

3582

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-003582

THE CITIZEN'S LIBRARY  
OF  
ECONOMICS, POLITICS, AND  
SOCIOLOGY

EDITED BY

RICHARD T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D.  
DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS,  
POLITICAL SCIENCE, AND HISTORY,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

---

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN THE UNITED STATES

**THE CITIZEN'S LIBRARY OF ECONOMICS,  
POLITICS, AND SOCIOLOGY.**

12mo. Half leather. \$1.25 *net* each.

**MONOPOLIES AND TRUSTS.**

By RICHARD T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D.

**THE ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION.**

By JOHN A. HOBSON.

**WORLD POLITICS.**

By PAUL S. REINSCH, PH.D., LL.B.

**ECONOMIC CRISES.**

By EDWARD D. JONES, PH.D.

**OUTLINE OF ECONOMICS.**

By RICHARD T. ELY.

**GOVERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND.**

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH.D.

*IN PREPARATION.*

**ESSAYS IN THE MONETARY HISTORY OF  
THE UNITED STATES.**

By CHARLES J. BULLOCK, PH.D.

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE  
UNITED STATES.**

By JESSE MACY, LL.D.

**MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING AND SANITATION.**

By MR. M. N. BAKER.

**THE MACMILLAN COMPANY,**

66 FIFTH AVENUE.

*THE CITIZEN'S LIBRARY*

---

Political Parties in the  
United States

1846-1861

BY

JESSE MACY, A.M., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN IOWA COLLEGE  
AUTHOR OF "THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION"

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1900

*All rights reserved*

COPYRIGHT, 1900,  
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

V73,4. N

DO

3582

Norwood Press  
J. B. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith  
Norwood Mass. U.S.A.

## PREFACE

THIS book may be described as a study of the American party system. The references to the party systems in other States are for the purpose of making clear, in the first place, the relation of the political party to despotic governments, and, in the second place, to show that in each State where Democracy is far enough advanced to give rise to political parties the form of organization is determined by its political institutions. The peculiar American system arises from peculiar American institutions. The old Federal party died because it was un-American in the form of its organization. Under the party names of Whig and Democrat the system reached a high degree of perfection; but there was a maladjustment between the party machinery and public opinion, the parties went to pieces, and the Civil War was the result. This volume treats especially of the great Whig failure and its consequences. Since the disruption of the Union there have been two rather distinct periods of party history, equally deserving of special study. The first ends with the withdrawal of the troops from the last of the Confederate States in 1877. This is emphatically the abnormal period of our

party history. Armies were then substituted for party organizations, and a political party supported by an army ceases to be a normal political party. It was during this abnormal period that the spoils system reached perfection, and the control of the party organizations passed into the hands of professional managers, supported by special interests in more or less conscious conspiracy against the people. During the period following the end of "carpet-bag" rule in the South, our party history has been characterized by a series of efforts on the part of the people to regain possession of their parties as organs of public opinion.

There are many passages in this book that are sure to give the impression that I am an advocate of our party system. Nothing is farther from my purpose. Yet I do advocate the use of our parties to secure the ends of good government until some better agency is discovered.

In the preparation of the manuscript I have received many valuable suggestions from Professor Ely, the editor of the Series.

JESSE MACY.

GRINNELL, IOWA,  
September 5, 1900.

## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE MODERN POLITICAL PARTY . . . . .	1
II. ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM .	23
III. PARTY ISSUES . . . . .	40
IV. THE SPOILS SYSTEM AND PARTY ORGANIZA- TION . . . . .	57
V. ANTE-BELLUM <i>vs.</i> PRESENT POLITICS . .	74
VI. SCIENCE AND POLITICS . . . . .	83
VII. SLAVERY AS A PARTY ISSUE . . . . .	93
VIII. CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR . . . . .	102
IX. THE LAST WHIG ADMINISTRATION . .	119
X. THE GREAT WHIG FAILURE . . . . .	131
XI. THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW . . . . .	153
XII. IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM . . . . .	162
XIII. RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY . .	183
XIV. THE WAR IN KANSAS . . . . .	203
XV. CAMPAIGN OF 1856 . . . . .	221
XVI. THE DRED SCOTT DECISION . . . . .	229
XVII. FREE SOIL VICTORY IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DOUGLAS .	240



## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVIII. ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS A TYPICAL DEMO- CRAT . . . . .	247
XIX. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY REVIVED . . .	258
XX. JOHN BROWN AT HARPER'S FERRY . . .	276
XXI. CAMPAIGN OF 1860 . . . . .	283
XXII. DRIFTING INTO WAR . . . . .	301

