THE RECORD
OF THE
Massachusetts Republican Convention,
HELD AT WORCESTER, SEPTEMBER 16, 1879.

Address of the Hon. A. H. Bullock.

Gentlemen of the Convention: — I thank you for calling me, now the fourth time, to preside over the Republican Delegates of Massachusetts. It happened to me to sit in the same chair this month seventeen years ago, and I recall with reason the situation of that day. The armistice of 1861 had brought their success almost to the doors of the Capitol, and grave fears for the government of the United States filled the minds of all parties here.

The Republican party, which was justly held responsible as custodian of the government, was at discord with itself, and our own Convention dispersed with divided counsels. President Lincoln was sharply criticised by his friends through the North, and his Cabinet was hardly out of time as could well be imagined. No day before and no day afterwards was so loaded with gloom. But scarcely had our Convention dissolved, when the President issued his proclamation of emancipation, giving to the country a policy from which there could be no retreat, and an inspiration against which there could be no resistance. And now, looking back to that day, over the varying fortunes of war which ended in the success of the government, over the conflicts of parties, which have been followed by a reconstructed Union of thirty states, holding together, not by fear, but by a common allegiance over successive weaknesses of the government, the rule of our Union has become permanent; the public rights and values of the people are ensured.

The peace is an unrequited gift, which has closed in a natural return to the only standard of values; over our foreign relations, which in more instances than one have been delicate and critical, but have been so conducted that we now enjoy the respect and honor of other nations more largely than ever before, — it seems reasonable to say, that, so far as these events have depended on the political administration of the country, they have conferred upon the party in power the highest honor known in our annals.

I allow that the real merits of parties and administrations can be exactly judged only by the next age, after the fires and passions of the present have become extinct. But I feel morally sure that it will be the verdict of history that in France, in Germany, in England, in the United States, no political party has continued in power long enough to accomplish such beneficent results upon such a scale. In no other country has the administration treated vast questions relating to the organic structure of the nation; managed its foreign and domestic policy through a civil war that interfered with the interests of other countries; and, within the range of peace, redrafted a system of finance involving thousands of millions, and brought back a currency impoverished by war to the confidence of forty millions of people, — with the celerity, with the wisdom, with the moderation, and with the success, which have marked the action of the party under the banner of which you now sit.

To such a party we are proud to belong. It has not been free from corrupt practices, nor has any other party been so exempt; but such is the growing independence of its members that the chances for bad practices and bad men are rapidly diminishing. It is elevating the civil service, if we may judge the civil service by the payment to the treasury of every dollar of the vast revenues of the year past. It has not been without intolerance; but no association of men, drawn together originally by the tie of a moral sentiment, has been less intolerant. There breathes to-day through its ranks a personal freedom which lifts its members above the mere shadow of a nomination. No man need leave the party, for he is free within it, bound only in the exercise of his independence to all his judgment and conscience, by scrutinizing closely the exigency and the question at stake.

I have lived through two generations of national parties, and I have yet to learn that in any one of them there has been a more excited manhood and personalism than now thrive in the Republican party of this country. I read the same lesson in the lives of the four eminents men, no longer living, who came to its front in the beginning of its administration, bringing the support of the four States, Illinois, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. Of these, one became the head of the government, two others were invested with immense responsibilities in the Cabinet, and the fourth was the Senator in the Senate, — to say that, in the judgment of all, the ability, integrity, and devotion of those three have been such as to cause the rejection of those who did it, the names of Chase, and Seward, and Sumner are written on the same roll with the name of Lincoln. It is a lesson for the encouragement of independent statesmanship; it is a proof that many independence commands even party honor.

