The Sentinel.

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RADICAL CONVENTION.

It will be seen from the report of the proceedings of the radical convention that "*Jim*" James Harris, negro, of *Dreaver and penitentiary* memory, was chosen temporary chairman. This is an empty honor, and a poor return to the negro for 80,000 votes. It is regarded as a Settle triumph, for Jim is said to be for the captain.

The rads took for temporary chairman their most respectable man. No man can say aught against James, except what may be implied in his locating the penitentiary on Deep River, and his receiving many thousands of dollars from Littlefield and Swepson.

The radical aristocracy—Phillips, Caldwell, John Rugland, Jim Harris, &c., are of opinion that a negro on the state ticket, say for Lieutenant Governor, would injure the ticket. The radical party never had a stronger vote in the state than when the negro Galloway was on the ticket as one of the presidential electors. There is so much in common between the negro and the scalawag that they mutually strengthen each other. We heard a negro in Moore county declare that the white republican who was willing to sit in the jury box and the legislative halls of the country with a negro should not be above sitting at the dinner table with him.

We write while the meeting is in session and action. It is reported to us that Samuel P. Phillips is permanent chairman. This is a Caldwell victory, and the negroes under and in the market-house are ready to bet that Caldwell will get the nomination. Handy Lockhart, one of Gov. Caldwell's commissioners for the Institution of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, is a vice president. This is another sign of Caldwell's strength in the convention. At two o'clock the Caldwell stock is above par. The tall negro, Caleb McKinner, from Cumberland, is said to be for Caldwell. The negroes are highly elated and swear the, "*tallest poll will get the nigmons.*" The meeting has adjourned for dinner and drinks. The Washington City, Grant and Settle stock considerably down.

Capt. Settle, of Peru, has worked mostly among the white men, and Caldwell among the negroes. Caleb, the tall negro, has adjourned to Praps'. After tasting lager for the first time he declared it was not strong enough to reach his legs or his head and hocsalled for whisky that would.

At three o'clock the convention is again in session.

The negroes on the outside of the hall are clamorous for Caldwell, and regard his nomination as an endorsement of Holden and his course. Somebody is said to be treating the negroes to new hats and even new suits of clothes. The democrats say the nomination depends upon who gives the negroes most whisky and clothes during the day.

We can hold the scales equally between Caldwell, the negro's candidate, and Capt. Settle, the white man's candidate, for we care not who is nominated.

As we go to press it is announced that the long agony is over, the negroes and carpet-baggers have won the victory. Grant and his Peruvian minister are *hors de combat*. John Pool, Steve and Robert Douglas, Butler's colt and Billy Hender-son are all chop-fallen and declare there is no trusting a negro.

RE-ENSLAVED.

The promise and hope of "*forty acres and a mule*" to the deluded African answered for four years to keep and make the Africans a unit at the polls. This promise has lost its charm.

A negro once made his appearance at the door of the SENTINEL office, in the days of our predecessor, Rev. W. E. Pell, halter in hand, and formally demanded his promised mule. Mr. Pell informed the man in search of his mule that he had called at the wrong house. He then directed him to the *Standard* office and to W. W. Holden, the editor of that paper. The negro did not get his mule.

Having by false promises deceived as long as they could, they now resort to appeals to the fears of the negro. The *Long Perry* of the 16th, appealing to the fears of the negro, declares that, "people who do not desire to be fooled, need not be told that the hostility of the democratic party towards the colored man has undergone no change." It is even said on the streets, "if Capt. Settle does not receive the nomination for governor, the negroes will be put back into slavery." With this old argument it is thought by some that Gov. Caldwell will be defeated for the nomination.

GRAND JURY.

Mr. Q. Busbee, or some other writer for the "Office-holders' Organ," is profoundly astonished that Mr. Bledsoe should appear before the grand jury, when he is the very man to be presented by the grand jury. We did not know, until we saw it stated in the *Perry*, that Mr. Bledsoe had been before that body. We suppose Mr. Bledsoe was summoned before the grand jury and was compelled to obey the summons. He may not have been summoned to testify to matters pertaining to the penitentiary. The grand jury had the convicts before them, and if they desired to hear from the board of directors who are highly respectable gentlemen, it is not a matter about which the *Perry* has just cause of complaint.