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### POLITICAL PARTIES

- Brown, J. S. *Partisan Politics, the Evil and the Remedy.* † Philadelphia, 1897.
- Dallinger, E. W. *Nominations for Elective Offices.* Harvard † Historical Studies, Vol. IV. New York, 1897.
- Gillet, R. A. *Democracy in the United States.* New York, 1868.
- Greeley, Horace. *Political Text-book.* New York, 1860.
- Hopkins, James H. *History of Political Parties in the United States.* New York, 1900.
- Johnston, Alexander. *Articles in Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science.* 3 vols. Chicago, 1884.
- Lawton, G. W. *The American Caucus System. Questions of the Day.* Putnam. New York, 1885.
- Lincoln and Douglas, *Political Debates between.* Columbus, Ohio, 1860.
- Long, J. D. *The Republican Party: Its History, Principles, and Policies.* New York, 1898.
- McMillan, D. C. *The Elective Franchise in the United States.* New York, 1880.
- O'Neil, C. A. *The American Elective System.* New York, 1895.
- Ormsby, R. M. *History of the Whig Party.* 1859.
- Remsen, D. S. *Primary Elections. A Study of the Methods for improving the Basis of Party Organization. Questions † of the Day.* New York, 1894.
- Schmeckebier, L. F. *Know-nothing Party in Maryland.* Johns Hopkins Series, No. 17. Baltimore, 1899.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

- Smith, T. C. History of Free Soil Parties in the North-west. New York, 1898.
- Van Buren, Martin. Origin of Political Parties in the United States. New York, 1855.
- The American Whig Review (monthly). 1844-1852.
- The Democratic Review (monthly). 1838-1859.

## SLAVERY

- Alexander, Archibald. A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa. Philadelphia, 1846.
- Barnes, Albert. The Church and Slavery. Philadelphia, 1857.
- Brackett, Jeffrey R. The Negro in Maryland. A Study of the Institution of Slavery. Johns Hopkins Historical Studies, Extra Vol. VI. Baltimore, 1889.
- Cairnes, John E. Slavery in the United States. An Attempt to explain the Real Issue. 1863.
- Carpenter, S. D. The Logic of History. 500 Political Texts. Extracts from Tracts of Abolitionism. 1864.
- Cary, H. C. The Slave Trade. Philadelphia, 1867.
- Chase, Ezra B. Teachings of Patriots and Statesmen or the Founders of the Republic on Slavery. Philadelphia, 1860.
- Chase, Henry, and Sanborn, C. W. The North and the South. A Statistical View of the Condition of Free and Slave States. Compiled from Official Documents. Boston, 1856.
- Cheever, George B. God against Slavery. Cincinnati, 1857.
- Clarke, James Freeman. Antislavery Days. New York, 1883.
- Clayton, Victoria V. White and Black under the Old Régime. Introduction by F. C. Morehouse. Chicago, 1899.
- Coffin, Levi. Reminiscences of Reputed President of the Underground Railroad. Third edition. Cincinnati, 1898.
- Dabney, Professor Robert L., D.D. A Defence of Virginia. New York, 1867.
- Debate on Slavery held on the First, Second, Third, and Sixth Days of October, 1845, in the City of Cincinnati, between

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Rev. J. Blanchard, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, and N. L. Rice, D.D., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church. Cincinnati, 1846.
- Douglas, Frederick. *My Bondage and Freedom*. New York, 1855.
- Goodell, William. *History of Slavery and Antislavery*. New York, 1855.
- The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice*. New York, 1853.
- Greeley, Horace. *A History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension or Restriction in the United States*. Compiled from the Journals of Congress and other Records. New York, 1856.
- Griffiths, Julia. *Autographs for Freedom*. Personal Utterances from Living Witnesses, collected and published by the Rochester Ladies' Antislavery Society. Boston, 1853.
- Another volume, same title. New York, 1854.
- Helper, H. B. *The Impending Crisis of the South*. New York, 1860.
- Jay, William. *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery*. Boston, 1853.
- Johnston, Alexander. *Antislavery Struggle in America*. Orations, Vols. II. and III. 1885.
- May, Samuel J. *Some Recollections of our Antislavery Conflict*. Boston, 1869.
- McDougall, M. G. *Fugitive Slaves*. 1891.
- Olmsted, F. L. *The Cotton Kingdom*. 2 vols. New York, 1861.
- Page, Thomas Nelson. *The Old South*. New York, 1894.
- Pillsbury, Parker. *Acts of the Antislavery Apostles*. Concord, N. H., 1883.
- Richman, Irving B. *John Brown among the Quakers*. Des Moines, Iowa, 1894.
- Siebert, Wilbur H. *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*. New York, 1898.
- Stevens, Charles Emery. *Anthony Burns, a History*. Boston, 1856.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

- Still, William. *Underground Railroad Records*. Hartford, Conn., 1886.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin, and Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. 1853.
- Thayer, Eli. *The Kansas Crusade*. New York, 1898.
- Whittier, John G. *Antislavery Poems*.  
*The Conflict with Slavery*.  
*Prose Works*, Vol. III., pp. 9-197. 1892.
- Wilson, Henry. *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*. 3 vols. Boston, 1872-1879.