And now does any one ask, When will the Republican party give way and make room for another and a new party? — I answer, Not yet. It is a very easy thing to say that the Republican party has survived its issues. A great many parties have outlived the issues for which they were formed. If Mr. Gladstone was next year to come to the head of the administration in Great Britain he would find himself and his associates surrounded by few of the questions which bore him into office twelve years before; but he would still be at the head of the Liberal party of England, with a plenty of issues on his hands with the Tory party. National parties are not easily formed, and they are not easily dissolved. New issues attach to them according to their own character and propiciities. The dispositions of men; their habits of thought; their accustomed methods of treating public questions, whether reactionary or progressive, whether wise and liberal, or arid and mean; the moral sentiments of men, whether insisting upon elevated conduct in their public servants, or willing to trust their interests in the hands of adventurers and charlatans; their natural affinities and habits of choice, whether for liberty and justice and education, or, on the contrary, for whatever may turn up in a communistic social state; the instincts and sensibilities of men, whether seeing a citizen cut down in the exercise of his constitutional right they revolt at it as a crime, or only look at it as a part of the game of politics, — these elements enter into the making-up of parties; they become traditional and inheritable; they become a part of the second nature of parties as of persons, and you cannot distribute them otherwise than as they range themselves according to the ordering of human nature. The general aim and defect of a party determine its character, and are as necessary to it as its name is false in the moral judgment of history if it should abandon the trust so long as any of the immediate or consequent dangers of that crisis shall continue to exist.

Such I suppose to be the philosophy and the logic of our present situation. The protectore of 1861 cannot abide while the peril lasts. If, in the discharge of its duty, it becomes necessary to remunerate millions of slaves, then it assumed the obligation to keep watch and ward of their condition, which resulted from that measure of war. If, in reconstructing the Federal Union, it insisted on amendments of the Constitution for the security of the future, then it is a continuing duty of the administration, so far as its power extends, — a duty not more to the black men of the South than to the white men of the North, — to persist in giving effect to those amendments. If, in its attempts to enforce these measures, it has passed certain laws to secure free and fair elections, then it is a high duty of the administration and of the party which supports it to see that those laws are executed, for in a republic like ours it is vital that suffrage be preserved and that there shall receive no stain. If, in carrying on war for the life of the nation, it became necessary to the party in power to depreciate the currency and postpone the true unit of value to the return of peace, then was the administration bound to restore that standard at the earliest possible day, and, having restored it, to stand guard over it until its permanence shall be insured. Coming to the present subject, it appears upon a single issue, this association of men called the Republican party has been kept in power by new and larger issues which have been thrust upon them, which are still questioned and denounced, which still challenge us to complete them and maintain them in their completeness.

There was a time when we fondly hoped that all these questions, save perhaps the financial question, had been set at rest. So nearly akin were the professions and
platform of the two parties in 1876, that many of us who voted for Mr. Hayes would not have lost heart if his competitor had succeeded. We were gratified when the President, on coming into office, took the decisive step of withdrawing every federal arm from the Southern States. In the assurances which were given of public sentiment in the South, and in the condition of public opinion through the country, President Hayes had ample warrant for that assurance, and I have no doubt — if we may judge by his general desire for peace, and by his official conduct through the two months preceding the inauguration of his successor — I have no doubt General Grant would have done the same thing under the same circumstances. The day of opportunity has now come to the leaders of opinion in the South. They could accept the situation in the spirit in which it had been tendered to them and become solid for harmony and reconiliation, or they could give themselves up to reactionary measures, promulgate new political heresies which we supposed had been buried in the results of the war, and again put in hazard many things which the people of the North believed to have been for good. Now I need not ask you what have been the fruits of these efforts at conciliation. During three sessions of Congress, in the House of Representatives, and during one session in the Senate, the Democratic party has had large majorities, made up in great degree from the South. There have been portentous signs of accord between the two great parties in the country; and this accord seems to go to the heart of Congress and the action of their constituents at home. If there was an one question which we had a right to think had been put to rest by the war, it was that of the relation of the United States to the Southern States; but it is not uncommon since the changed majorities in Congress to the South, to call for further measures for the recovery. From all quarters the movement to recover has taken place. Mr. Cabot, who educated the South to the late war, and in three instances the interest in Congress is interpreted by action in some of the Southern States.

