BY THE autumn of 1860 Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) had established himself in the American literary pantheon by publishing five volumes of poetry, eight travel books, and quantities of miscellaneous prose and verse in newspapers and magazines. After years of strenuous activity he was hoping to settle down comfortably with his family in his newly built mansion, Cedarcroft, near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. Up until this time Taylor had not taken an active part in politics, but in this period of extreme tensions his anti-slavery sentiments moved him to ardent support of Lincoln.

The campaign in Pennsylvania was long, confused, and, until near the end, doubtful of outcome. The managers of the People's party, short on funds, drew almost entirely upon enthusiastic volunteer speakers for their numerous rallies. Taylor's eminence as a writer and his hundreds of successful appearances as a professional lecturer made him a natural choice to give one or more addresses. His biographers mention only one address, made when he presided "at a great mass meeting of Republicans held upon the historic field of the Brandywine." But Taylor made at least one additional address, the manuscript for which has been preserved

1 Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace Scudder, eds., The Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor (Boston, 1885), I, 369-370. Taylor is quoted as saying "with great earnestness": "It is a national, not a party struggle in which we are engaged; for the question whether our national policy shall or shall not be based upon the recognition of the natural rights of man—upon the rights of labor, the untrammled freedom of thought and speech—upon those principles, in fact, on which the progress of the race depends—concerns not merely a party, but all mankind."

This address was given at Chadd's Ford on September 11, 1860. The Press (Philadelphia) for September 12 reported the rally very fully. More than fifteen thousand persons, including many prominent Republicans, were present. Taylor was elected President of the Meeting. His brief remarks are summed up by the reporter in approximately 350 words (which do not include those quoted above). Twelve speakers other than Taylor addressed the throng in four separate parts of the field where the meeting was held. The exercises were colorful. Infantry marched, troops of horses paraded, Republican clubs went through their paces, and countrymen strolled about with flowers in their hats.
and is printed below. He seems to have written this address very rapidly, as he did nearly all of his prose and much of his verse. Sentences and general structure are clear, entirely adequate for the purpose. Moreover, Taylor epitomizes ably the chief issues of the campaign as they were conceived and advertised by Republican spokesmen in Pennsylvania. Internal evidence indicates that he delivered this address during the last two or three days of October in a hall in Kennett Square.

Taylor must have supported the Republican candidate for ideological reasons. At this time he probably did not know Lincoln; he had never held a political office; and he was not at the time a job-hunter. But his political activities during 1860 bore fruit later, for in 1862 he went to St. Petersburg as secretary to Simon Cameron, boss of the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, who served for a short time as Minister to Russia. When Cameron returned to the United States, Taylor remained in St. Petersburg as chargé d'affaires and had strong hopes of being made Minister, but Cassius M. Clay, a previous incumbent—a man deemed utterly incompetent by Taylor—secured the post.

Taylor also failed to receive a special appointment to the Persian court that he thought was to be offered him in lieu of the Ministry. This failure he attributed, apparently, to the hostility of Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State. When Taylor called on Lincoln to find out why his appointment never reached him, "Lincoln stared at him in amazement. 'Hell,' he said finally, 'I thought you were in Persia.'"

Political preferment came in the end to Taylor; but it came from President Hayes in February, 1878, not for services rendered.

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2 I am indebted to Mr. Frederic Carey and to Mrs. Margaret Renier for permission to copy and publish the address.

3 The first published reference to a meeting with Lincoln occurs in a letter from Taylor to R. H. Stoddard dated April 21, 1861. Excitement ran high; nearly everyone in the Kennett Square neighborhood was arming; and Taylor had just been to Washington, where he "had a private interview with Lincoln, which was very satisfactory." Taylor-Scudder, op. cit., I, 375-376.


5 Richmond Croom Beatty, Bayard Taylor (Norman, Okla., 1936), p. 228.
in the campaign of 1860 but for the magnificent translation of *Faust*
that made Taylor, in his time, the outstanding interpreter of Ger-
man literature to the American people. To the gratification of his
friends and of the country at large, Taylor spent the last months
of his life as Minister to Germany.

Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen!