## STATE RIGHTS AND THE CIVIL WAR

- Brown, George W. *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*. Johns Hopkins Historical Series, Extra Vol. III. Baltimore, 1887.
- Brownlow, W. G. *A Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession*. Philadelphia, 1862.
- Davis, Jefferson. *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. 2 vols. New York, 1881.
- Draper, John W. *History of the Civil War*. 3 vols. New York, 1867-1870.
- Greeley, Horace. *The American Conflict*, Vol. I. Hartford, Conn., 1867.
- Pollard, E. A. *The Lost Cause, a New Southern History of the War of the Confederacy*. New York, 1866.
- Stephens, Alexander H. *Constitutional View of the War between the States*. Philadelphia, 1868.
- Tucker, Nathaniel Beverly. *The Partisan Leader*. Secretly printed by Duff Green, 1836, for circulation in the South. Afterwards suppressed on account of its advocacy of secession. New York, 1861.
- Tuckerman, Bayard. *William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery*. New York, 1893.
- Wise, Henry A. *Seven Decades of the Union*. Philadelphia, 1872.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BIOGRAPHY

- Adams, John Quincy. By John T. Morse, Jr. Statesman's Series. Boston and New York, 1883.
- Benton, Thomas H. By Theodore Roosevelt. Statesman's Series. Boston and New York, 1887.
- Birney, James G. James G. Birney and his Times, by William Birney. New York, 1890.
- Brown, Captain John, the Public Life of. With an Autobiography of his Childhood and Youth, by James Redpath. Boston, 1860.
- Brown, John, Life and Letters of. By F. B. Sanborn. Boston, 1885.
- Buchanan, James, Life of. By George Ticknor Curtis. 2 vols. New York, 1883.
- Calhoun, John C. By Dr. H. Von Holst. American Statesman Series. Boston and New York, 1883.
- Calhoun, Works of. Edited by R. K. Crabbe. 6 vols. New York, 1883.
- Cass, Lewis. By A. C. McLaughlin. American Statesman Series. Boston and New York, 1891.
- Clay, Henry, Life and Speeches of. By C. Colton. 6 vols. Revised edition. New York, 1865.
- Clay, Henry. By Carl Schurz. American Statesman Series. Boston and New York, 1888.
- Clay, Henry, Private Correspondence of. Edited by Colton. New York, 1855.
- Dix, John A., Memoirs of. By Morgan Dix. 2 vols. New York, 1883.
- Douglass, Frederick, Life and Times of. Written by himself. Hartford, Conn. 1881.
- Garrison, William Lloyd. By W. P. and F. J. Garrison. 4 vols. New York, 1885.
- Giddings, Joshua R., Life of. By George W. Julian. Chicago, 1892.
- Greeley, Horace, Life of. By James Parton. Boston, 1882.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

- Jackson, Andrew. By W. G. Sumner. American Statesman Series. Boston and New York, 1882.
- Jackson, Andrew, Life of. By James Parton. Boston, 1860, 1883.
- Jefferson, Thomas, Life of. By Henry C. Randall. 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1865.
- Jefferson, Thomas, Works of. Edited by H. A. Washington. 9 vols. Philadelphia, 1869.
- Lincoln, Abraham, a History of. By Nicolay and Hay. 10 vols. New York, 1890.
- Lincoln, Abraham, the History of, and the Overthrow of Slavery. By Isaac Arnold. 1868.
- Lincoln, Abraham. The Story of a Great Life. By W. H. Herndon and J. W. Weik. 2 vols. New York. 1892.
- Lovejoy, Elijah P., Martyrdom of. By an Eye-witness. Henry Tanner. Chicago, 1881.
- Lovejoy, Elijah P. Who was murdered in Defence of the Liberty of the Press at Alton, Ill., November 7, 1837. By J. C. and Owen Lovejoy. New York, 1838.
- Parker, Theodore, Life and Correspondence of. By John Weiss. 2 vols. New York, 1864.
- Seward, William H. Seward at Washington, 1846-1861. By F. W. Seward. New York.
- Seward, William H., Works of. Edited by G. E. Barker. 5 vols. Boston, 1887.
- Smith, Gerrit, Life of. By O. B. Frothingham. New York, 1878.
- Sumner, Charles, Memoirs and Letters of. By E. L. Pierce. 4 vols. Boston, 1893.
- Sumner, Charles, Works of. 15 vols. Boston, 1875 and 1883.
- Tappan, Arthur, Life of. By Lewis Tappan. New York, 1870.
- Toombs, Robert, Life of. By P. A. Stovall. New York, 1892.
- Webster, Daniel, Life of. By George T. Curtis. 2 vols. New York, 1872.
- Webster, Daniel. By Henry Cabot Lodge. American Statesman Series. Boston and New York, 1883.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Webster, Daniel, *Private Correspondence of*. Edited by Fletcher Webster. 2 vols. Boston, 1857.
- Webster, Daniel, *Works of*. 6 vols. Boston, 1854.
- Weed, Thurlow, *Autobiography of, Vol. I.*, edited by Harriet A. Weed; and *Memoir of, Vol. II.*, by F. W. Barnes. Boston and New York, 1883 and 1884.