The instruction is, that under State rights the national authority cannot intervene to insure a fair and free election of President and representatives, and the interpretation at home is found in the practical suppression of the colored vote, and I fear it is to be found in the suppression of the indepedence of the white man as well. These demonstrations have not as yet been numerous, but if they occur at all they are enough to stir our fears and make us watch them with the closest attentive. There is no invasion of the right of citizenship in Great Britain would put Parliament and the country in a ferment; and is the United States the nation in which such occurrences are to be glossed with sophistry and pass into forgetfulness? This same class at the South which is rated in fixing the ratio of representation — is it to be ignored? Is it to become a nullity in electing that representation? This is not merely a question of philatelpic bearings, but is a question of practical politics, and comes home to the North as well as to the South. True it is that no Democrat at the North, and not all Democrats at the South, defend the acts to which I have referred; but, so far as I am aware, no Democrat in the North or in the Southern States has repudiated the doctrine which threatens to find practical interpretation in the destruction of the civil rights of large classes of citizens in the whole Gulf tier of Southern States. We hear much of indestructible States; but the time has come when the national authority should, as far as possible, be exercised in the smallest corner of the country. The right of the people should look forward with apprehension if I believed that the same men who now hold control in both houses of Congress were also to obtain control of the Executive office. I am not an alarmist, and am scarcely a partisan; but I conscientiously and religiously believe that there is abroad that kind of political heresy and political slander, which can be held in check only by the success of the united Republican party.

I am aware, gentlemen, that the election to which your Convention is a pledge is to be a State election. But you cannot separate it from that greater and more important election of which we already stand on the threshold. The sound which Massachusetts shall give in November cannot be confined within her borders, and the influence of her vote this year will be felt with redoubled stroke upon the next year. I have not spoken upon State politics, because I believe that the intelligent people of this Commonwealth need only the return of election day to repeat their confidence in the Republican nominations. I have no doubt that you will so select your candidates to-day as to elect them solid, as you will answer for the Presidential year to come. Our thoughts, our duties, our to-day’s to-day, lap one within the other. I am to vote in this November for Governor and other State officers, to be sure; but I am at the same time to vote upon the pledged financial faith of my country, to secure free and fair elections in every State, and to vindicate the civil rights of every citizen in the North and in the South. In the present political and social condition of this country, I think it to be on the most beneficial of all attainable events that we should be able at the close of the next two months to place at the head of the government of the United States an able, experienced, firm, and fearless Executive, whose name shall inspire confidence, and insure the enjoyment of individual rights, and a long and peaceful public truce. I judge that the people of Maine and California have shown that they have eyes upon that coming event, and I make no doubt that the people of Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts, will repeat for themselves the same assurance.

The Hon. George F. Hoar, replying to an emphatic call, addressed the invention.

Speech of Hon. George F. Hoar.

As Massachusetts comes to take her place in the line for the great struggle of 1880, I congratulate you, as patriots and as Republicans, upon the auspices of the time. For nearly six years business depression and distress, unprecedented in recent times, have extended over the civilized world. Our country has felt it severly: but she has felt it least. She has borne it long; but she is not worn out. Reward all that she has done and all that she expects, and those reports of abundant harvests for the farmer and of well-grounded hope for the manufacturer. If the laborers’ wages have not yet reached the nominal height which they attained after the war, they compare most favorably in amount and in purchasing power with those of other countries.

The Secretary of State has caused careful inquiry to be made from sources of undoubted authority. The result is just made public. Wages in the United States to-day are more than twice those in Belgium; three times those in Denmark, France, and Germany; and above half those in England and Scotland; and more than three times those in Italy and Spain. At the same time, in all those countries, the necessities of life are dearer than in America: so that it is within the truth to say that the purchasing power of the week’s work in America is fully three times the average of Europe.

(Applause.)

The country, prosperous at home, is strong and resolute in its demand for an efficient patriotism. We know that the tide of patriotism, as it passes from nation to nation and from continent to continent, is received by all mankind with uncoerced head, as the living representative of the restored unity of that republic in which the Freedom lives, in whose hope Humanity hopes. Your flag, without a rent and without a stain, floats everywhere over peaceful seas, deep meaning upon that everywhere in friendship. These blessings are the common good fortune of Americans, without distinction of party. But it is you who have saved your country, who have followed from the outset of its own doctrine, and the policy of his own party. (Laudatory and applause.) To you the Democrat owes all the blessings that you enjoy this morning. To you the man of the people, the laborer, for a country whose soil no slave treadeth, whose air no slave breathes. To you the Democratic laborer owes it that the greenback he gets for his work is to-day worth gold, and that his children may have the same opportunity of getting the same. (Laudatory and applause.)