SPEECH OF CARL SCHURZ.

At the great anti Grant Meeting, at Cooper Institute, New York, on Friday evening last.

Mr. Schurz was received with prolonged cheers, and spoke as follows:

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: This is not the first time I have stood upon this platform. I stood here in 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and when we pressed the onset on the slave power with the watchword, "Free soil, free speech, free men." I stood here in 1862, when the word "emancipation" was first thrown by a multitude of patriotic citizens into the confusing fluctuations of the war. I stood here in 1864, when Abraham Lincoln was again our standard bearer, and when the integrity of the republic and the abolition of slavery were fixed as the aim of the great conflict. I stood here in 1868, when the product of civil war was to be summed up, when the great system of the equality of rights was prepared, and when the words, "Let us have peace," were taken by the people as a promise that from the bitterness of civil strife we were to return to the policy of good government, of free conciliation, and of national concord. And recently I stood here advocating a thorough reform of civil service, of the abolition of corrupting, demoralizing influences of patronage and of partisan rule, and the purification of republican government. And now I stand here again, not as one who has renounced any of the great principles and policies he ever advocated, but as one who is resolved to continue their advocacy and advance with as much fidelity and energy as ever; as one who in that advocacy was wholly in earnest before, is wholly in earnest now, and will continue to be wholly in earnest, without regard to the opposition he will have to encounter, whether it come from friend or foe. And just because I always was in earnest, and just because I am now sincerely devoted to the cause I fought for, I now stand here to raise my protest against the perversion which the victories of that great cause have suffered at the hands of some of its pretended friends; my protest against partisan victory which subordinates public wealth to personal and party interest; my protest against that slavish submission to party dictation and discipline which stifles the voice of truth and would assent to abuses and wrongs, instead of honestly exposing and correcting them; my protest against the continued maintenance of a power which recklessly overrides the laws of the land for selfish ends; my protest against the growth of personal government in this republic, which threatens to convert the public purse into personal property and subvert the consciences of the people, and convert the noble spirit of a republican citizen into the submissive spirit of a subject; my protest against the frauds and deceptions which are being practiced upon a confiding people to make appear right that which is wrong, and patriotic that which is mean and selfish. I raise this protest in the name of the great cause you and I as republicans have so long fought for; in the name of the cause of a constitutional government which is to protect ourselves and our children in their rights and their best interests; in the name of that public morality which must be cultivated as a living element of free institutions; in the name of the great American republic, which we would have, and to remain, the guiding star of mankind in its struggles for liberty, for a higher civilization. (Great applause.) I started out in political life with the Republican party; I never belonged to any other; I worked faithfully in its ranks with honest zeal at least, if not with efficiency; I never desired to belong to any other as long as it has remained true to the principles it professes, as long as its policy, its measures, and its conduct could be defended in good faith. If I am proud of anything, it is not of the honors and distinctions I may have achieved, but it is in the consciousness that whenever I endeavored to exercise an influence upon public opinion I have never said a word which I did not honestly believe to be true, and if I find myself now in conflict with the official leaders of the Republican party it is because I cannot abandon that controlling rule of my public life without betraying the American people. (Applause.) And for that reason I stand here and appeal with you to an honest, intelligent public opinion. We have emerged from a great civil war. Seven years ago this month, after long and bloody struggles, the flag of the republic fluttered victoriously over the last stronghold of the rebellion; armed resistance to the national government in largely organized bodies ceased; an important period in development of our national life closed, and a new one commenced. Each period in our country has its own peculiar problem to solve, to which and in which political parties must apply all their energies to maintain the moral basis of their existence and their usefulness. During the civil war the supreme problem was to save the existence and to preserve the integrity of the republic. To those all other interests and all other objects became for the time being subordinate. But the problem has been successfully solved. When the rebellion was overcome we entered upon a new field of action. Now other problems are upon us. In the first place we had to settle the logical, legitimate results of the war in such manner as to protect them against the danger of recovery. That settlement also has been effected, partly by extraordinary methods; it was embodied so firmly in the constitution of this republic as to form an insuperable barrier to all attempts to overturn it. All patriotic citizens, I am happy to