### REMINISCENCES, OR HISTORY BASED UPON EXPERIENCE

- Benton, Thomas H. *Thirty Years' View*. 2 vols. New York, 1862.
- Blaine, James G. *Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I*. Norwich, Conn., 1884.
- Cox, S. S. *Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 1855-1885*. Providence, R. I., 1886.
- Grinnell, Josiah B. *Men and Events of Forty Years, 1850-1890*. Boston, 1891.
- Julian, George W. *Political Recollections, 1840-1872*. Chicago, 1884.
- McCulloch, Hugh. *Men and Measures of a Half Century*. New York, 1889.
- Sargent, Nathan. *Public Men and Events, 1817-1853*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1875.

### GENERAL TREATISES

- Burgess, J. W. *The Middle Period*. New York, 1897.
- Channing, Edward. *Student's History of the United States*. New York, 1898.
- Ingle, Edward. *Southern Side Lights. Social and Economic Life a Generation before the War*. 1896.
- Patton, J. H. *Concise History of the American People*. 2 vols. New York, 1882.
- Rhodes, J. F. *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*. 4 vols. New York, 1898.



## POLITICAL PARTIES

- Ridpath, J. C. Popular History of the United States. Cincinnati, 1882.
- Schouler, James. History of the United States of America. 5 vols. New York, 1891.
- Scribner's Popular History of the United States. 5 vols. New York, 1896.
- Taussig, F. W. Tariff History of the United States. New York, 1888.
- Von Holst, H. Constitutional and Political History of the United States. 8 vols. Chicago, 1877 and 1892.
- Wilson, Woodrow. Division and Reunion. New York, 1894.

## INDEX

- "Abhorers," 4.
- Abolitionists, 88, 89; had victory forced upon them by their enemies, 110; formed no plots, 113; partial to negroes, 114; political action of, 114; vote cast by, in 1840, 115; in 1848, 116; favored the Union, 129; relations of, to Whig party, 134, 149, 150; and the Fugitive Slave Law, 155, 156, 158; came to hate the South, 196; relation of Lincoln to, 279.
- Adams, John, describes Caucus, 35.
- Adams, John Quincy, 33, 36.
- Adams, Samuel, 31.
- Albany Regency, 70.
- Alien and Sedition Laws, 104.
- American or Know-nothing party, 78, 80, 179-181, 183, 225, 283.
- Anarchist, views of the, 51.
- Annexation of Texas, 94, 95, 98.
- Anti-federalists, opposed adoption of the Constitution, identified with Republicans, 46; first conservative, then radical, 47.
- Anti-masons, 30, 36, 176.
- Anti-Nebraska men, 191.
- "Barnburners," 100; nominate Van Buren, 101, 174.
- Beecher, Henry Ward, 181, 210.
- "Beecher's Bibles," 211.
- Bell, Senator, from Tennessee, votes with Free-soilers, 192; supports Douglas, 258; candidate of Union party for the presidency, 1860, 296; votes for, 299, 300.
- Benton, Thomas H., 127, 135, 223.
- Birney, James G., 97, 248.
- "Black Abolitionist," 197.
- "Black Republican," 197, 301.
- "Bleeding Kansas," made chief campaign issue in 1856, 221.
- Breckenridge, of Kentucky, candidate for presidency, 1860, 297; votes for, 299, 300.
- Brown, John, murders proslavery settlers in Kansas, 218; in prayer-meeting, Grinnell, Iowa, 219; at Harper's Ferry, 276-282.
- Bryan, William J., 49.
- Buchanan, James, Democratic candidate, 218; vote for, 228; Kansas, policy of, 236; influenced by Dred Scott decision, 236, 238, 239; relations to secession of, 305-309.
- Buffalo, convention of, 1848, 101, 221.
- Bufort, Colonel, of Alabama, raises troops for Kansas war, 209, 211, 215.
- Burke, Edmund, 5.
- Bushnell, Horace, remarks on spoils system, 65.
- Cabinet, English, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65; under group system, 14, 21.
- Calhoun, John C., 89, 98, 99, 141; relation of, to Dred Scott decision, 232.