To you the manufacturer and the merchant and the farmer owe it that gambling has been eliminated from the country, and that the dollar which measures the price at the time of its production is sure in the same amount to measure the payment. You have restored their natural security to the enterprise of the workman and the calen- drical victory in the Presidential election of 1844, and have restored the Free Trade policy of this country. In the speech from which I quote, he deprecates the existing dispute with the United States about Oregon, and proposes to end it by;—

"Quarrel about the Oregon Territory! Much of it is a desert. We might just as well be invited by Peel and Polk to fight about mountains in the moon. But let men have something to do with it. When man has occupied it, when industry has driven the car of peaceful commerce around the borders of that vast sea, then will have arrived the time when the Rocky Mountains are tunneled, and the rail canal have united the Atlantic and Pacific; when the waters of the Columbia swim with steamboats, — why, then will be the time to talk of the Oregon Territory."

Then, without a regiment or line-of-battle ship, without bombardirng any town whatever, Free Trade will have settled the dispute. We, and the people of the United States for us also, — as far as it is desirable either for us or for them that there should be any contest whatever in the case. Free Trade will settle the dispute; will, when their products come here and those of our industry return there will be scarcely a laborer upon the pine forest that he is not worth the cost of the transport back to his home, to the牾 of the livery of Manchester. The knife with which he carves his game will have the mark of Sheffield upon its blade, as a testimony of our supremacy. Every handiwork waver the banks of the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Missouri will be the waving of an English banner from Spitsfield. Throughout the country there will be marks of our skill and greatness, and pride paid for us, we, not by warriors or governors, not coming directly into the national treasury, but flowing into the pockets of the industrious and toiling poor, refreshing trade, and raising our standard of living to that point which will be heritage beyond the wide Atlantic. Why, they will be conquered, for they will work for us; and what can the conquered do more than work, and work? When they will grind it, they will fatten pigs for us; they will send us whatever they can produce that we want, and without asking us to put our hand in our pockets, to buy upon credit, to guaranty the safety of their representatives, or a soldierly to bayonet their multitudes. There is nothing upon earth worthier the name of empire than this; this is a nobler kind of dominion, less degrading than all the others; this is the kind of dominion — degrading than any sovereignty that was ever won by armies; and, being so won, reluctantly swayed by speeches."
Democratic supremacy which so moved the exultation of the Englishman. Alas for the prophet! No longer does he discern an American forest, but only a paper one. In truth, of all the other cities and villages growing up by American rivers, weave his cotton, and his woollen. The knife which with his hander carves his game from Webster's books is not such a weapon. The name of Spitalfields is as unknown on the banks of the Missouri as the mournful builder who perished before Columbus. (GREAT LATTER.) Instead of the expected conquest and plunder, one of the most conspicuous political opponent of the Democratic party is the victim, and some Democrat the victor. The Southern struggle for political power begins always, like the ancient games, under their lamps of barbarism; we will suffer the death of all political rights or those of our Republican fellow-citizens. (Applause.)

It is no accident that every campaign in the history of the United States has been marked by the blood of ballots and bombs. The Southern states, always in the lead, have consistently advocated the principle of free election and a strong central government. (Applause.)

The Secretary of State tells us that in a short time half a million laborers will come to this country from England, Germany, and France. They will have to work under the most unfavorable conditions, and they will suffer much. (Applause.)

The emigration of labor from Europe is a fact which the Southern states have always opposed. (Applause.)

The war is over, but the conflict has not ended. The North and the South are still divided by sectional interests. (Applause.)

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of political opinion and action, and takes from any of the people the right to choose their homes and to control their own labor.

