which side you range yourselves in this campaign. I congratulate the Republican party in seeing this large, intelligent and influential gathering, in times of such business dullness and financial depression, when so many anxieties—the crowding, corroding anxieties of life—are pressing upon you; that laying aside these, for the time being, and leaving your homes to show by your presence, your continued support of the ever-living, undying principles of the Republican party. I congratulate our candidate for Governor, Hon. George A. Halsey, and the candidate for Congress, Hon. Amos Clark, Jr., on this auspicious opening of the campaign; that we meet as living, active and working Republicans, moving in solid columns to the battle, with firm and regular step and steady tread, and not as a coroner's jury, to ascertain the cause of the death of the Republican party. I congratulate myself that I am permitted on this occasion to open the campaign in this, my home; to speak to you my neighbors, friends and fellow-citizens about the principles of this party, so near and dear to you and to me. To raise my voice and cast my influence in favor of our Governor and Congressman. The wheel of time has made another revolution, and we find ourselves on the eve of an important election. Do you rightly appreciate its importance? Do you rightly appreciate the duty of every man to vote? Do you rightly appreciate that all that is dear to you as citizens of this favored land, is committed to your hands as a trust for you to use faithfully and carefully, and having thus used it, transmit it to your children's children untarnished and unimpaired, with the rights, privileges and prerogatives of every American citizen guarded and protected. Having thus understood your duty, are you ready, are you willing to perform it?

The Republican party presents itself to you as claimants for your suffrages. The Democratic party in a few days will do the same. Both parties are respectable in numbers, and both have a history. Let us, therefore, in the few minutes we shall spend together, approach this subject as reasoning men, counselling neither our fears nor our prejudices. I trust I may be able to present such facts for your consideration that you will not hesitate to declare it to be your highest duty to support this party. The Republican party is but an infant in years, but in achievements it has the strength and glory of a century, its history is lofty, grand and inspiring. Good character can be given in evidence in mitigation of sentence. The man who has built up his character piece by piece, step by step, year by year, like the coral insect, atom by atom, until the reef is seen above the blue sea, gathering soil and seed: has a right in times of doubt and trial when he is being weighed in the balance, to put that character in the scale and claim its full weight. The Re-

publican party accordingly casts its character and record in the scale. This Republican party, not founded in the love of office nor called into existence by politicians, but born of the necessities of the hour, born in the fullness of the time, born to put to a practical illustration and test the sublime truth of the declaration of the Fathers. With a grasping, unsatisfied desire, the Pro-Slavery element sought to lay hands upon our Western Territories. This roused the better portion of the North to a determination that the curse of slavery should not touch with its contaminating influences the virgin soil of our public domain.

In 1856, under the leadership of Fremont and Dayton, we marshalled at the ballot box. Defeat awaited us. Cast down, but not destroyed, and with an abiding confidence in the justice of our cause, we again, in 1860, gathered around the "Good man," Abraham Lincoln, and as the avalanche sweeps the mountain side, we swept our adversaries and the apologists of slavery out of Federal place and power.

REBELLION AND SLAVERY.

Without cause, without reason, without even the semblance of a plausible excuse, the slave power then sought to destroy that which they could no longer control. Into the vortex of rebellion the South plunged headlong; State after State wheeled into the line of armed resistance to the National authority, and gathering under the stars and bars, made war upon our Government.

I need not recount in the presence of an audience like this the marching and counter-marching of our boys clad in the Federal blue. I need not recount to you the weary wanderings in that wilderness for four years of civil strife. I need not recall to mind the storm of battle on land and sea, with its sad legacy of a quarter of a million of our bravest and best sleeping their eternal sleep. Nor need I tell you of the vast debt that yet remains unpaid. God smiled upon our cause, and from the darkness of the battle field lighted our land with victory. Every man who fought against us was a rebel; every rebel was a Democrat; in all the number of the insurgent hosts not one Republican was to be found.