- California, 77, 122, 123, 124, 127, 138, 153.
- Cass, Lewis, 100, 184, 185.
- Catholics, dread of, in America, 79.
- Caucus, origin of term, 31.
- Caucus, congressional nominating, origin of, 1800, 25; discontinued, 1824, 28, 29, 30; opposition to, 27, 28.
- Caucus, legislative, 28, 29, 35.
- Cavaliers and Roundheads, 3.
- Charles II., 3.
- Charleston, convention of, 1860, 286-290.
- Chase, Salmon P., 192.
- Church, as a political element, 12, 16, 17, 44; divided on slavery question, 194; teaches doctrine of hate, 211.
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, 6.
- Civil Service Reform League, 169, 171.
- Civil War, the, 44, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, 56, 74, 75, 76, 89; causes of, 102-118; might have been prevented, 133; party names affected by, 168.
- Civil war, in Kansas, 203-220; threatened in Congress, 283.
- Clay, Cassius M., 134.
- Clay, Henry, 127, 128, 134, 136, 137, 140, 141, 143, 145.
- Clayton, Senator, of Delaware, 206.
- Clinton, De Witt, 27, 35.
- Coercion of a state, 305, 307, 308.
- Coffin, Levi, 136.
- Colonies in America, government of, 23; become states, 24, 32.
- Commons, House of, 3, 16, 17, 18, 19.
- Compromise of 1850, 128, 129, 130, 131, 159, 184, 188, 189.
- Compromise, Missouri. See Missouri Compromise.
- Confederacy, the Southern, 305, 306.
- Conservative party, 5, 20, 43, 44.
- Constitution of the United States, 25, 47, 55, 58; adoption of, 46; amendments to, 25, 46; interpretation of, as to right of secession, 308.
- Constitution, English, 48.
- Constitutional Union party, 296.
- Convention. See National Nominating Convention.
- Convention, local, 36.
- Cotton gin invented, 105.
- Crawford, William H., 28.
- Darwin, his *Origin of Species*, 84.
- Davis, Jefferson, 268, his resolutions in the Senate, 285.
- Declaration of Independence, 199, 270.
- Democracy, or the democratic state, 1, 2, 7, 9, 12, 22, 64, 253-257.
- Democratic clubs, 32, 75.
- Democratic party, origin of, 33; led by Jackson and Van Buren, 34, 36; platform of, 1856; radical and conservative wings of, in 1896, 49, 50; development of, 38; survived all changes, 75; favored annexation of Texas, 94, 95; faithful to the South, 120; responsible for war with Mexico, 141; platforms of, 146, 147; rejoices over Fugitive Slave Act, 160; policy of, dictated by South, 184; becomes committed both to slavery and state rights, 199; nominates Buchanan, 218; campaign of, in 1856, 224-228; peculiar prestige and permanency of, 233; affected by the Dred Scott decision, 235; tried to nationalize proslavery sentiment, 262; integrity of, necessary to the Union, 274; divided at Charleston convention, 287; vote of its two branches in 1860, 299, 300.

- Democratic Review*, 89.
- Despotism, characteristics of, 1, 6; and modern parties, 6, 7, 8, 9, 68; a conspiracy, unstable, 57; opposed to science, 87; principles of, in American politics, 254, 257.
- District of Columbia, 114, 128.
- Divine right of kings, 3, 6.
- Dixon, Senator, 190.
- "Doughface," 90.
- Douglas, Stephen A., introduces Nebraska Bill, 185; opposes Le-compton constitution, 240, 242; growing popularity of, 245; leader of Free-soil forces, 247, 258; his debate with Lincoln, 262-268; personal triumph of, 273; opposed Jefferson Davis, 285; vote received by, in 1860, 299, 300.
- Dred Scott decision, 229-239; did not help the South, 261.
- Elijah the Tishbite, 42.
- England, political parties in, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 44, 58, 59, 60, 63; spoils system in, 59, 66.
- Era of good feeling, 93.
- Executive, choosing of, in the United States, 24-26.
- Fabian Society, 9.
- Faction, characteristic of despotisms, 1; relation of, to political parties, 4-17; relation of, to spoils system in England, 59; in American cities, 68.
- Federal party, 27, 28, 33, 34, 38, 46, 48, 62, 75.
- Federal system, a compromise, 51; distribution of powers and duties in, 45; its relation to parties in America, 47.
- Fillmore, Millard, 130, 225, 226, 301.
- Fire-eaters, Southern, 90, 158, 256.
- Free-soil party, 80, 101, 115, 150, 174; in Kansas, 207.
- Frémont, John C., 218, 223.
- French Revolution, 31, 48, 106, 107.
- Fugitive Slave Law, drawn to please secessionists, 136; violently opposed, 155-157; could not be enforced, 157; in Kansas, 206; made slave property less secure, 260; unconstitutional, 303.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 88, 106, 108, 109, 279.
- Geary, Governor, third territorial governor of Kansas, 227.
- George I., 18.
- George III., 4, 19, 20.
- Germany, 9, 14.
- Gladstone, W. E., author of Irish Home Rule Bill, 293.
- "Gold Democrats," 171.
- Greeks, their view of the State, 51.
- Greeley, Horace, 250, 309.
- Gueiphs and Ghibellines, 12, 13.
- Hanover, House of, 4.
- Harper's Ferry, John Brown raid at. See John Brown.
- Hartford Convention, 1815, 129.
- Haziel, 42.
- Hebrew prophets, 9, 10.
- Helper's *Impending Crisis*, 213, 255, 294.
- Higginson, T. W., 279.
- "Higher Law," the, 115; Seward's doctrine of, repudiated by Lincoln, 279.
- Indianapolis Convention, 1866, 49.
- Internal improvements, 148.
- "Irrepressible Conflict," the, 268.
- Jackson, Andrew, Democratic leader, 34, 52; opposed United States Bank, 53; introduced spoils system, 59, 60, 65; a "New York Politician," 70; his treatment of nullifiers, 143.