When you saw fit to appoint me to address you, you certainly
didn't expect me to enter into an argumentative discussion of ques-
tions of Constitutional rights, or of the great issues of the day, or
of the public records, past and present, of the several candidates;
all these matters you have heard ably discussed at the hands of
experienced and professional politicians, you have seen them
paraded and commented upon from day to day, during the prog-
ress of the campaign in the newspapers. What your expectations
were, moreover, from one who, until this presidential contest,
has neither felt nor taken any active part in politics, who is in a
great measure ignorant of the past political history of the country,
who cannot claim any such consideration from you on account of
any especial fluency of speech, I in truth am at a loss to know.
It is, nevertheless, an evidence to me and, I doubt not, to most of
you, of the inherent *right* and *justice* of the principles we cherish,—
principles which do not need the learned sophistry of crafty poli-
ticians to give them a show of plausibility that the credulous and
unsuspecting may be deceived, but which appeal, by their broad
humanity and their professions of equal justice to every man, to
the true instincts of the heart of every thinking man, woman and
child. It does not require any very keen intellectual perception to
distinguish between right and wrong, between justice and injustice,
between the blessings of freedom and the curse of slavery; but it
does require the highest order of talent to make wrong appear
right, or slavery better than freedom. It is therefore of itself no
insignificant fact that you are willing to commit the advocacy of
your principles to inexperienced hands. Who is there among you,
in a word, that would not be willing to stake the cause we have at
heart against that of our opponents with any body of impartial
men, from any quarter of the Globe whatsoever, who have no direct
interest in our affairs, and let them hear on the one side any man
among you who has had education and leisure enough to read the
Declaration of Independence, the Constitution under which we
live, the history of the Republican Party, the Chicago Platform and the Life of Abraham Lincoln and on the other side Stephan [sic] A. Douglass [sic] himself or Wm. L. Yancey, or both of them if you choose, since the two wings have fraternized so beautifully in New York? When you see such a large body of the opposition professing principles so utterly repugnant [sic] to your every sense of right as freemen, endeavoring to continue in power a party whose corruptions have been so thoroughly ventilated and nailed upon it, men, who daily witness the advantages of free-labor over slave-labor, as it affects the material interests of the country, who have themselves no money invested in human souls, who, many of them you know do not intend to do wrong, the question naturally arises how they are so blinded. Let us see. There is in the first place, a large class of persons influenced by motives of personal interest and preferment, that is to say the office-holders and their retainers under the present administration; then there is a large class who owe their fortunes, actual and prospective, to trade with the South, merchants, manufacturers and others; then there is another class of would-be patriots who tremble at the threats of the South and are ready to grant them every concession in order to quiet their clamors; then there is a class of mean, contemptible spirits who are eager to bow down with servile adulation to anyone who would fain be their masters,—doughfaces if you please—fitter to be the sycophants of some despotic monarch, than the citizens of a free republic; then there are many men who belonged to the party in former days, when it would have scorned to foster the shameful abuses of power that have been justly laid to its charge of late, and who still cling to it from old associations;—like a workman of mine who took out his naturalization papers only a few days before the recent State elections* on the 9th of this month and was naturally enough in great glee to cast his first ballot. He came to me at noon of election day saying he wanted to go and vote. Of course I encouraged him in his patriotic resolve and simply remarked to him on going away that I supposed he knew the principles of the man he was going to vote for. "Divil a[haps ?], do I" was his honest reply. "Well then," said I, "you know his name, at all events."

*On Tuesday, October 9, 1860, Pennsylvania elected a governor (Andrew Gregg Curtin), legislators, and a host of county officers, showing a decided swing to the Republican Party.
"Throth an' they tell me its Foster, an' there was a man in the old country an' his name was Foster an' dam' but he was the nicest man ye ever see." "But," said I, "you are not going to vote for this man simply because he has the same name as your friend in Ireland, are you?" "Dam' but I like the name." Yes, forsooth, they are allured by a name. They have been Democrats all their lives, their fathers before them were Democrats and they expect to be Democrats in future hoping, alas, against hope. And then there is a large class of native and foreign-born citizens whose ignorance and animosities are wrought upon; they are told that the Republican Party, when once in power, will liberate all the slaves and that they will overrun Pennsylvania and New-York and Ohio and Indiana and Illinois and that there will no longer be any demand for their labor unless they are willing to toil for a mere pittance; they are told that a Protective Tariff is most detrimental to the interests of the working-classes and straightway they shout for Free-trade; they are told that the Republican Party will extend the period of naturalization from five to twenty-one years:—all this and more are they told by men who scruple not to deceive that their own or their partizan ends may be accomplished.

It is by taking these false issues, by avoiding all open and manly discussion of the questions at issue between the two parties, by prevarication and Janus-facedness that the Democratic Party of the North have relied for success, with what prospects the recent elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana but too plainly show. Let this duplicity be once unmasked as it assuredly will be as it already has been and the Republican Party of '64 may not only rely upon the entire electoral vote of the free North but also upon large accessions from the South. Already the Fire-eaters, having failed in their attempts to bully the North by their clamorous threats of disunion and receiving no sympathy from the strong public sentiment of their own people are manifestly cooling down and now begin to say: "Well, we will do our best to defeat Mr. Lincoln, but if we can't why then we had better not go out of the Union but we will make him toe the mark!" Now we are all very much mistaken, I venture to say, if Abraham Lincoln permits himself to be their tool as did poor Mr. Peirce [sic] or the present incumbent of the presidential chair. But we all know and they know that Mr. Lincoln's Administration will be one of such up-
rightness, of such stern impartiality to the whole country that the Republican Party will be built up at the South and this is what they of all things fear the most.

Even Mr. Yancey himself, the great disunion advocate of the South, does not seem to apprehend any infringement upon the rights of the Southern States when Lincoln is elected, but fears rather the re-establishment of good-will and friendly feeling between the two sections, which is sure to follow such an event, by putting an effectual check to the base calumnies that have been so wantonly disseminated, showing by word and deed that no foundation for them ever existed and that there is honor in the North, and which will as a matter of course, crush his aspirations and those of his colleagues of ever building up a separate [sic] confederacy of slave States.

I have endeavored to show some of the motives which impel our enemies to such a bitter opposition; there are doubtless others but the foregoing are the most favorable that can possibly be imputed to them. I have said nothing of the opposition of a small band of enthusiasts who have just closed their session in this place; although they have seen fit, some of them to assail the Republican Party and its candidate with bitter terms; have dared traduce, slander and belie the characters of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and others, whom we revere as the purest statesmen that ever lived. Their attacks are harmless however if not really better for our cause than their sympathies, for they show the distinctive difference between Republicans and disunion Abolitionists who are too often unwittingly confounded. Since we have considered some of the disastrous results, which our enemies look forward to so dolefully as sure to follow the election of Lincoln; let us now

\[7\] The Press (Philadelphia), for Saturday, October 27, and for Monday, October 29, reports the Convention of Philadelphia Abolitionists held in a hall at Kennett Square on October 25-26. The convention was not merely local in character. Among those present were James Mott, president of the society, Thomas Garrett, Robert Purvis, Thomas Whitson, Mary Grew, J. Miller McKim, Hiram Crozier, and Anna E. Dickinson.

Many speakers attacked the Republican Party, and Miss Dickinson attacked the Constitution; but Purvis, a Negro, provoked the most dissension and opposition. He attacked Washington, Jefferson, and the Constitution. When he protested that The Press reported him inaccurately, auditors wrote in defense of the newspaper. On November 5, twenty-nine citizens of Kennett Square published a letter in The Press stating that Purvis was more irresponsibly vituperative than the reporter had indicated. Among the signers of the letter were three Taylors: Z. P., H. W., and J. H. (Bayard's brother J. Howard?).
revert briefly to some of the beneficial consequences of a triumph of Republican Principles—though they may not immediately follow, yet as sure as the sun rises we shall live to hail the day of their fulfillment. I say this with no attempt at prophecy but as the interpretation of the public sentiment as expressed by the speakers and writers on current political events. We shall have, above all things, a Free-Homestead Bill; for those gallant adherents of this measure gave notice last Spring that they would bring it up again at the next Congress and cling to it until it should become a law; and they will not again be thwarted by the President's veto.

Examine the recorded votes and what do you find?—a solid array of Northern Freemen earnestly pressing its passage and a solid array of southern slaveholders opposing it by every device of parliamentary tactics to the bitter end and why? Because slavery can only prosper where the land is held as a monopoly by the wealthy and this is an event that could never be brought about under the wise provisions of the Homestead Bill, the inevitable results of which would be to build up a community of small farmers, the actual owners and tillers of their pre-empted lands. Because, furthermore, honest free-labor and degrading slave labor are antagonistic and can never co-exist. Let all that vast extent of the public domain lying between the present outposts of civilization and the Rocky Mountains be populated by the millions of honest laborers who will find a home there free of expense and as in the course of time State after State seeks admission into the Union it will be under the constitution of free States whether Popular Sovereignty shall then be recognized or not. In my humble opinion there is no other article of the Republican Faith which takes precedence of this. It not only holds out inducements to the rapid settlement of our waste lands by securing certain privileges and immunities to the actual settlers, which they justly deserve; but it precludes, by the nature of the case, as I have endeavored to show, the further extension of slavery into new territory. The South is well aware of this hence they opposed it almost to a man, as they opposed the admission of Kansas as a free state, as they will oppose in future any measure tending to confine slavery within its present limits. This is in fact their only ground of opposition. They cannot, they dare not take issue in regard to the justness
of this measure as compared with the present disposition of the public lands, which places the settlers at the mercy of merciless speculators.