The greatest, grandest, result of the war and that redounded most to the honor of our name, was the freeing of the slaves. The end of Rebellion was the end of human slavery in our country. With a magnanimity that challenges the history of the world for a parallel, we pardoned those who sought to destroy us; we restored to them their lands and goods, and re-clothed them in the full garb of American citizenship.

RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION.

The reconstruction of State Governments out of the ruins of war, forced itself upon the Republican party; equal to the task, it restored the machinery of each State. From the ruins of the old—guided by the knowledge which experience furnishes—we built for them State organizations better than the original.

The problem then presented itself for our considerations as to the time, manner and method of restoring these several State Governments to their accustomed and proper places in the Federal Administration. In due time each was represented in Senate and in House. Although conquered in war and lying prostrate at our feet, we were magnanimous to an unknown degree. Success, like the inebriating cup, often intoxicates, and the excesses committed by nations in the full flush and triumph of victory, have too often thrown a dark mantel upon the otherwise bright page or

record of the conquering power. But no such charge as this has been or can be laid at our door.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

Ever mindful of the rights of the humblest as well as the most exalted citizen, the Republican party stretches out the hand of friendly recognition to the four millions of Freedmen. Remembering their fealty to the cause of the nation in its dark hour, it was but just, that those who had aided in the preservation of our institutions, should be partakers of the benefit flowing from the same. While extending to the colored man the privilege of citizenship, it at the same time put in practice the sublime faith and theory of the Fathers, acting from a sense of duty, and no less of gratitude to the Freedmen; the Republican party in the face of violent opposition and prejudice forever secured the rights of the black man, by drafting into the Constitution the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Regardful of its obligations to bring the several States into a more closer union, and mindful of the loyalty of the sister States on the Pacific slope, the Republican party resolved to bind them to us by a band of iron. The last roll of the drum had not yet ceased; the vibrations of the last rebellious shot were still echoing in our mountain gorges, when the sword and bayonet were exchanged for the pick-axe and spade, and striking the praires west of the Missouri, they stretched the iron rail over the plains and alkali deserts, climbed the Rocky Mountains, the Humboldt range and Sierra Nevadas, and down the valley of the Sacramento, till the waters of the Pacific are reached.

ALABAMA CLAIMS AND ARBITRATION.

In due time we called upon her whose proud boast had been:

"Her flag had braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze,"

to make amends for the grievous wrongs inflicted upon us by piratical cruisers, let loose by the neglect of her neutral obligations, and in violation of the law of nations. We cared less for the fifteen millions of dollars paid by Great Britain to us as compensation for these losses, than we did for the expression which her Britannic Majesty made known to us and to the world of her regrets for the injury we sustained. Of still greater value to the world and humanity, civilization and Christianity, was the mode in which this difficult international question was adjusted. The eyes of the world were fixed upon it. The two foremost nations in Christendom were suitors before the august arbitration tribunal at Geneva. The greatest legal minds of both countries conducted the proceedings. The verdict was ours simply because we were in the right.

The concussion caused by the falling of a leaf on the surface, is felt to the centre of the earth. The sound of the rippling stream is heard away into the immensity of space where the eye of man has never reached, and the ken of the telescope is lost in mist. Impossible as it is to tell the limits of touch or sound, so equally impossible is it to tell the beneficial results upon the world's history, this mode of settlement of National grievances will have; and in hastening that long looked for day when "swords shall be beaten into plough shares, and spears into pruning hooks, and nations shall learn war no more."

REDUCTION OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

The debt contracted in the war for the preservation of the Union, amounting to more than two thousand four hundred millions of dollars, was to be provided for, the interest paid and the principal reduced. Congress, anxious that the heavy burdens of taxation should be reduced, has, year by year, been lightening the load. Fully conscious of the fact, and pledged thereto, that the National debt, principal and interest, shall be paid to the last farthing; yet without endangering the National credit, the Republican party, anxious to relieve every citizen, has year by year made a wise and judicious decrease of taxes. The following statement will speak for itself:

In 1866 customs duties were repealed amounting to the sum of.....	\$65,000,000.00
In 1867 the above duties were further reduced by the sum of.....	40,000,000.00
In 1868 a still further reduction of.....	68,000,000.00
In 1870 the customs reductions were.....	55,000,000.00
In the same year Internal revenue taxes abolished.....	29,500,000.00
In 1872 the customs reductions were.....	48,000,000.00
In the same year the Internal revenue reductions were.....	19,000,000.00

Total reduction of taxes since 1866..... \$324,500,000.00

Notwithstanding the decrease of taxes we have steadily reduced the expenditures of the Government.