say, agree that that settlement must be maintained honestly, in good faith, as a settlement which was a logical necessity, which is in harmony with the fundamental principles underlying free institutions as well as with the enlightened human spirit of the day. All sensible men of whatever party they may belong agree that this settlement will stand, and any attempt to overthrow it will inevitably result in disastrous consequences. Thus the basis of this new order of things was securely and firmly laid. It remained to clear away the rubbish of the struggle and to develop that new order of things in accordance with the requirements of our truly free institutions to obliterate the evils and animosities of the past, and to revive a healthy national spirit, and the consciousness of power among all classes of our population so as to reinstate free public opinion again instead of force as a chief element in our government—(applause)—to again restore the rule of sound constitutional principles and reinstate the popular respect for the law and crush out corruption wherever it may be found, and arrest the standard of political morality and political life—in a word to preserve to this government not only a republican form and name, but also in spirit, and in the consciousness of our needs elevate and ennoble the feelings of the people towards a recognition of the needs for their material prosperity. (Great applause.) And to this end you must secure a genuine reform of our system of taxation so that its burdens shall be adjusted on principles of justice and equality. (Applause.) This question of economic reform seems to demand elaborate consideration, for which I have now not sufficient time and opportunity. I shall merely state as my own conviction that not only in continued political disabilities; not only in the tendency to disregard constitutional limitations not only in the abuse of the patronage of the government, but also in our methods of taxation the needs and necessities of the war have left behind them great evils. (Applause.) You will find among them, for instance, the practice of adjusting taxation not with regard to the needs of the people, but to secure especial advantages to certain favored interests. (Applause.) The broad principle laid down in the call for the Cincinnati Convention—(great applause)—that needless burdens shall not be imposed upon the people, and that the taxation of the country shall be in accordance with that principle, will rid taxation of many of its greatest abuses—(applause)—and the refusal to gratify this will satisfy neither the recognized welfare of the people nor the cherished rights of public opinion. (Great applause.) Such were the duties imposed on the party in power at the close of the war—duties of which the highest ambition of patriotic men could be proud—and they could be accomplished only when the great object to be carried into effect stood to these men in the highest consideration, above all the allurements of power, and above all considerations of party interest. (Applause.) If these duties were not appreciated and fulfilled by the ruling power, then it becomes patriotic citizens to work for means by which their performance and fulfillment can be secured, and with regard to the interests of the people. (Cheers and applause.) And in this spirit I speak to you, for the great interests of the republican party have always been to me far greater than mere party allegiance. We were to bring about a true peace founded on reconciliation, and return to their cordiality of feeling the elements which can alone hold this party together. This great object cannot be accomplished by means of force. It demands a policy resting on no narrow minded resentments, but a policy higher than party spirit. (Applause.) There was a justification of restraining measure as long as the legitimate results of the war existed. But then that justification has ceased, and the victors in the great civil conflict were called upon by all considerations of patriotism and political wisdom to make the sovereign people feel that in all our measures of war and policy we had been guided by the interests of the states and not by the feelings of resentment, hatred, and vindictiveness. (Great applause.) We desired to be to them not haughty conquerors, but well-meaning friends that they might see in the flag of this republic not the symbol of their defeat and degradation, but the symbol of rights and protection equally guaranteed to them as well as to us—[great applause]—that they might feel once more, I say, with us all the pride and patriotic inspirations of full American citizenship. (Renewed applause.) The removal of political disabilities and general amnesty were demanded, not as a measure of mere sentimental generosity, but as a measure of the very plainest statesmanship. (Applause.) But years have elapsed since the result of the war and general amnesty has not been granted yet. Down to this very day a large and influential class of citizens in the south are still told by these men in power that the public interest as it is administered by popular self-government is no business concern of theirs, and that this great republic is not ready to grant to them their equal rights. Down to this very day the jealousy of race is nourished by the fact that many and by no means the unworthiest of the white men of the south are deprived of political rights and privileges which the black man, late in slavery, enjoys. Down to this very day the work of the adventurers and demagogues who speculate upon the ignorance of their followers is facilitating corruption and demoralization in office; good government is impeded, and a successful development of the new