The piratical traffic in African Slaves will be effectively suppressed by the power of the executive. Great National Improvements will be carried forward, especially the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast. American Industry will receive such encouragement as will again infuse new life into our manufactories, agriculture will prosper and all the great commercial and industrial interests of the country.

All these results we are led to expect from the ascendancy of the Republican Party and what reasonable cause have we to fear this accomplishment? Will Abraham Lincoln repudiate his professions and pledges? He knows the fate of Mr. Buchanan. Will our Representatives in Congress prove false to their trust? Let them beware the overwhelming rebuke of their constituents. Will the people themselves recede from the stand they have taken? No, never.

It is a glorious work that the Republican Party has undertaken, viz.; to bring back the administration of government to its original purity under those staunch and worthy old Republicans who framed and inaugurated it, to purify the corrupt legislation which has, during the past few years, thrown such everlasting disgrace upon our name as a nation. But it is a work that will not be ended with this present struggle, to the results of which we look forward so confidently. It has cost us no slight exertions to gain this triumph, for we may speak of the contest as virtually decided; we have contended against the moneyed aristocracy of the North and the South, against the patronage of a patronizing administration, against the deeply-rooted prejudices of a large extent of our country, against ignorance and cupidity everywhere and have notwithstanding secured a glorious victory beyond the shadow of a doubt. It is no longer a question of numerical strength which shall determine the future of the Republican Party, but one of straightforward consistent policy—Think you not that in the event of the ascendance of the Republican Party to power that there will be many mercenary political hucksters who will flock to our standard;—that there are already men professing our principles who to advance their ambition or personal interests would betray
the trust of their constituents. It is against the deceptions of such wily demagogues that every party should beware. Not many years ago the Democratic Party was powerful, well-organized and had some hold upon the sympathies of the people, and less than half-a-dozen men have literally broken it into atoms. Who will say in a word that if Mr. Buchanan had fulfilled his pledges, and administered the government with justice and impartiality that the 6th of Nov. would have chronicled a Democratic instead of a Republican triumph?

The liberty of a people or the triumph of a great principle is generally dearly effected; but always dearly maintained. We have seen that old hero of Italian liberty [one illegible word] Garibaldi with a handful of followers land at night on the northern coast of a small island in the Mediterranean, forming a portion of the kingdom of Naples, and almost before slumbering Europe awoke the whole Island had raised the standard of revolt to despotic rules and with joyous demonstrations proclaimed Garibaldi Dictator. In a few short weeks intelligence was brought to our ears that the proud throne of Francis II which for some years had rested upon the necks of the people had been overthrown and its occupant banished from his capital never perhaps to return to it again while the people had raised their heads and shouted "long live Garibaldi and united Italy"—The whole civilized world saw these things take place with silent admiration and Garibaldi’s name became known wherever the fire of Liberty burned in the human breast. But this brave old veteran finds that his work is but yet begun even while at the acme of this series of brilliant successes and that these liberties so gloriously achieved are about to slip from his grasp—The hero of many a hard fought battle surrounded by intrigues and political difficulties which he did not anticipate, sick at heart on account of the recriminations and insults heaped upon him by his enemies, writes to Victor Emanuel [sic] "Come I shall place authority in your hands."

The responsibility of maintaining in all this purity and integrity the principles of the Republican Party remains to a great extent

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8 King of the Two Sicilies, who fled Naples on September 6, 1860, one day before Garibaldi entered the city. Pennsylvania newspapers were full of Italian affairs and expressed pleasure at the successes of Garibaldi. The tyranny of Ferdinand II ("Bomba"), father of Francis II ("Bombalino"), was compared in an editorial in The Press (Philadelphia) on July 23, 1860, to that of President Buchanan.
with the young men of the present time and with the young men of the country, of the rural districts. As one of you whose interests by the will of God will be identified with those of this country I appeal to you to meet this responsibility.

They tell us in Europe; "Ah, you began very well; monarchists though we be we look with admiration back upon your noble struggle for independance [sic], we venerate the names of Washington and of those other patriotic and high-minded statesmen who figured in the early history of your country. But what are you tending to now? and then they tauntingly refer to some of the recent outrages upon personal rights, which have been perpetrated under the very eye, yes, almost with the sanction of government and ask "where are your boasted liberties? and prophesy that, before the next decade shall have been fulfilled, this government of ours will become a military despotism convulsed by civil war and rival factions. Let their taunts and reproches [sic] and the prophecies be silenced forever and ever.