The receipts and expenditures, exclusive of loans and of payment of part of the public debt were as follows:

1866 receipts	\$558,000,000.00	Expenditures	\$520,000,000.00
1867 "	490,000,000.00	"	346,000,000.00
1868 "	405,000,000.00	"	377,000,000.00
1869 "	370,000,000.00	"	321,000,000.00
1870 "	411,000,000.00	"	309,000,000.00
1871 "	383,000,000.00	"	292,000,000.00
1872 "	374,000,000.00	"	277,000,000.00
1873 "	333,000,000.00	"	290,000,000.00

Congress at its late session reduced the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, more than fifteen millions of dollars.

During President Grant's administration, the Republican party has reduced the National debt more than three hundred and eighty-five millions of dollars.

To be brief, there is economy in every branch of the National Government. The confidence in the honesty of the Republican party, and in the ability and determination of the American people to pay the debt to the last dollar, is as strong in Europe as it is with us, and when such an exhibit as this can be made, I ask, is not the confidence well founded?

POLYGAMY IN UTAH.

On our far Western frontiers, that "twin relic of a barbarous era," Polygamy has for many years, had unlicensed, unbridled sway. More than once has the Mormon element in Utah defied the power of the Parent Government. Their isolated position at one time rendered them secure in their rebellion. The civil war at another time, permitted them unrebuked to mock the Federal power. Happily these barriers no longer exist to the complete enforcement of National authority. To reach the root of the evil, and yet at the same time not to interfere with any religious be-

lief; to wipe out the great wrong and foul blot upon our fair name, and yet not disturb existing domestic relations, has ever been the desire of the Republican party. In his message to Congress on the subject, President Grant uses the following language:

"It has seemed to be the policy of the Legislature of Utah to evade all responsibility to the government of the United States, and even to hold a position in hostility to it. I recommend a careful revision of the present laws of the Territory by Congress, and the enactment of such a law as will secure peace, the equality of all citizens before the law and the ultimate extinguishment of polygamy."

The bill introduced by Mr. Poland at the last session of Congress, and which became a law, will, it is hoped, have the desired effect, of wiping out forever this twin sister of human slavery.

DUTY TO SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

With this imperfect and hastily drawn record of what the Republican party has accomplished in fourteen years, a record bright with patriotic deeds; a record in favor of humanity and civilization, and for the best and highest good of the country, which challenges a comparison with the best record of any party in this or any other land; a record which fills the brightest and best page in American history. With this record, am I presumptuous in asking for this party a continuance of your confidence and support? Is it not your duty as citizens having the good of the greatest number in view, is it not your duty as patriots loving a whole reunited country, and knowing no North, no South, no East, no West; is it not your duty as lovers of your fellow men, desiring to see white and black, alike equal before the law; is it not your duty as men of honor, regarding the literal fulfillment of the nation's financial pledges; is it not your duty as men, as good citizens, to continue in power that party, that has in the past so faithful and so well proved its fealty to every obligation of patriotism and honor? *And is not the record of this party in the past, a guarantee of what it will be in the future?*

THE TROUBLES IN LOUISIANA.

I have been told that the attitude and acts of the Administration and Congress, in regard to the unhappy condition of affairs in Louisiana will cost us the election. That no party having such a record can come before the American people and expect their support. Let us approach the consideration of Louisiana's troubles and our position and acts in regard thereto, not with prejudice, but with candor. I shall be brief; abler and better minds have gone over this subject until it is threadbare; yet if I can convince but one, my task will not be unremunerative. Let me say just here that both parties in Louisiana, the Republican and Democratic, are equally a festering mass of corruption. I have sympathy with neither one nor the other.

To rightly appreciate the position into which affairs have drifted, it will be necessary to go as far back as 1868. For years, the Democratic and old pro-slavery rebellious element have endeavored to gain control of the State Government. To carry out this purpose, every act of cruelty and intimidation which a lively and wicked imagination could suggest were inflicted upon the newly enfranchised citizen. Frauds of every character were committed at the ballot box, and in making up the returns.

Let any unprejudiced mind, examine the following statement of six years ago, and remember that the frauds of 1868 were repeated in 1872:

	New Orleans parish in May gave.....	13,973	Republican votes in November.....	1,178	A loss of.....	12,795
Caddo	"	1,242	"	1	"	1,241
Saint Landry	"	2,514	"	none	"	2,514
Bienville	"	628	"	1	"	627
Bossier	"	727	"	1	"	726
Claiborne	"	719	"	2	"	717
De Sota	"	649	"	none	"	649
Jackson	"	490	"	none	"	490
Lafayette	"	743	"	none	"	743
Morehouse	"	547	"	1	"	546
Saint Martin	"	1,057	"	25	"	1,032
Saint Bernard	"	524	"	1	"	523
Washington	"	145	"	none	"	145
Vermillion	"	133	"	none	"	133

According to the report of the Democratic members, on the condition of affairs in the late insurrectionary States, page 436—the public debt of the State in January, 1868, was \$14,345,051.62. In June, 1871, under Warmoth's administration, it ran up to \$41,194,473.91. In 1871 the excess of expenditures over receipts, amounted to \$9,345,733.00.

EX-GOVERNOR WARMOTH.

One of the prominent figures is ex-Governor Henry C. Warmoth. Shortly after his election, he entered into a number of corrupt schemes with certain leading Democrats of New Orleans. The Slaughter House Act ; the Levy Bill ; the Gulf Canal Bill, and many others, were schemes fraught with corruption, in which we might expect to find men like Tweed, of New York.

The Republican party could carry the Warmoth load no longer. He read the hand writing on the wall, and turned to his natural ally, the Democratic party. I need not add they received him with open arms. In furtherance of this co-partnership, he was to aid them in carrying the State, and he in return was to be made United States Senator. I will do him the credit to say, I have no doubt he exerted himself to the best of his ability to perform his part of the contract. The frauds, intimidations and false returns all go to show how faithfully he kept his part of the bargain.

McENERY NOT ELECTED.

Senator Carpenter, the McEnery champion on the floor of the Senate, said in his speech on the Louisiana question "in consequence of the frauds committed previous to the election, that result, (i. e., the alleged election of McEnery,) utterly reverses what was the wish and intention of the people. * * * I am equally well persuaded that the result misrepresents the will and the intention of the people of that State on that election day, that it was in consequence of these frauds and obstacles in the way of registration, and the fraudulent location of voting places that Warmoth was able to carry the State."

These are strong admissions, but no stronger than the facts warrant. Remember they are the admissions of one who upholds the McEnery side of this controversy.

The vote for Governor, by the Warmoth count was :

McEnery.....	65,579
Kellogg.....	55,973
Alleged majority for McEnery.....	9,606

The vote of several Parishes were thrown out for alleged irregularities, but as now appears, for no other reason than that they gave Kellogg a majority of 7,295 ; deduct these from McEnery's 9,606, and the majority to be overcome, even on their own count is reduced to 2,311. The frauds committed in the three Parishes of Rapides, Natchitoches and Bossier, against Kellogg and in favor of McEnery, amounted to 4,009 votes ; this is more than sufficient to overcome the 2,311 as before stated. These three Parishes alone elects Kellogg by 1,698 majority, but when we examine into the same manner of frauds in every parish of the State, we find Kellogg elected by several thousand majority.

FRAUDULENT RETURNS.