order of things and social co-operation prevented in the South by that narrow-minded, miserable policy which excludes from public employment so large a class of men who have such great interest in the influence and successful administration of public affairs. (Great applause.) It is true the President in his annual message said a good word for amnesty, and it is also true that his most trusted and powerful friends, his very loudest spokesmen, are throwing every possible obstacle in its way, and we have to see the first instance yet when a friend of amnesty is considered a friend of the administration. (Applause.) And the battle cries of the civil war are revived by those of old prejudices, and the resentments are kept alive as a stock of political capital to secure the re-election of the same President who first appeared in political life with the fairest promise of universal peace on his lips, and whose word for amnesty has been drowned by the vociferous protests of his most zealous friends. (Applause.) Are we as honest men, are we as republicans to palter in a double sense with the dearest interests of the republic? Is this measure of peace and reconciliation to become a subject of thimble rigging jugglery—now you see it, and now you don't see it? (Laughter and applause.) Is this the manner in which we are to bind to us those men whom we want to become good and patriotic citizens again? Can we thus gain their friendship and confidence? Is this worthy of the great republican party of which we are all so proud? Not those who think as I do can be parties to such a mocking performance. We want an earnest and straightforward policy, and if those who shape the conduct of the party now will not give that to us our duty as honest men commands us to seek it where we can find it. (Cheers and applause.) The close of the civil war imposed upon us another duty; that the republican government and the free institutions on which it rests should find in us their strongest bulwark and be by us faithfully maintained and religiously preserved. No republic can stand, no popular liberty, no personal right will be secure when the powers of the government are left without any restraint on the whims of those who wield it. I have lived in times of extreme public danger, and extraordinary exercise of power may be necessary, as the Romans put the defence of their republic in the hands of a dictator when the enemy was at their gates. But even this cannot be done without great danger, for it will soon create the habit of arbitrary assumption of power on one side and the acquiescence in arbitrary assumptions on the other. It is thus that republics are undermined and perish in the demoralization of public sentiment. Now, look at the present history and at the present condition of our affairs. While the civil war was raging we were naturally inclined and anxious to strengthen the hands of of the government. In the vigorous display and energetic employment of power the loyal people saw their salvation. I shall not find fault with the means employed to attain the end; they rest upon the plea of imperative public necessity. But those who conducted the government fell into the habit of accomplishing what they thought best with the strong hand of power, and of interpolating the powers they wanted for those ends into the constitution when the words of that charter did not give them to them. However necessary those ends were the means were full of danger. The people became accustomed to look only at the ends to be accomplished and to think little about the dangerous means employed. The abuse of the war insensibly insinuated themselves into the practices of peace. Now look around you—look at the young men who were from ten to seventeen years old when the war began and who are now from twenty one to twenty-eight, constituting full one third part of our voting population. Consider what school these young men have gone through. They have scarcely ever seen or heard anything of the constitutional restraint on power. What they have heard and seen was only a bold assumption and strong exercise of government authority. They were taught to believe in its necessity, to submit to it, to justify it, to aid it. Why, gentlemen, the Constitution of the United States became hardly known to them by name. [Applause.] That is only tradition and experience, under which they have grown up; and now some of them are taking part in the control of the government. There is in this statement an undeniable fact sufficient to fill with apprehension the heart of every friend of constitution government and popular liberty in this country. It was my fervent hope that the party in power, when peace was restored and when the legitimate results of the war were secured by constitutional guarantees, would appreciate its tremendous responsibility, and that it would comprehend its great duty, because the arbitrary assumption of power on one side and the easy and trifling acquiescence on the other side had grown up in times of great public danger, and it was just because of that that this pernicious tendency should be guarded against with the most conscientious and jealous care. Instead of construing the power in the constitution beyond its clear meaning, that party ought strenuously to have insisted upon a conscientious observance of its restrictions. (Applause.) Instead of permitting any arbitrary assumption of governmental authority, it ought with watchful and jealous eyes to have sought for a faithful compliance with the laws of the land in every branch of the government. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, has this duty been accomplished? We have witnessed doings of the most alarming character. We have seen enactments glaringly passed putting the most essential guarantees of the rights and liberties of the citizen at the mercy of the central power. We have heard these men say that the objects attained were good regardless of the fact of the employment of arbitrary means, ignoring the idea that a system creating evils may in itself be worse—may be even more disastrous in its consequences than the evils themselves. The overthrow of free institutitutions almost always begins with the assumption of arbitrary authority, on the ground that the existing evils call for it. We have a law in force to-day, republicans, let me tell you, which, had it been on the statute book before the war might, by a liberal construction such as we see every day, have put every anti slavery organization, as an unlawful conspiracy, at the mercy of a pro slavery government, and might have sent into the dungeon you and me. We see officers of the government defend their authority as if mere power was a law, and we see them commit the outrageous acts under this authority with perfect impunity. (Applause.) In your own midst you have seen private rights overturned with as little thought as if there were no other authority than their pleasure. We have seen the president, in his anxious desire to annex Santo Domingo, give orders to the navy to commit acts of war should the ruler of that part of the island be molested by a foreign power; and this even after the treaty of annexation had been solemnly rejected by the Senate of the United States. (applause.) thus clearly usurping the war-making power, which the constitution vests in Congress. (Applause.) We have thus seen an act committed which, if it were to serve as a rule of future conduct, it would be virtually placing the war-making power in the hands of the President, and make the peace of the country a mere plaything for the ambition or arbitrary pleasure of one single man. (Applause.) We see these things not only done with impunity, but we see them justified and whitewashed in the halls of Congress, and by a servile press, and worse than that we see the re election of the same executive who committed so glaring an act of usurpation vociferously demanded by eager partisans, who strive to establish the example that the subversion of one of the most essential rights of our civil government is a valid precedent to be sanctioned by a popular election. What is this doctrine? It is that a central power may do what its pleasure may dictate and that the constitution and laws are to be construed in accordance with its acts? No, worse than that, we are told that the people do not care about such trifles and that those who raise their protest against them must be set down as captious fault finders and disappointed sore-heads. Well, if it be true that large numbers of the people do not care about the observance of the laws and the maintenance of those constitutional principles which form the very bulwark of your rights and liberties; if it is true that the great republican party is controlled by influences which are ready to sacrifice the sanctity of the laws and the constitution to party, then I say that it is high time that those who do care should rise up with patriotic determination to defend the laws and the constitution, not only against arbitrary assumption, but also against equally dangerous indifference; not only against the opposite party, but even against their own, if it be necessary. (Applause.) It is indeed time that they should not confine themselves to mere protests, to be followed by pusillanimous acquiescence and submission to party dictation, but it is time that they should set and act with all the means which free institutions and the spirit of a free people put at their disposal. Not merely words but action is needed that this republic, now happily freed from slavery, be freed from every species of arbitrary will—[applause]—that the constitution, not only with the grants of power it makes, but also the restraints of power which it imposes, shall again assume its supreme authority; that the self government of the people shall be respected in its legitimate sphere; that the law of the land shall again be the law not only for those who are governed, but equally for those who govern, and that the whole people of this republic shall again be inspired with a clear appreciation of the meaning and value of constitutional rule, and a just sense of their rights and obligations. The time has indeed come when this effort must be made, and I confidently trust there are still men enough in the Republican ranks whom the power of the party whip will not deter from what they honestly conceive to be their patriotic duty. Still another problem is imposed upon us by this period of our history. As this republic grows in population, and in the amount and grandeur of its public interests, so the machinery of government grows in extent and in its influence upon our political life, and in the same measure increases the necessity of infusing into that machinery a higher spirit of morality and of preventing that influence from becoming despotic and corrupt. And we are surrounded by extraordinary circumstances. Our great civil war stimulated and fostered a spirit of speculation and jobbery which has made our public morals easy and loose, and corruption and peculation have invaded our political life with alarming bold boldness, and it became the supreme duty of those in power to check this dangerous tendency with vigor and determination, and to accomplish this great end three things, in my opinion, were necessary. First, that those in high places, whose conduct is visible to all the world, should set an example of scrupulous purity and a lofty spirit of conscientiousness. Second, that the ruling party should, in its criticism and in the handling of its power, be severer even against its own members than against those of its opponents. And, lastly, that our present system of civil service, which has become the hot-house of corruption and alarming abuses, should be so reformed as to make honesty, capacity and fidelity to the public interest the criterion and qualification, instead of partizan services, and thus to destroy the corrupting and tyrannical influences of the government office holders. Now, I ask you, gentlemen, in all candor and soberness, has this been done? (Cries of "no, no!") Has the example of those in high and conspicuous places been such as to rebuke the spread of selfish greed? Has that high standard been set of noble and disinterested devotion to the public interest? I will not go into an odious criticism of details, for he who runs may read the history of our times, but surely I may say without exaggeration that nepotism has been practiced far more reckless and scandalous than anything that was ever before witnessed in the history of this country. Such a nepotism is certainly far less calculated to impress the public service and the people with the idea that devotion to the public good should be the inspiring motive of those entrusted with authority than with the other impression that he who is put into office may with perfect propriety first use his opportunities to take care of himself and his kin. The influence of such an example cannot fail to be widely demoralizing when it is set by those who fill the highest places of honor and authority. You remember the outcry that was raised in the time of James Buchanan, when he employed the patronage of the government to sustain himself and promote his own political interests against those opposed to him; but if James Buchanan were alive to-day he would have to hide his diminished head, admitting that in that line of business he was a pusillanimous blunderer. (Laughter.) I may say, without exception, that never in the history of this country has the hand of the national administration been thrust into the local politics of the states with such audacity as now; never has the patronage of the public service been more recklessly and unscrupulously used to promote the interests of a faction or to further the personal aspirations of the Chief Executive. We hear that in France, under Napoleon's rule, official candidates were designated by the government and aided by it, and just so we hear in this Republic to day all over the land of candidates for state offices and for congress, whose recommendation is their official stamp, and who must be supported by all who desire the favor of the government, and where personal services are expected as a condition of that support. It was our pride as Republicans once to say that in no party had there ever existed such perfect freedom of individual opinion and criticism, and so it was under that great and good President, Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] Then every Republican spoke his mind freely, and found in him a president who, instead of resenting individual, candid criticism, respected every honest conviction, even though contrary to his own personal desires. But I am sorry to say that things have changed since. (Laughter.) If now you are so unfortunate as to conceive an opinion of your own, contrary to the interests and desires of the powers that be, be careful not to speak it out or you will incur their displeasure. The good days of Abraham Lincoln are no more, and a loyal republican to-day can speak only by royal permit or he will find himself denounced as a traitor to the republican cause and have a pack of hounds at his feet whose bark would be terrible could they conceal the colors which they wear. Never was there a bolder or more anti-republican attempt made to terrorize and subject to one will the freedom of a party and press its whole machinery into the interest of one person. I have seen letters from importing merchants in this city expressing the heartiest sympathy with the national reform movement in which we are now engaged, but stating that they did not dare to take part in it openly because active sympathy with it would expose them to the vengeance of the custom house authorities, and their business to wanton injury; and yet, gentlemen, we call this a republic, and we call it the great, free north. What must be the influence of such things upon the morality of our public service and our political life? Are not our public servants thus taught that disobedience to the political powers that be is the only unpardonable crime, and that a multitude of sins may be covered by efficient partisan services? Some of the members of the party have criticised and protested, and with the rapidity of lightning they have been put under the ban. When we protest against nepotism, Oh, well, they say, why should not a man take care of his relations when he has the opportunity, never minding the moral effect it may produce? When we protest against the unscrupulous and tyrannical use of the government patronage in State politics, "Oh, well, the means of disciplining the party must be maintained, and General Grant must be re-elected." Unconstitutional assumptions of power and breaches of law by government officials? "Oh, well, we can interpret the Constitution and the laws to suit the case, and to make such trifles appear all right." Corruption? "Oh, well, some objectionable things may have happened, and a good many have been punished; but why hurt the chances of the party by unnecessary exposures? Besides, Tammany Hall has stolen untold millions, and