Second. — We deprecate the course of the members of the Democratic party who have undertaken to revive sentiments and purposes of securing political ascendancy in the Southern States, and who have revived the memories of sectional strife by the defiant declaration of a purpose to repeal laws made necessary by the war; by the naked act of disturbing the peace of the State, and by such acts of the Legislature, have brought the country to the verge of civil war; and we condemn their attempts to secure by legislation what was not accomplished by arms, namely, the establishment of a State system of bankruptcy, which will destroy the security of property, and which in the past have led to sedition and civil war. The pledges of the Republican party to maintain the Union and to preserve the national credit have been redeemed in the face of bitter opposition by the prompt resumption of specie payments and the reduction both of the central and of the interest of the public debt. And we congratulate our fellow-citizens upon the restoration of confidence and the revival of business which has followed the honest, prudent, and wise management of public affairs under Republican administration.

Third. — We are opposed to repudiation in all its forms, either by a "scaling" of debts, or a debasement of the currency. We insist that the paper and the coin circulation of the country shall be maintained at par with the gold standard of the commercial world.

We applaud the firm and patriotic course of President Hayes in maintaining the Constitutional prerogatives of the Executive and in courageously and successfully opposing all efforts of a Democratic Congress to cripple the functions of the Executive by the thorough disfranchisement of the Republican party. We applaud the firmness with which he has labored to restore harmony and good feeling to all sections of the country, to secure purity, efficiency, and frugality in every branch of the public service, and to divorce the civil service from the management of partisan politics. And we applaud the energetic measures of the Government in enforcing the laws of the land, and we will support the President in the responsibility of making nominations to office without direction from other departments of the Government. It is our determination to carry out the principles relating to the civil service, as expressed in the Cincinnati platform and his letter of instructions.

Fifth. — While the Republican party is practically united in demanding the suppression of intermarriage by the wisest legislation, it recognizes an honest difference of opinion among its members as to what form of legislation will best accomplish that end, and the question is therefore referred to the people to be settled by them in the Legislature, organized for the protection of the weak, the defence of the liberties of all the members of the Commonwealth, and for the efficient execution of the laws. The Republican party pledges itself anew to these primary objects, and believes that an efficient means of protection and security of persons and property, and the more efficacious administration of justice, is the object of the people, it heartily sustains our State Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and advises the establishment of a National Bureau of like character. We again demand that our system of taxation shall be so modified as to be so regulated as to be so adjusted that each person shall contribute only in proportion to what he is worth, to the end that there shall be no substantial relief from existing burdens of taxation; that in our opinion the time has come when the executive officers of the Commonwealth and the members of the Legislature should be elected for a longer term than one year, in order to provide a more efficient and durable government, providing for biennial elections and biennial sessions of the Legislature, would tend to give steadiness to legislation, to the salvation of the Commonwealth, and to the importance of the office, and the care of the electors in filling them, and would relieve the people from that frequency of elections which is believed to be no longer conducive to the good of the Commonwealth.

Sixth. — The administration of the State Government during the past year has been able, just, and efficient. The message of the Republican party has been, in these reforms have been accomplished, and the State tax and expenses have been reduced, commissions have been consolidated, and offices now become inefficient and of no public utility. We appreciate the eminent services of the present chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, whose prudence, sound judgment, and integrity of character have largely contributed to this result. In continuation of its work the Republican party will insist, in the words of Gov. Talbot, "on a judicious but not generosous economy in the State administration; on a discriminating policy in the State tax laws; on the establishment of reduced and the speedy liquidation of existing liabilities; and on putting the whole of the Treasury at the disposal of the Legislature and the last means to secure the public purposes for private ends."

Seventh. — We oppose the veto power as a weapon of the Commonwealth the nominee of this Convention, whose high character, commanding ability, and large experience in the public service, are guaranties of official rectitude and a wise administration of our State affairs.

Letter of Acceptance.

HINCHAM, Sept. 26, 1879.

Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your favor informing me of my nomination for governor by the Republican State Convention, held at Worcester on the 16th instant.

