

For the first time in the history of constitutional government, we have at this time a political organization without a central idea - a party without a distinctive <sup>principle</sup> ~~idea~~ and an opposition endorsing every leading feature of the administration. For sixteen years the Republican party has borne the banner of human liberty from our shores to our quest - from the plains of Kansas to the fields of Virginia from the floor of Congress to the seat of war. Rebellion fell before its might and Slavery ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> vanquished before its brightness. The chattel became a contraband, the contraband became a soldier. Helping to preserve our <sup>nation</sup> ~~country~~ the slave became a freeman and to secure in peace what our arms had achieved in war - the ~~slave~~ <sup>freeman</sup> was made a citizen - Step by step the Republican party has marched ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> triumphantly along the glorious pathway to the temple of liberty - Ever she has fixed her eye upon some future good and struggled for

ward to its achievements—  
sometimes with hasty strides, and  
again with faltering foot-  
steps—

During all this time she  
has met opposition—The Rebels  
of the South forming at her throat  
while the Copperheads of the North  
fastened on her flank. When both  
had failed, Andrew Johnson sought  
to bind her hand and foot by  
domestic treachery and deliver  
her up to <sup>be</sup>spoiled— and last but  
not least the Kuklux sought to ac-  
cheive by the cord and the dagger  
what they had failed to secure  
by the sword—

But all of these  
enemies have fought the Re-  
publican party under their  
own colors— Only Johnson  
did try to disguise his craft  
for a time but as soon as  
he found he was discover-  
ed he ran up the black flag  
and avowed his piratical ad-  
ture— The Democratic party  
resisted the war— resisted a war

cipation - insisted upon payment  
 for slaves - opposed the enfran-  
 chisement of the Freedmen -  
 resisted the reconstruction of  
 the rebellious states, grew frui-  
 tie at the idea of endowing the  
 negro with equal civil rights  
 and went into convulsions at  
 the bare thought of protecting  
 peaceful American in their  
 own homes from the atrocities  
 of the KKK - All opposition  
 to the Republican party hitherto  
 has been based on hostile polit-  
 ical principles - They have us-  
 piled the groundwork and  
 theory of the party - They have  
 prated about the constitu-  
 tion - the rights of states - the  
 rights of property - the liberty  
 of the person - as by some  
 form of political belief, some  
 guise of principle have rallied  
 their followers to battle with the  
 bright eyed - strong - limbed  
 young warriors whose might  
 prevailed because its source  
 and origin was omnipotent

right!

But now there comes another era - a knot of men meet in Commemorate. They run over the record of the Republican triumphs and seek to clothe themselves in its glory - They wrap a coiled shroud of its truth about them and imagine that its mantle of glory has fallen upon their shoulders - And they congratulate the country upon all that the Republican party has done - They give thanks that the war prevailed and that Rebellion fell - that Emancipation became a fact and Slavery vanished - that enfranchisement had set the seal of liberty on one third of the Union and civil rights denied oppression of its most dangerous stronghold - They remember the soldier and the sailor who had been struck on under the hand of the Republican party - They felicitate themselves upon all that the

Republican party or its administrative have done except the suppression of the Ku Klux and this they dodge - They have only time for a back handed lick at military government, and are entirely too much absorbed in trying to make their lean shanks fill out Uncle Sam's Republican breeches - <sup>to look at</sup> at its cause -

And when they have rehearsed the glorious record - from Sumner rescued to the South reclaimed - when they have dwelt with calculation on its every principle and every act, they tell us that they come to bury ~~Reconstruction~~ not to praise him. They tell us that this glorious party is dead - Has accomplished its purpose and expired by limitation - That its office and ministry are ended - They are mourning eulogists beside its open grave - They tell us that from its & intense frame has arisen Phoenix-like - the wonder script - Liberal Republicanism - It was a grand stroke of an -

paralleled impudence — The Republican party died not from failure, but killed by success — died not of disease but of health — not buried in sin but embalmed in righteousness, not stricken by error but the victim of truth — not because of sins of omission or commission but simply because there is no more good for it to do — Alexander wept that there were no more worlds for him to conquer but the Republican party died because there was no more evil to resist and no more good to perform. On that day dawned the political millennium — and the Liberal Republican Party was born — a strange mongrel neither flesh nor fowl.

It reminds me of an anecdote which I have heard of a good old minister. He had been holding a series of very successful revival meetings in his church, and at length there arose a cry that like the fish —

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women in the gospel, who when they had made the miraculous draught of fishes - called on their brethren in the other ships to come and help them - ~~They~~ ~~and~~ that they should have union meetings - The old man said he knew but little of such things, but he remembered at one time that his father had brought home from one of his appointments a strange fowl and he with the other children had taken his saddle bag to the barn yard and looked the new acquisition with the other poultry - It did not seem to be of the same size as any of them - but resembled, if his memory served him, a sort of cross between a quince hen and a hedge-hog - It ran toward the chickens with its peculiar note and they fled - toward the turkeys and they flew away toward the ducks and geese and they devoured it - and at length it took up its quarters

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in the hog-pen because the  
pigs alone would affiliate  
with it - and now send  
the old man I have almost  
forgotten its note, but it seems  
to me to have been something like  
"merrin"! "merrin!" and our  
wordless fowl - goes squeak-  
ing its meaningless note - "Lib-  
eral!" "Liberal!" over to the Demo-  
cratic piggy - the ~~Democratic~~  
Kubler swine - pen at Butler's  
door! - And there it is received  
by a - the average Democ-  
rat - a man who would fight the  
Gankus till Hell froze over  
and then fight them on the ice  
- who declared that he would  
kill them until Hell was so  
full that their feet stuck out  
of the windows - a man who  
after procuring himself to be  
elected Governor of North Car-  
olina as a peace or Union man  
in 1868 - by the fair trial records  
of that State - turned Congress  
man and woman torturer -  
who showed the nature of that



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Now whose contour he bears  
in the massacres which marked  
ed his administration - Bruce  
who declared in April 1868  
that when his party should  
control the State - it would  
be less tolerable for a Repub-  
lican there, than for Colonel  
and Governor in the day  
of Judgment - Bruce who in  
May of the present year de-  
clared that the Confederates  
~~do~~ believed their cause  
to be righteous just and holy  
and added - "and it was!"  
- Bruce was the appropriate  
usher who welcomed to the  
ambroses of the Ku Klux - Tam-  
many demagogues - the in-  
~~scrutable~~ ~~unreadable~~ ~~unreadable~~ which  
was hatched in the Cincinnati  
to ~~work~~ - and right roy-  
ally did they receive it - The Rebel  
and the Copperhead - the Ku Klux and  
Tammany - the midnight murder  
dover - and the robber by day -  
They clasped hands with the Champion  
of Civil Rights and the Apostle of

political parity—

And they too congratulated the Country and felicitated themselves upon all that the Republican party had done in despite of their opposition—

They rejoiced that the war had ended and Secession and Rebellion were no more— that emancipation had removed the stain of Slavery from our creche and that enfranchisement gave to the freed man a measure of self defence—

The XIII, XIV + XV. amendments were swallowed at a gulp— they batted the nigger— heels— hair and soul with a relish— They too remembered with thanks the soldiers and sailors who under God had been the instrument of defeating their perfidious schemes.

Thus the Kuklux lays aside his bloody mask + robe and puts on the garb of Republican purity— Thus Sumner draws over blotted robes, the spotless robe of the Reformer—

Are they any less Kuklux? Are they any less Summery? No! This mocking of Liberal Republicanism is simply a substitute for the paint and feathers which Summery ~~shuff~~ such men were wont to wear - An improvement on the mask and gown of the Kuklux - St. Paul after three days felt the scales drop from his eyes and looked forth a new man - But this sudden conversion was so marvellous that it chronicled as a miracle - As a general thing the leopard don't change his spots and I had rather a leopard with a sheepskin overcoat - than a Kuklux disguised as a Liberal Republican and shouting - Reform Reform! His Reformation is like the resurrection of the wicked - Their last state is worse than the first -

And lest some one should think that this sudden conversion was genuine - almost at once there comes a proclamation from the

great model of the party — Senator  
Thurman saying that by the adop-  
tion of Horner Greeley and the Lin-  
coln's platform — has neither  
abandoned its principles  
nor lost its organization — That's  
what he says and believe him. I  
have no more idea that the Demo-  
cratic party is dead than I have  
that Ku Kluxism is defunct.

But they too shout that the  
issues of the war are dead —  
and so they are thank God for  
that — It is settled — despite  
Horner Greeley's declaration the  
9th of Nov. 1860 — that no six or  
more states — cotton or other-  
wise, have the right to go out of  
our union whenever they de-  
sire — That no human being  
shall be another's chattel while  
our glorious banner waves  
above him — It is settled that  
the colored man shall have e-  
qual right with the white, to testify  
in our courts, sue and be sued  
vote and hold office — equal  
civil and political rights —

That too is settled. The Democrats of the South accept it as they do the ~~entire~~ surrender at Appomattox — not willingly — not heartily — but as the inevitable. — They have never yet admitted that they were conquered in battle — They were merely overpowered — So too, in all the issues of Reconstruction — outvoted — time and again — they never yielded — When they found that they could not prevail at the polls by fair means, they resorted to the coil and dagger — the lusk and the knife — the mask and the gown of the Ku-Klux —

Only Grant could have suppressed it — &c

What it was and who constituted it —

Its object was to give the conservative party control of the States — not found to any great extent in any manner they already had control there owing to the unfaithfulness of the Rep. Party —

They secured it — 16000 voters of North Carolina in 1870 were deterred by threats and violence from going to the polls. — The conservative party triumphed through the strength of the organization and through that alone —

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Only the fear of the hero of Appomattox was sufficient to prevent the continuance of these outrages and destroy the firmament and tendency of the party in the state —

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People at the North of all classes have not unpropitiously been accustomed to regard Ku Kluxism and its doers as a sort of myth. I would to God that they were correct. — There was a morbid philosophy in the utterance of our great leader — Let us have fear them was ordinarily observed therein — Power —

superintending peace - is the great specific for the South - and for the North

If we should have ~~at~~ during the next four years an administration in league with these friends and favorable to their purposes - or if a cruel and merciless hand should grasp the reins of power so that these men would be left in quiet and security to work out their nefarious purposes - then look out for a revival of Ku Kluxism and an outbreak of the spirit of slavery and rebellion.

But says the objector - the mildly dissatisfied Republican or the captious Democrat - what can they do what object can they have in view and if they have one how can they achieve it -

That is just it! That is the question of this campaign? What can they do? What can they not do?

No sooner do they obtain control of any southern State— with a favorable administration at Washington than they will pass property and educational qualifications which will shut from the polls nine out of every ten Republican voters south of the Potomac.

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The South will then be a unit. Every State, District and County will be under the control of the same party and spirit that sustained slavery, fought on the war, supported the rebellion, opposed Reconstruction and constituted the Ku Klux. The Democratic Party of the North will be dominated and controlled by their voice and votes and the old slaveocracy will rule us again with a rod



of iron as they have, for the ~~last~~  
half century before the war.

Oh but you say the Demo-  
cratic party of the north  
will never abandon its  
principles! Wont they?  
Look at Baltimore!

Doubt they put on the sheep's  
skin as well as the blood-  
ish Kuklux wolf among  
them? That portion of the party  
who would not yield every-  
thing for power fell out of the  
party in '60 & '61—

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And when these Southern States  
shall come up in solid  
phalanx, with unbroken  
ranks and shall ask as  
the price of their party alle-  
giance payment for slaves  
freed by the result of the  
war what will be their an-  
swer they will receive—

"Be it unto thee even better  
than thou hast desired"  
And when they shall demand

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pensions for Southern soldiers  
their prayers will not be un-  
heeded — Then will you cit-  
izens of Rochester realize the  
words of Hon. John Kern. Pres-  
of our State Conservative  
Convention — A month or two  
ago — Treason is honorable —

You will realize too that  
there is not so vast a differ-  
ence between the value of  
National and Confederate  
bonds as the market reports  
of today would indicate

But more than all this the  
blest

Imperfect notes  
of a speech de-  
livered in Cooper-  
Union Hall N.Y.

given May  
18th July 1872  
Wm. Lloyd Garrison

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