minded Southerners believed conservatism, moderation and diplomacy, all of which Buchanan was credited with, would be of more value to their section in the long run than aggressiveness and partiality. Buchanan’s long and distinguished record had in it nothing objectionable to the South. And there were those 27 Pennsylvania electoral votes. There were heated objections all over the West, North and East to the courses pursued by Pierce and Douglas, while Buchanan in London had won general public favor here.

The first ballot was Buchanan 135, Pierce 122, Douglas 33; the Southern vote went for Buchanan 29, for Pierce 72, for Douglas 14, while the North gave Buchanan 168, Douglas 164. Succeeding ballots saw Pierce’s strength dwindling until his name was withdrawn. On the tenth ballot Buchanan reached a majority; on the sixteenth the vote stood Buchanan 168, Douglas 121, Cass 6. A statement from Douglas that Buchanan having received a majority ought to be nominated being read to the convention, on the next ballot Buchanan was unanimously nominated. John C. Breckenridge on the second ballot was unanimously chosen for the second place.

Political wisdom had guided the convention. Buchanan was well known all over the country and no American of any party dreaded the election of such a venerable high-type gentleman and statesman of the old school, with an honorable and useful, if not brilliant, record. Buchanan had much the same sort of strength Fillmore, already nominated by the American Party, had and was without Fillmore’s weakness; that is he had no faction of his old party hating him, no accusations of political disloyalty against him, no party enemies in his own state. The nomination immediately became popular with all Democrats of every section. Breckenridge brought strength to the ticket especially in Kentucky. The Democrats had nominated men from Democratic, but doubtful states, one Northern, one Southern.

The American Party had held its convention at Philadelphia on Washington’s birthday, twenty-seven states being represented by 227 delegates; Maine, South Carolina, Vermont and Georgia were unrepresented, though Georgia gave the nominee 43,000 votes in November. A motion to proceed to nominations having been carried 151 to 51, all the New England and Ohio delegates and some from Pennsylvania, Illinois and Iowa voted, and the convention of their own nominated John C. Frémont and ex-Governor Johnston of Pennsylvania.
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The main convention nominated Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee, a North and South, a Whig-Democratic ticket with a Jacksonian flavor.

A gathering approximating in significance the first meeting of the Continental Congress was the organizing convention held at Pittsburgh, Pa., February 22, 1856, at which the modern Republican Party was nationally launched. The convention was the work of, and largely managed by four newspaper men, Francis P. Blair of the old Globe, Andrew Jackson's friend and Kitchen Cabinet advisor, Henry J. Raymond of the New York Times, Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune and Thurlow Weed of the Albany Journal. The Jeffersonian and Jacksonian inspiration of this party should be noticed.

The meeting had been called by the Republican state committees of the nine states having such committees and twenty-three states were represented. Blair was elected president and Raymond wrote the address, adopted unanimously, which voiced absolute opposition to slavery in the territories and the immediate admission of Kansas as a free state. It is called a convention to meet on Bunker Hill day.

The Republican National Convention met pursuant to this call at Pittsburgh on June 17. All the free states were represented and Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky of the slave states. Seward, believed best to represent the aims and principles of the new party, was passed over on account of his unpopularity with the bolting Know-Nothings and other elements of the new party, while Chase, another logical candidate, was barred because the odor of Democracy still clung to his garments. Justice McLean was the only one of the older statesmen receiving serious attention. On an informal ballot he received 196 votes against 359 for Frémont and the latter was then unanimously nominated.

On the first ballot for Vice-President, William L. Dayton of New Jersey received 259 votes, Abraham Lincoln, 110, N. P. Banks, 4; and twelve other candidates were voted for. On second ballot Dayton was unanimously chosen. Frémont was a Free Soil Democrat, Dayton an old line Whig. Frémont was a member of the Catholic Church. The ticket represented the extreme West and the central East.

The Whig convention at Baltimore, with little ado, nominated Fillmore and Donelson. The Abolitionists nominated Gerrit Smith and Frederick Douglass.

The Cincinnati platform, as the Democratic declaration of principles of 1856 came to be called, was the reaffirmation of the platform of 1852, except that the Mexican planks were omitted. The new matter in the platform was a declaration for free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the right of control of the Atlantic-Pacific highway (the Isthmian route), our ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico with an expression of sympathy for the people of Central America, and popular sovereignty. The other and more vital new matter in the Democratic platform is given further on in parallel columns with opposing planks of other parties.