I accept the nomination with the highest appreciation of the honor and of the responsibility it confers upon me. I regard it as a matter of great regret that Governor Talbot, elected by an emphatic majority, deservedly possessed of the thorough confidence of the Commonwealth, and having bravely and successfully accomplished the work to which he was called, has declined, for the reasons given to me by him, to withdraw from a second term of service. A candidate with him at the last election, and familiar by official service with the fundamental purposes of economy and simplicity which have governed his administration, while in some of its directions my views might not follow his, I stand committed, and it will be my earnest aim and effort, if elected, to go on in that path to which the popular will still points, of reform wherever reform can cure waste, or simplify administration; of reformation without passion or impertinence; of service, and of conducting the affairs of the State on the same principles on which prudence would conduct private business. But the economy, which I believe is to be especially emphasized, is that which, in the rapid reviving of prosperity, shall set its face against any revival of those extraordinary outlays in public works, or in the aid of business enterprises, which characterized some years in the bygone era of inflation. Prudence, utility, wisdom, alike demand that, while an accumulating population will necessitate indeed those adequate expenses, without which no government can serve its uses, the methods of expenditure shall be those of simplicity, of the direct application of every dollar to its legitimate useful purposes, and of the avoidance of all waste that goes for magnificence, or ornamentation, or for those risks that should be left to private enterprise. We should pay, too, as we go, and put no unnecessary burden of debt on the back of the future.

In accepting this nomination, I do so in sympathy with the Republican platform on National and State questions. The Republican party is committed to the principle of the national integrity; of a reformed civil service which shall be the service of the State, and not of a party; of equal citizenship; of the purity of the national ballot, enforced as the national government is bound to enforce, throughout its entire jurisdiction, every franchise it has constitutionally granted to its citizens; of the preservation of one of the abiding principles of every free right, not according to that heresy which has disgraced the name of States' Rights, but exactly as both are parcelled out in the Constitution, so that neither the national authority shall be impaired, nor any genuine right of local self-government compromised; and of that policy of specie resumption and honest finance, by its fidelity to which the Republican party has preserved the national faith, has restored and strengthened public and private credit, has revived our industries, and has pointed and led the way to better times, better work, better homes. In the State it is committed to the education of all the people, to the promotion of industry, to lightening the burdens and unrolling the inequalities of taxation, to the harmony and not to the bitterness of society. It rises higher, and as it carried freedom to the oppressed beyond our borders, at home its mission is to carry the helping hand that shall lift every man to the responsible liberty of the true citizen. In token of this it has already, under Republican administration, enacted laws after law for the elevation and bettering of the conditions of industrial labor.

That party it is, with its record and results, rather than any bearer of its standard, that is in nomination before the people. It appeals not alone to its own members, but to all good and true men. This appeal it makes with the more confidence because the grounds of the opposition of last year have fallen, and no new ground is alleged; the reenforcement of previous years has been carried still further, the State tax having been reduced from two millions in 1875, to half a million in 1879; the ghost of flat money and of the so-called American system of finance having been laid; and the hard times have yielded, through the wisdom and firmness of Republican financial administration, to the better times that are bringing their blessing upon enterprise and labor.

Governor Talbot's message, received as we were on all hands, irrespective of party, with general approval, have been adopted with a faithful and respectable closeness, which the people, whose interests have thus been recognized, will not forget.

I must frankly state that I have questioned the expediency of a biennial system of legislation. I regard it, however, as a question that should be submitted, in the form of a constitutional amendment, to the popular vote, for decision there.

I think the Convention has wisely referred to the people, making their will known through their representatives, the important questions of law and morals concerning the liquor traffic in this Commonwealth.

I appreciate the solemn obligations under which I stand, with only the record of a few years of responsible service in public life. I feel that we have at stake, not the entanglement and waste of personal politics, but the great interests of the people of our industries and commerce, of education and humanity, in short, the most vital interests of the State and of the nation. And so I bespeak the support of my fellow-citizens in no spirit of partisanship, but in behalf of the principles and standards which Massachusetts has adopted as her own, desirous above all things in the public interest of service, if elected, the representative, not alone of a part, but all of the interests of the Commonwealth.

I am with great respect, very truly yours,

JOHN D. LONG.

To the Hon. ALEXANDER H. BELLOWS, President, and EDWARD H. HARRIS, Secretary, Republican State Convention.