there was more corruption under Andrew Johnson's administration than now!" and thus the administration is administered. Is this worthy of the great Republican party which has achieved so much, and of which we speak with so much pride? (It is true that Tammany Hall has stolen untold millions, is that a reason why republicans may steal with impunity and still have a claim upon public confidence? Is that a reason why we should denounce it? There was probably much more corruption in Jonson's administration than now; but, fellow citizens, let me tell you, in one respect, that things stood worse under Andrew Johnson, but under Grant an attempt is made to cover it up with an air of respectability. I gladly admit an improvement has taken place; it is an attempt at extortion, and to stand in the way of honest reformers, and tend to demoralize the public mind and sentiment, and in that attempt it is time that we should have reform so that men can get up and call things by their right names. Grant has declared a civil service reform, but congress has denounced those abuses, and forced their exposure upon the country, and they are denounced to-day as traitors to the republican party. Yes, it is true that the president has declared in favor of civil service reform, but when you listen to the president's most intimate and trusted friends you will be astonished perhaps to hear that he will say that ours is the best after all. Others wish that an attempt should be made for no other purpose but to explain the absurdity of the item, and people will come to the conclusion that a true practical reform of the civil service will not and cannot be introduced by those who strive to benefit themselves by its abuse, nor will people look for a reform under a president who rules for the promotion of his own interests and his friends. I ask you, and ask yourselves, what does it signify? It means that the great problems, the solution of which is admitted at this time, have been lost sight of by the influences which they seem to control. It means that personal interest has arisen above the consideration of public good. It means that through that organized power it covers a clique, from that clique a convention, from that a party, and from that party attempts made to rule the American people; it means that this system must be a school of arrogant tyranny; it means under this pressure many men in political life are already afraid to utter their convictions for fear of placing their fortunes in jeopardy. I know, and many people have told me so, it means finally a declaration of independence, and I trust we shall have it. When we rise up against the rules, when we addressed a voice of warning to the people we were met with the cry, "What are you going to do about it?" That cry has been heard before. It was recently heard in this very neighborhood, and here, I think, it has met with a good response. On the 1st of May the independent men of the Republican party will meet at the convention at Cincinnati, and unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, at the convention at Cincinnati will not be slow to tell "what we are going to do about it." We shall insist that the flag of this republic shall wave over Cincinnati; we shall insist that the public service of the country is for the good of the people and for nothing else; we shall insist there shall be no slavery in this land, and that you merchants of New York shall be able to express your opinion and act upon them without fear of the custom-house, and without his looking around to see if any one of the government officials is around. This we shall insist upon. We shall see to it as candidates for a high office of the government, and thus, we shall appeal to the moral sense of our citizens and the love of liberty and personal rights; and that is what we are going to do about it. We are called a set of disappointed men. Yes, gentlemen, we are disappointed men; not, indeed, disappointed in the sense that they term it, and thus we go on with a broad conscience, and we are disappointed men, but in a higher sense, and not in the sense as they term us—slanderers, &c. In this great hope we are disappointed, and we were honest enough and bold enough to say so. And more than that I confidently assert, and I know whereof I speak, that there are thousands and thousands of republicans all over the country who feel that disappointment in their hearts as keenly as we do; but who, under the partisan pressure which is on them, have not yet spirit enough to openly proclaim what they think. Let me address a word to them. Amongst those who cling to the ruling powers I know many most able, most worthy, and most high-minded men; men of whose personal friendship I shall always be proud; and I am very far from saying that every friend of the administration and every advocate of the Grant administration is an enemy of general amnesty, and opposed to civil service reform, or is a defender of breaches of law and usurpations and abuses and corrupt practices, but I do say that almost every enemy of amnesty and of civil-service reform and every defender of usurpations and breaches of law and every whitewasher of abuses and every defender of corrupt practices in the republican party is to day a friend of the administration and an advocate of Grant's re election. (Laughter and applause.) It is a natural process of gravitation—(laughter)—and there is no escape from it; and those gentlemen being the most selfish, the most interested, the most active, the boldest, and most unscrupulous, will be naturally the leading spirits in such a party. (Applause.) Now, I ask you, honest republicans, who mean to do what is right, who abhor corruption