The next question that presents itself is : If Kellogg was actually elected, why all this trouble, and how did McEnery and Penn receive certificates of election ? This brings us to consider the Returning Boards. The following extract from an affidavit, made by Martamat, before a United States Commissioner for Louisiana, and used by the Committee, will show the manner of making the returns used by the McEnery board. "I went with Jack Wharton to a house on Gravier street ; the entry doors were closed, and at a given signal, three consecutive and hard raps, the doors

were opened. There I saw Cahoon, a supervisor of election for the Parish of Madison, appointed by Governor Warmoth. Several persons were there, making up tally lists of the returns of the election. The lists were signed in blank by the commissioner of election. Cahoon said he could not count the votes in Madison, it was a Republican parish, and that he had to run away, because he wanted to count the votes, and he would have it his own way, and would here, in New Orleans, return such persons as he thought proper."

Here we have the evidence of return lists upon which were based certificates of election, manufactured to order, in this dark and closely guarded room in New Orleans. The only wonder is, instead of returning McEnery elected by 9,606, they might just as well have given him ten thousand more, and made it nineteen thousand instead of nine.

WHICH IS THE LEGAL BOARD ?

As both Kellogg and McEnery hold certificates of election as Governor, and as both cannot be Governor, it is interesting as well as important, to know whether the Kellogg or the McEnery returning board was the legally constituted Commission for that purpose. Without wearing your patience, let it be sufficient for me to say that the highest court of judicature in the State of Louisiana, the Supreme Court, has decided in favor of the Kellogg Board. The integrity of the judges constituting the court, has never yet been questioned. Elected several years prior to these disturbances, they have taken no part in them, and expressed no opinion thereon, other than as questions properly brought before the Supreme Court for their decision. Several other courts in the State have recognized the legality of the Kellogg returning Board.

The United States Senate indirectly, and the House of Representatives directly, have admitted the legality of the latter Board.

The decision, however, of the Supreme Court ends the question.

THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZES KELLOGG.

Kellogg was duly inaugurated as Governor; the President of the United States found him properly installed as such, and the whole machinery of State government in his control; Kellogg was Governor *de facto* and also *de jure*. Now disturbance breaks out in Louisiana, McEnery and his adherents attempt to gain control of the State government and oust Kellogg by force of arms. Kellogg called upon the President for aid to maintain his authority as Governor, and to quell the domestic violence. Such assistance the President gave. To have denied Kellogg the aid of the federal authority, would have been a violation of the Presidential oath. What else could the President do? Senator Schurz, in a speech delivered at St. Louis, on the 24th of September, says in reference to the duty of the President: "He constitutionally reinstated the Kellogg government. A great wrong has been committed. The wrong does not consist in the intervention of the President against those who, by force of arms, had driven Kellogg to fight; for the President acted in the exercise of his Constitutional authority."

It is claimed by some, that prior to the recognition of the Kellogg government, the President ought to have examined into the questions before the returning board, and decided who was elected. This he was restrained by law from doing. He is the Executive only. Would you clothe him with judicial functions also? For attempting this very thing, we moved articles of impeachment against President Johnson, in that he has anoga-

ted to himself, not only the power to execute, but also the power to interpret the laws.

THE RETURNS OF A STATE BOARD CONCLUSIVE.

The returns of a State canvassing board on purely a State question, for State officers, are beyond the jurisdiction of the President or Congress. The certificate of election is conclusive. They can not go behind that. It has been so decided in numerous instances, in many of the States. I readily admit, that as regards the election of members of Congress, each House possesses the power to judge of the election and qualification of its own members. If the returning board in New Jersey should return Judge Bedle as Governor; and if the highest courts in the State should decide that the board giving him his certificate of election was a legally constituted board, and if an insurrection should break out, and Judge Bedle should call for aid to suppress it, and the President should refuse, because he thought, and his interpretation of the law was that some other person was elected, I ask you, would not the President be liable to impeachment? If so, then I ask wherein consists the wrong, in recognizing the Kellogg government? An opportunity was offered the Democratic members of the Senate, whereby they could reverse all this alleged wrong. Senator Carpenter introduced and pressed, with great vigor and eloquence, his bill for a new election in Louisiana. The bill came up on the 27th of February this year, and was rejected by a vote of 20 against 18. A motion was made March 1st, to reconsider this vote, but that was negatived by a vote of 29 against 28. In each vote the Democratic members were unanimous against a new election. Two votes were sufficient to change the result. They had the power in their own hands. Why, then, complain so loudly in Senate on rostrum, and in press about the injustice done to Louisiana, and yet when the opportunity offered of correcting these alleged wrongs, they utterly failed to avail themselves of it? Then was the time to vote; having neglected this opportunity, let them forever hold their peace.

WHITE LEAGUES.

That some faint idea may be formed of the outrages committed in Louisiana, let me read to you from page 21, of the Report of the Joint Committee: "The treatment of the colored people has been deplorable. Outrage and crimes of every description, have been perpetrated upon them with impunity. Many of the local magistrates have connived at the escape of the offenders, while some have even participated in the outrages. In other sections lawless ruffians have overawed the civil authorities; "vigilance committees" and "ku-klux klans," disguised, by night, have burned the dwellings and shed the blood of unoffending freedmen. The extent to which outrage and crime were committed, the motives of them, and the means by which they were accomplished, through Democratic clubs, "Ku-klux Klans," "Knights of the White Camelia," "White Brotherhoods," "Constitutional Union Guards," "Invisible Empires," "Invisible Circle," and "Pale Faces;" different names for organizations shown to have worked for a common purpose, may be learned from the testimony. (over 1,400 pages,) taken by the sub-committee of the House Committee on Elections, in Louisiana." On page 22, I find the following:

"Here occurred one of the bloodiest riots on record, in which the Ku klux killed and wounded over two hundred Republicans, hunting and chasing them for two days and nights, through fields and swamps. Thir-

teen captives were taken from the jail and shot. A pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found half buried in the woods. Having conquered the Republicans, killed and driven off the white leaders, the Ku-klux captured the masses, marked them with badges of red flannel, enrolled them in clubs, led them to the polls, made them vote the Democratic ticket, and then gave them certificates of the fact."

HATRED OF THE COLORED RACE.

Let it be understood that the late rebels hate the colored man with a most intense, superlative hatred. To look upon their former chattels, as men, at once brings up their pride; and if any justice is left in their bosoms, their own self-condemnation, for having bought and sold the black children of our common God; every indignity that hellish malignity could invent, has been hurled against the offenseless and helpless blacks. Could they content themselves with simple insults, we might shut our eyes, but when we know that these "Knights of the White Camelia," have made an alliance with death, to accomplish their fiendish purposes, that they spare neither age, sex, nor condition, and that more than two thousand citizens have been in the most cruel and brutal manner, hurried into eternity, for no other offense than that God made them with a black skin, it calls for the full, energetic and prompt interference of our Government.

Knights! forsooth, we search in vain for that chivalry which they would in pain have us believe they possess. Their honor consists in falsehood. Their bravery, in sneaking up to the log cabin of the black man, under the cover of night, and shooting through the window. Their chivalry consists in twenty well armed white men attacking one black man. I would commend to these chivalrous, valiant knights the truth of Scripture, "they have sown to the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."

PROTECTION TO OUR CITIZENS.

Shall we calmly stand by and witness, day by day, the scenes of bloodshed and murder, enacted in the Southern States against the colored man? Have we forgotten that they too, with us, bared their breasts to rebel shot and shell; that in the white heat of battle they bore their part with heroic fortitude? Shall we forget them now, and hand them over to their tormentors; or shall we let this rebellious element and the world know, that no man calling himself an American citizen, and appealing to his country for protection, shall appeal in vain? In Louisiana alone, the blood of two thousand murdered freedmen, have wet the soil of that State. "How long, O Lord, how long?"

For infinitely less than this, England marched her armies from Cape Town into Caffraria. For less than this, the British flag, through heat and wilderness, and desert, was borne by twenty thousand men into Abyssinia. For less than this, that same power, ever watchful of her citizens, undertook the Ashantee campaign. Germany, for less than this, sent her war vessels to Spain to demand reparation, or measure out retaliation. For less than this—(for Kosta, the poor Hungarian, but our adopted citizen)—Commodore Ingraham, in the harbor of Constantinople, ran out and trained his guns on the Austrian frigate Huzzar, threatening instant hostilities unless this citizen was placed beneath the sheltering flag of his adopted country. And shall thousands of our citizens, in our own land, call in vain for protection?

Actuated by hate, at the elevation of the black man; at the civil rights

granted to him; at the recognition of his political rights, they would gladly uproot the tree of Liberty itself, in the mad hope that thereby the black man would be destroyed. They will yet live and learn that their outbursts of passion, reacts upon themselves, and more firmly implants in our hearts the determination to protect the object of their hate. Like the pine of Clan Alpine,

“Moored in the rifted rock,
Proof to the tempest shock;
The firmer it roots it, the ruder it blows.”

THE THIRD TERM.

Permit me to express my opinion on a subject that has been forced into the issues of this canvass. I allude to the Third Term question. While I speak as an individual, responsible to no one, and to no party for my opinions, I doubt not, I express the sentiment of the Republican party of New Jersey, when I say:—

First. We regard the unwritten law of our country as binding as *lex scripta*. President Grant is possessed of too much good sense to desire a re-nomination for a third term. He will never venture beyond the path marked out by Washington, Jefferson and the illustrious men, whose opinions on the subject have attained the sanctity of Common law.

Second. Let me go a step further, and say, that, even supposing that President Grant desired a renomination, the Republican party would not confer the nomination upon him. I can not believe that a party proud of its adherence to law, would be the first to attempt its violation.

Third. A leader, a President, will in due time be put forward. In the economy of God, no man is so valuable but the great Master can carry on His work. “The workmen die, but the work goes on.”

Let us dismiss this subject; but should it ever be seriously entertained, let it meet promptly our most emphatic condemnation.

GOVERNOR AND CONGRESSMAN.

A few words about our candidates for Governor and Congressman, and I shall have done:

Our nominee for Governor, Hon. George A. Halsey, is a man by education and instinct; worthy, and well qualified for the exalted position of Governor. By his own indomitable will, he has carved his way through the many disadvantages of youth, to financial, social and political position. His large and varied experience in State affairs, and his knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, all fit him in an eminent degree, for the highest office in our State. As an honest, upright, patriotic citizen, I give him my most cordial endorsement and support. I trust you will see to it, that Mr. Halsey is our next Governor.

Before an audience like this, I need not speak of our nominee for Congress, Hon. Amos Clark, Jr. As friend, neighbor and fellow-citizen, I tender to him my best wishes and my hearty support. For three years he served us faithfully and well in the State Senate. Schemes of every kind and character, upon which corruptionists and politicians fatten, found in him an open and ready foe. Always to be found at his post of duty, the tongue of the slanderer has never yet dared to touch his Senatorial career.

During the first session of the present Congress, Mr. Clark worked with an assiduity and a perseverance for the appropriation of \$50,000, for our

harbor purposes, that "it seemed,"—as I have been informed by a United States Senator—"the burden of his song, morning, noon and night."

This appropriation is but the beginning of the good work. It is for you to say, shall it proceed to a conclusion worthy of yourselves and the United States Government, or shall it be a miserable failure? Look at his record in Congress; scan it carefully; put yourselves in his place, and wherein would you improve the record he has made? A record alike honorable to himself and the District he has the honor to represent.

Every vote is required in this contest. Not one must be lost. Do you remember the nursery rhyme?

“ For the loss of a nail, the shoe was lost—
 For the loss of a shoe, the horse was lost ;
 For the loss of a horse, the rider was lost ;
 For the loss of a rider, the battle was lost ;
 For the loss of the battle, the Kingdom was lost ;
 And all for the loss of a horse-shoe nail !”

The nail that you drive, or fail to drive, on election day—may be the very nail that will win or loose for us our District in Congress, and the State of New Jersey. Fail not to discharge this trust; that when the time of rejoicing and victory has come, you may take to yourself the credit that belongs to every man who faithfully performs his duty.