It should be noted that free trade was advocated as a world wide program, not merely a domestic policy of this country.

The American Party's platform may be summarized as (1) Appeal to Supreme Being; (2) Perpetuation of the Union; (3 and 4) America for Americans; (5) Anti-Catholic (given in full later); (16) States Rights and non-intervention by any state in the affairs of other states; (7) People of territories to regulate their own domestic affairs; (8) Only citizens to vote or hold office; (9) Stricter naturalization laws; (10) No union of church and state; (11) Maintenance and enforcement of all laws; (12) Condemnation of Pierce's administration, especially the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The Republican platform began with an invitation to unite all opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery, and all in favor of admission of Kansas as a free state and the restoration of the government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. It was a Jeffersonian document. Its second plank urged the maintenance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the third asserted the self-evident truths of that declaration, and that those truths denied any power anywhere to give local existence to slavery in the territories (see this more exactly set out further on). It indicted the administration for its actions in the Kansas matter, demanded admission of Kansas as a free state, denounced the Ostend Manifesto, declared for immediate aid to the railroad to the Pacific, and for river and harbor improvements.

The Whigs reaffirmed, without setting them out, the old Whig principles, proclaimed reverence for the Constitution and the Union, deplored the disorderly condition of national affairs, geographical parties and sectional dissensions, and charged the Democratic and Republican parties with having sectional and threatening the continuance of the Union. It asserted that all subordinate questions were submerged in the peril to the Union. The lines of cleavage follow:
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Democratic Platform

Since an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies by whatever name they may be called—Resolved, that the foundation of the Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and preeminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom of matters of religious concern; and, no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which base its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in union with the spirit of tolerance and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguished the American system of government.

American Platform

Americans must rule America; and to this end native born citizens should be selected for all state, federal and municipal offices of government employment, in preference to all others. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who renounces any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, or, who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

Republican Platform

The American Democracy recognizes and adopts the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories or in the District of Columbia.

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Whigs in the South in numbers affiliated with the Democrats, in other sections many going to the Republicans, while the moderate, middle-of-the-road Whigs everywhere went with the American Party. The Know-Nothings, purged of their secret-society features and of their foibles, and reduced, for one year became a great national party having a ticket receiving votes in every state, while the Republican ticket received no votes in eight states. In eleven states Fillmore received in 1856 more votes than Scott received in 1862, though falling short of Scott's total vote by half a million; but there were only two great parties contending in 1856, while three were in the field in 1862. The campaign in the South where the contest lay solely between Buchanan's letter, asserting that the Democratic Party was the Jackson campaign of 1828 and the Harrison race of 1840. Buchanan's letter asserting that the Democratic Party was the national party, its mission to overthrow sectional parties while the Republican Party would outlaw fifteen states of the Union, was a powerful campaign document. Fillmore also charged the Republicans with sectionalism. To many the idea came that the success of a party having existence in only part of the country would mean disunion. Rufus Choate wrote the Maine Whigs—The first duty of Maine Whigs is to unite with some organization to defeat the new sectional party calling itself Republican. The triumph of such a party puts the Union in danger. Practically the contest in my judgment is between Mr. Buchanan and Colonel Fremont. I shall vote for Mr. Buchanan. Yet the Times, Tribune, Herald, and Post, of New York and many other such papers and men like their editors were actively supporting Fremont. The women, sympathizing with the slave and with Bleeding Kansas, used their influence for the "Party of freedom." Tons of literature were sent out by the Republicans, while the Democrats were notably lax in this particular. On Pennsylvania's vote the result hung and the contest there was, in fact, determined in a minor state election, although the candidates for state offices received little real attention. Excessive expenditure of money was charged against both Democrats and Republicans, and $500,000 was said to have been spent by each in Pennsylvania; the denial went rather to the lawful use of the funds expended than to the amount. The Buchanan ticket won by a majority of 3,000 of a total of 423,000, and a month later Buchanan carried the state by a majority of 1,025, a plurality of over 80,000, of a total vote of 460,000. The popular vote in the nation was Buchanan, 1,838,160; Fre-
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CHAPTER XIX

DEMOCRACY OR BARON DEVICES