- Jacobin clubs, 31.  
 James II., 3, 4.  
 Jefferson, Thomas, organized Republican party, 32; both a Democrat and a Republican, 33; a radical, 49; organized rural voters, 52; opposed to slavery, 96; opposed centralization, 102, 103; divided against himself, 197-200.
- Kansas, open to slavery, 140; battleground for slavery, 193; war in, 204-218; improved conditions in, 227.
- Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 185, 191, 203, 232, 243.
- Know-nothing party, 78, 79, 80, 177, 179, 180, 203, 225.
- Laissez faire*, 49, 50.  
 Lane, "Jim," 227.  
 Lawrence, Kansas, 215.  
 Leecompton constitution, 238, 241, 242, 243.  
 Lee, Robert E., 304.  
 Liberal and Conservative parties, 5, 20.  
*Liberator*, the, 88, 106, 109, 115.  
 Liberty party, 97, 100, 115, 116, 172-174.
- Lincoln, Abraham, his belief in an approaching crisis, 236; as a typical Democrat, 247-257; opposes Greeley's policy as to secession, 250; attitude of, on slavery question, 249-252; "house divided against itself" speech of, 263; his debate with Douglas, 264-268; candidate for the presidency, 296; his policy towards seceding states, 313, 314.
- Lines, Charles B., 210.  
 Lords, House of, 18.  
 "Lost Cause," 75.  
 Louisiana Purchase, 96, 185, 198.  
 Lovejoy, Elijah, 110.  
 Luther, Martin, 16.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, 86.  
 Madison, James, 35, 58, 65, 233.  
*Magna Carta*, 2, 15.  
 Maine Liquor Law, 79.  
 Mexican War, 93, 95, 98, 117, 145.  
 Mexico abolishes slavery, 94, 153.  
 Mill, John Stuart, 78.  
 Missourians in Kansas, 194, 205, 214, 215.  
 Missouri Compromise, 93, 97, 99, 112, 128, 139, 140; repealed, 190; theory that it was always unconstitutional, 192.  
 Mohammedans, attitude of, toward Christians, 195.  
 Morgan, William, 176.
- National Intelligencer*, 203.  
 National Nominating Convention, suggested, 27; first held by Antimasons, 30, 37; origin of, 30 *seq.*; the first Whig, 34; first Democratic, 37, 49; Republican, 38.  
 National Republican party, called Federalists, 33; first national convention of, 30; supports protection, 93; takes name Whig, 94; favors United States Bank, 144.  
 Nebraska Bill, introduced, 185; becomes Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 191.  
 New England Emigrant Aid Society, 193.  
 New Mexico, 122, 124, 128, 138, 184, 185, 188; slavery legalized in, 245, 259.  
 Newspaper in political development, 77.  
*New York Independent*, the, 181, 207.  
*New York Observer*, the, 88.  
 Nihilists, 31.  
 Norman Conquest, 15.  
 Nullifiers, 98, 268, 281.
- Omnibus Bill, 128, 154.  
 Orangemen, 178.