and abuse of power, and who respect the constitution and the law, and who will not abdicate the right of independent convictions, how long will you consider it comporting with your sense of personal dignity to permit those who live and thrive by working in the opposite direction to lead you while your eyes are open? You cannot lead them, but they will lead you, and lead you not where you will, but where they will. How long will you follow them as passive victims in the direction which you would never have taken? You tell me that the integrity of the party must be maintained; it might have been maintained if the party fulfilled the great requirements of the times. If it has not, and if it has drifted into those errors and abuses so common to political organizations after a long enjoyment of honor, when, with the mass of camp followers, a selfish, speculating spirit invades them, is then the integrity of the party to be the highest object of veneration that shall fill the soul of the citizen? Or are there not times when, to do his whole duty to the country, the citizen must rise above the party? (Applause.) You see the bonds of partisanship loosening on every side, in spite of the entreaties and threats and imprecations of the whippers-in. There are everywhere signs of breaking up, just as the ice breaks up on your rivers in the spring time. It is so, I tell you, not only in the republican camp, but, in spite of whatever the party organs may say, in the democratic camp just the same. (Applause.) It is everywhere to day. And why is this? Because neither of the two old parties as at present constituted and directed satisfies the requirements of the times. [Applause.] We are living in a period of transition from one epoch to another. Great events lie behind us, which wrought great changes. Neither of the old organizations has risen to the height of the policy which these changes brought us. Both are encumbered with altogether too much of the baggage of the past. [Laughter and applause.] The transformation of parties must come—slower perhaps than some, but much quicker than others anticipated. If you and I were to put forth our utmost efforts to prevent it we couldn't, and it would still come. The popular instinct feels it and the old accustomed party whip will rule no longer. (Applause.) You tell me you deplore the dissensions among the Republican party as I do and as all of us do, for it is not pleasant to differ with old friends. But how were these dissensions developed? Let me tell you, honest Republicans, that feel with us, you bear a large, if not the largest, share of the responsibility. If you, honest Republicans, not only fought as we did, but if you had boldly and openly spoken as we did, here, and there, and everywhere, the administration and the party might have been diverted from the downward course when it was still time, but you did not. Good thoughts without words, good intentions without actions, avail little in this practical world of ours. By your considerate silence you nursed into controlling power the evil influence which now as a party will rule you unless you break loose from them, and you rendered necessary a revolution for what would be accomplished by a timely assertion of convictions. Now, if by your pleading for party integrity you could succeed in stopping this movement which we are leading, and could you seduce us back to the party stable like a flock of sheep, and secure a new base of power to the influences which rule you, what would be the consequence? An insurrection at a future time, and then—who knows—much more uncontrollable for good than now; for the greater and more provoking the evils to be remedied, the more reckless will be the means for their correction. But let me tell you you cannot stop the movement in which we are now engaged. (Cheers.) The men who have undertaken it have risen above party tickets and have ceased to measure their convictions of duty by the rules laid down in party caucuses. (Applause.) Those who are now in good earnest working for constitutional government and reform will not be led by the nose. This movement will go on. (Cheers.) Republican friends, by your joining in you can make it greater and more beneficial in its influences. By your opposition you can no longer arrest it—you might as well attempt to stop the Mississippi in its flow. (Cheers.) Nor do I think, whatever you try, you can prevent its success. Neither can you, nor can politicians of any stripe to-day. But a few weeks ago the Cincinnati Convention was spoken of by politicians with a contemptuous smile—to-day that smile has already turned sour upon their lips. (Cheers and laughter.) Listen to the tidings coming in from all parts of the country. The people have opened their eyes. They see the deceptions by which they were surrounded. Their best impulses are regaining strength. A spring-time of new hope has come; as yet you see but the beginning. The politicians who yesterday felt so secure, now turn pale. You cannot stop the movement or successfully resist it. I am not an over sanguine man, nor yet quite inexperienced in judging of the growth of public opinion in this country, and I venture to predict in all soberness, to all who hear me, that before the year is over you will see the banner of constitutional government and reform we now bear will be planted in victory over the Capitol of this republic.

The speaker retired amidst the most enthusiastic plaudits—the cheering was over and over again renewed, the entire audience standing, gentlemen raising their hats and the ladies contributing to the enthusiasm by waving their handkerchiefs with their fair hands.

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