- Ordinance of 1787, 96, 232.  
*Origin of Species*, Darwin's, 84.
- Parliament, the English, 3, 4, 64.
- Party issues, 40 *seq.*; central *vs.* local government, 46; class differences, 52; the tariff, 53; North *vs.* South, 54; slavery in territories, 191; of the war, 269.
- Party machinery, modern, 37 *seq.*, 55, 69, 80, 81, 82, 167, 181.
- Party system, simplest form of, 15, 21; between Mexican and Civil wars, 74; unifying power of, 75, 77; importance of the American, 162-182.
- Patriot societies, 31, 32, 75.
- Pennington of New Jersey made speaker, 283.
- "Petitioners and Abhorers," 4.
- Pharisees and Sadducees, 11.
- Pierce, Franklin, 184, 209.
- Political parties, in democratic countries only, 1; relation to political factions, 6-9, 13, to reform associations, 9-11, to class interests, 11; defined, 13; form of, in different states, 13; group system of, 13, 14, 21, 167; in England, 15-21; in Switzerland, 21; organized in America, 23, 24; derived from local clubs, 31; American system of, completed 1852, issues of, 40-55; conservative *vs.* radical, 42; central *vs.* local government in, 46, 47; class differences in, 52; protective tariff in, 53; in North and South, 54; relation of, to spoils system in England, 59, 63, 64; in America, 61-73; a bond of union, 63; destroyed by spoils system, 69; from rural standpoint, 66-72; first affected by slavery, 5, 7; appear firmly established, 1849, 119; two great, 1850, 133; promote forgiveness of sins, 150; a substitute for civil war, 165.
- "Poor white trash," 114.
- Popular initiative, 22.
- Popular Science Monthly*, 50.
- Popular sovereignty, 186, 191.
- Populists, 171.
- Pottawatomie, massacre of, 218, 219.
- Prohibition, 79, 170, 171.
- Prophets, 41, 42.
- Proportional representation, 22.
- Protective tariff, 53, 54, 56, 79, 148.
- Puritan Revolution, 17.
- Railways, effects of, on politics, 78.
- Reeder, Andrew H., first governor of Kansas Territory, 204-207.
- Referendum, 22.
- Reform Act of 1832, 2, 4, 5, 13.
- Reformation, 16.
- Republican (Democratic) party, made caucus nominations, 1800, 27; nominated Monroe, 1816, 28; organized by Jefferson, 32 *seq.*; became the Democratic party, 34; sympathized with French Revolution, 48; position of, on the tariff, 93.
- Republican party (modern), first convention of, 1856, 38; opposed interference with slavery in the states, 150, 297, 311; abnormal conditions in, during first twenty years, 168; organized as sectional party, 196; unites the South, 202; nominates Frémont, 218; platform of, in 1856, 221, 222; first campaign of, 223; vote cast by, in 1860, 310.
- Revolution, the Puritan, 17.
- Rhett, Robert B., 303.
- Rhodes, J. F., the historian, 203, 205, 210, 211 notes.
- Roses, wars of the, 2, 3, 15, 16.
- Russia, 1, 31.

- Science, the foundation of new morality, 83; *vs.* theology, 84, 85; as affecting politics, 86; *vs.* despotic politics, 87.
- Scott, Winfield, 100.
- Secession, beginning of, 287, 302; alleged right of, 308.
- Secessionists, cause of, strengthened, 201, 277, 281; support Breckenridge, 298 *seq.*; desire Lincoln's election, 302.
- Sedition law, 103.
- Seward, William H., leads anti-slavery Whigs, 120; influences President Taylor, 123; opposes compromise, 129, 186; "irrepressible conflict" speech of, 268; agrees to compromise, 1860, 311.
- Shaftesbury, Earl of, 17.
- Shannon, territorial governor of Kansas, 214, 227.
- Sharpe's rifles, 208, 210.
- Slavery, relation of, to Texas, 94, 95; affected by invention of cotton gin, 105; excluded from California, 124; a dying institution, 149; in the territories, 184, 185, 244, 245; a sectional institution, 200; weakness of, 212, 213; a question already settled in 1850, 290; belief in, as defined in the South, 294.
- Smith, Franklin, 50.
- Smith, Gerrit, 155, 279.
- Socialists, 9, 51.
- Spencer, Herbert, *First Principles* of, 84.
- Spoils system, in England, 58, 59, 60, 66; introduced in America, 59; in rural districts, 62; in cities, 66 *seq.*; tends to destroy parties, 69; in federal politics, 72; since Civil War, 80, 81.
- "Squatter sovereignty," 232.
- Stanton, F. P., 237.
- Stephens, Alexander H., opposes secession, 304.
- Stuarts, in England, 3, 4, 16, 18.
- Sumner, Charles, assaulted, 216.
- Sunderland, 18, 21.
- Supreme Court, South controlled, 113, 116; enters party politics in the Dred Scott case, 229, 232.
- Taney, Chief Justice, 239.
- Taylor, Gen. Zachary, Whig candidate, 100; President, 119; not a party man, 121; territorial policy of, 122; defies Southern Whigs, 127, 143, 144; a Southern man with Northern principles, 186.
- Telegraph, effect of, on politics, 77, 78, 79.
- Texas, 94, 95, 112, 120, 124, 127, 138, 142, 153.
- Thayer, Eli, organizes New England Emigrant Aid Society, 193.
- Third parties, corrupting tendencies of, 170, 171, 175, 180.
- Thucydides, 270.
- Toombs, Robert, 216, 217, 260.
- Topeka Constitution, 208, 237.
- Tories. See Whigs and Tories.
- "Tory democracy," 6.
- Tribune, the New York*, 309.
- Turner, Nat, 106.
- Tyler, John, 98.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 213.
- Utah, 140, 184, 185, 188.
- Van Buren, Martin, Democratic leader, 34; leader of Albany Regency, 70; leader of New York Barnburners, 100; Free-soil candidate, 101, 174.
- Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, 47; quoted in Democratic platform, 1856, 199.
- Von Holst, on packing of Supreme Court, 230.
- Walker, Robert J., fourth territorial governor of Kansas, 236.
- Wars of the Roses, 15.

- Washington, 24, 58.
- Webster, Daniel, 129, 135, 136; defends Fugitive Slave Law, 156; inspires Union sentiment, 315.
- Whig party, takes place of National Republicans in 1834, 33; conservative, 44; in centres of population, 62; before the Revolution, not a reorganized federal party, 33, 75; relation of, to the Civil War, 76, 150, 187; causes of decline of, 80; opposes annexation of Texas, 94, 95; elects Taylor, 101, 119; ruined by compromise of 1850, 135; possible issues for, in 1850, 145-147; could have saved the Union without war, 146; name of, unfortunate, 151; lack of political wisdom in, 159; defeat of, 161.
- Whig Review*, 152.
- Whigs and Tories in England, 4, 5, 16, 18, 20, 57, 58.
- White slaves, 108.
- William III., 18.
- Wilmot, David A., 95, 96, 97.
- Wilmot Proviso, 95, 99, 101, 119, 125, 126, 138, 184, 221, 262, 293.
- Wycliff, John, 16.



# The Citizen's Library of Economics Politics, and Sociology

UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF

**RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D.**

*Director of the School of Economics, and Political Science and History  
Professor of Political Economy at the University of Wisconsin*

12mo. Half Leather. \$1.25, net, each

## **MONOPOLIES AND TRUSTS**

By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D.

"It is admirable. It is the soundest contribution on the subject that has appeared."—Professor JOHN R. COMMONS.

"By all odds the best written of Professor Ely's works."

—Professor SIMON N. PATTEN, University of Pennsylvania.

## **THE ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION**

By JOHN A. HOBSON, author of "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," etc.

## **WORLD POLITICS**

By PAUL S. REINSCH, Ph.D., LL.B., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

## **ECONOMIC CRISES**

By EDWARD D. JONES, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics and Statistics, University of Wisconsin.

## **GOVERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND**

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University.

## **HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES**

By JESSE MACY, LL.D., Professor of Political Science in Iowa College.

---

*IN PREPARATION FOR EARLY ISSUE ARE*

## **ESSAYS IN THE MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES**

By CHARLES J. BULLOCK, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Economy, Williams College.

## **MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING AND SANITATION**

By Mr. M. N. BAKER, of the *Engineering News* of New York.

---

**THE MACMILLAN COMPANY**

66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

## DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE

With Studies of their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations, by FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS. Cloth. 8vo. \$2.50

"The work as a whole is the most profound and closely reasoned defence of territorial expansion that has yet appeared. . . . The volume is one of rare thoughtfulness and insight. It is a calm, penetrating study of the trend of civilization and of our part in it, as seen in the light of history and of evolutionary philosophy."—*The Chicago Tribune*.

"The question which most interests both Professor Giddings and his readers is the application of his facts, his sociology, and his prophecy, to the future of the American Empire. . . . The reader will rise from it with a broader charity and with a more intelligent hope for the welfare of his country."  
—*The Independent*.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

An Analysis of Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization, by FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, M.A. (Columbia University Press.) 8vo. Cloth. \$3.00, net

"It is a treatise which will confirm the highest expectations of those who have expected much from this alert observer and virile thinker. Beyond a reasonable doubt, the volume is the ablest and most thoroughly satisfactory treatise on the subject in the English language."—*Literary World*.

"The distinctive merit of the work is that it is neither economics nor history. . . . He has found a new field and devoted his energies to its exploitation. . . . The chapters on Social Population and on Social Constitution are among the best in the book. It is here that the method of Professor Giddings shows itself to the best advantage. The problems of anthropology and ethnology are also fully and ably handled. Of the other parts I like best of all the discussion of tradition and as social choices; on these topics he shows the greatest originality. I have not the space to take up these or other doctrines in detail, nor would such work be of much value. A useful book must be read to be understood."—Professor SIMON N. PATTEN, in *Science*.

## THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY

A Text-Book for Colleges and Schools, by FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, M.A., Professor of Sociology in Columbia University. 8vo. Cloth. \$1.10 net

"It is thoroughly intelligent, independent, and suggestive, and manifests an unaffected enthusiasm for social progress, and on the whole a just and sober apprehension of the conditions and essential features of such progress."  
Professor H. SIDGWICK in *The Economic Journal*.

"Of its extreme interest, its suggestiveness, its helpfulness to a reader to whom social questions are important, but who has not time or inclination for special study, we can bear sincere and grateful testimony."—*New York Times*.

"Professor Giddings impresses the reader equally by his independence of judgment and by his thorough mastery of every subject that comes into his view."—*The Churchman*.

---

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK