

# Lincoln's American System Vs. British-Backed Slavery

by Anton Chaitkin

President Abraham Lincoln was right when he said saving the Union was the first priority, before ending slavery. The power of the entire nation had to be applied, to free the slaves.

In fact, when he made that statement of priorities, replying to *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, Lincoln had already decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. In the end, it was the power of the Union and its armed force that ended chattel slavery.

Lincoln knew that he had to overcome, not a section of his own country, but an imperial enemy, which included the Slave South as an integral part of its global system. That British imperial enemy had long waged *irregular warfare* against the American republic, employing disunionists and opponents of economic nationalism, based in the North as well as the South. Over the 30 years before Lincoln became President, the vehemence and violence of these British irregular forces had increased sharply, pivoting on the issue of slavery. The London-sponsored Southern Confederacy of 1861-65 was the latest phase of the same contest.

## The Union Victory, a Lost Legacy

Lincoln took charge of a country weakened in culture and politics, its economy crippled by free trade. He solved that profound leadership problem, rallying the United States to military victory and to a vast industrial transformation.

The report given here shows what Lincoln faced, in regard to slavery.

It must be admitted that today, this is a sensitive, even a dangerous topic. The historical issue of slavery tends to evoke hysteria, because the public has lost the moral and intellectual qualifications for dealing with it.

Beginning in the late 1960s, after the assassination of Martin Luther King, civil rights advocates came under intimidation and repression. Federal prosecutors systematically purged black public officials. Pro-civil rights figures such as

Sen. Harrison Williams of New Jersey, were jailed in Abscam and other legal terror attacks. Racial minorities and labor unions were pitted against each other.

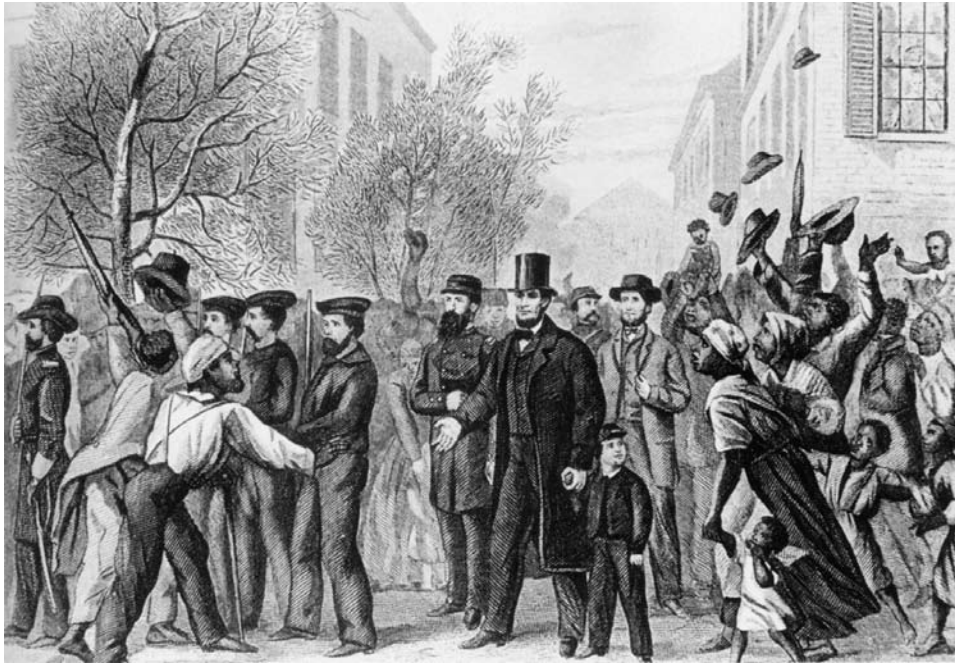
The financiers and government covert services ran “cultural nationalist” rhetoric, via their agents, assailing racial integration and attacking a civil rights movement that had been born in the Lincoln era under Frederick Douglass.

Sponsorship of this continuing irregular warfare may be observed, nearly undisguised, in the record of a 1969 Yale symposium conducted by McGeorge Bundy, Maulana Ron Karenga, and others, entitled “Black Studies in the University.”

Only five years earlier, Bundy had been the National Security Advisor when President John F. Kennedy was murdered. Bundy had immediately reversed Kennedy’s order to begin withdrawing American forces from Vietnam; he also helped organize the cover-up of who was to blame for the President’s assassination, and pushed to escalate the suicidal war.

In 1966, Bundy became president of the Ford Foundation to conduct war on the home front. The Foundation proceeded to fund racial and ethnic conflict, and conflict with labor unions. He told the 1969 Yale symposium: “The Foundation is now making its budget for next year, and we do expect to have several categories which will be relevant to academic studies of the black experience. . . . We have [also] been a principal supporter of the scholarly association concerned with African studies. . . .”

McGeorge Bundy’s role was analogous to that of his Boston Brahmin ancestors, whose British-agent intrigues will be featured in the present report. The fact that Bundy was the great-great grandson of John Lowell the Rebel, is of interest today, because Bundy, like the insidious Caleb Cushing before him, carried out a “commission” from people like Lowell—from the nation’s enemies. Bundy’s historically deci-



National Archives

*President Lincoln and his son Tad are greeted by jubilant former slaves in Richmond on April 4, 1865, after Lee's surrender. Lincoln knew, as many today still do not understand, that in order to free the slaves, the Union had to be saved first.*

sive actions are of more interest to us than the mere blood relationship these High Personages may have had to Bundy himself.

We will observe, indeed, a striking parallel between the two cases: Caleb Cushing as mentor to abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and to slaveowner radicals; Bundy as the war hawk and liberal race-provocateur.

More profoundly, and crucial to the loss of qualifications to understand history, Americans gave up their anti-colonial heritage. The Democratic Party resigned the Franklin Roosevelt point of view. Instead of fighting against colonial oppression and backwardness, the 1960s generation became anti-industrial, acquiescing in imperialism, with or without an “eco-friendly” face. The idea of advocating the development of industrial power and material progress of the world’s poor simply disappeared from most discussion.

And now, let us survey the problem of slavery, looking, if we can, through the eyes of Lincoln and other pro-national leaders; eyes not blinded by manipulated chaos, with vision better than ours today.

### **Venice and the Anglo-Dutch Parasite**

Slavery, though practiced in ancient times, became a mass-scale human catastrophe when it was used as the basis for plantation agriculture in the Western Hemisphere. But the inescapable underlying moral problem has always been of central concern to humanists and their opponents.

In ancient Greece, in Plato’s *Meno* dialogue, Socrates brings out the innate genius in the slave boy, by encouraging

him to solve the problem of doubling the square. He thus proves that slavery is unjust, by showing the creative and thus divine nature of the human species.

Plato’s pro-imperial opponent Aristotle, assuming that man has no soul, declared that nature has destined some to be slaves, and has made others their masters.

Rome, on the model of earlier, eastern empires, made slavery and degradation a widespread practice.

Venice, refuge for the Roman aristocracy after their collapse, built a criminal trading system based on financial extortion, slavery, and narcotics trafficking. The Venetians’ covert government employed universal surveillance and assassinations. But their extended power hinged on dividing populations against

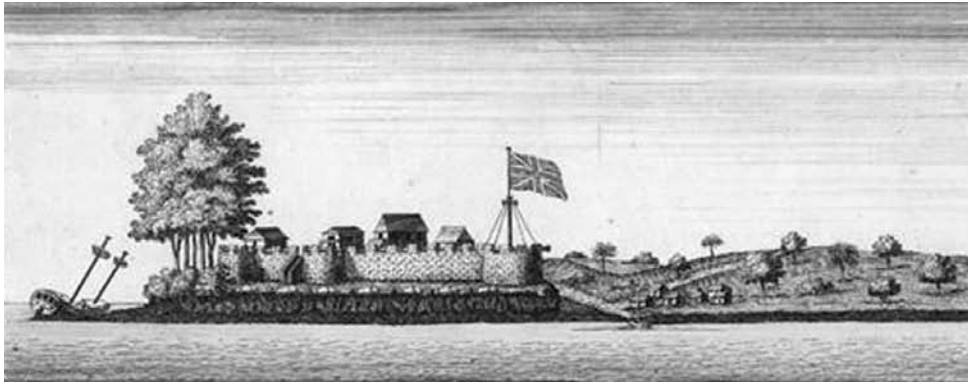
themselves by religion, ethnicity, and other snares for the enraged. Venice, with allies and dupes, ran both sides of Europe’s religious wars among Christians and against the Muslims.

Venice, itself the center of slave-trading over centuries, created the insane religious climate—against the Florentine Renaissance. Venice manipulated Inquisition-driven Spain, and a Portugal similarly stupefied, so that those countries first introduced kidnapped Africans into slavery across the Atlantic.

Venice spread its influence and its divide-and-rule methods into England and Holland. A more powerful imperial system, ultimately combining Dutch with English finance, formed the East India Companies (English and Dutch), and took over the bulk of the slave trade from Spain. Shakespeare warned England with his *Othello*, the noble black African, be-deviled and destroyed by Iago’s Venetian tricks.

Now, here is the great paradox: How could industrial England, with its advanced labor productivity, also be the center and mover of African slavery, and of the global use of cheap and degraded labor? It is simply that the Anglo-Dutch “liberal” system usurped the wealth from invention-powered labor, wealth that was generated under national government patronage, and gave it to a small parasitic elite as the means (ships, guns, armies, mass propaganda) to brutalize and squeeze the poor, and to control and impoverish other nations.

Before the American Revolution, slavery had become legal in all of Britain’s American colonies and throughout the empire.



*The Royal African Company Slave Concentration Fort, Bunce Island, Sierra Leone. The English and Dutch East India Companies took over most of the slave trade from Spain.*



*John Locke: philosopher of slavery.*

The creation of the Carolina colony in the 1660s was the decisive turning point, that made slavery Britain's system in America. London's "Venetian party" financier oligarchs wanted a slave society in Carolina, to counter the potential humanist influence of neighboring Virginia. In 1669, John Locke wrote the co-called Fundamental Constitutions for the new Carolina colony, calling for slavery and feudalism so severe, that even the slaveowners eventually rebelled.

Locke was soon a major stockholder in a new kidnapping enterprise called the Royal African Company. In the 1670s and 1680s, Locke's company poured around 100,000 slaves into Carolina (later divided into North and South Carolina) and into Virginia and other colonies. The same company took its profits in gold grabbed from Africa, coining it into "guineas" and passing it out as new fortunes and unprecedented power for City of London financiers. Meanwhile Locke himself was secretary of Britain's Board of Trade and Plantations, helping guide the British political attack on the colonists' attempts at self-government.

Yet America's enemies have insisted that Locke was the founder of American liberty—Locke, the procurer of the transatlantic trade that killed millions, and depopulated and disfigured Africa. Locke's soulless, senses-fooled empiricism; his "virtue," a matter of custom and opinion, without natural law; Locke's uncreative man, without Reason, who demands absolute property rights and treats men as cattle, is proclaimed by the British party among historians, to be the source and model for the Declaration of Independence from the British Empire!

Against this evil, James Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia in 1732, entirely outlawing slavery from the very beginning. The British imperial interest used the power of the Carolina cancer to crush Oglethorpe by 1750, and to install slavery in Georgia.

## **Will the Revolution End the Empire?**

The American Revolution included leaders in the southern states, as well as in the northern colonies where the Em-

pire's black slavery was still legal, but not an important economic factor.

The revolutionary movement successfully outlawed slavery in the Northwest territory (formed from land ceded by Virginia) and in northern states, but did not have the political power to overturn it in the South.

The Revolution broke out as a shooting war at Lexington in 1775. The British enemy immediately geared up a response, published in 1776 as Adam Smith's three-volume "free trade" tirade, *Wealth of Nations*.

Smith warned the Americans: You may win nominal independence, but do *not* attempt, by government guidance of credit and investment, to change your actual status as a colony. Britain's current prohibition against your setting up manufacturing, *you* should continue to enforce, against yourselves. You may produce some crops, such as tobacco and cotton, and some raw materials, such as unprocessed iron, for export from your small East Coast settlements. *You are a plantation economy.*

America's answer was delivered by President George Washington's Treasury Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, setting forth the principles of what Henry Clay later called, "The American System" By protective tariffs to spur manufactures, government-sponsored transport infrastructure ("internal improvements"), top-down national control of credit for the public welfare—by these nationalist measures we would lift the United States out of colonial status, changing the entire economy, including the plantation-South, into an integrated, modern agro-industrial power.

The founders of the republic compromised with those southern planters who backed the Revolution, on the assumption that a westward-expanding nation, transformed *throughout its territory* by the prosperity of modern industry, would exit from the subordinate transatlantic tie and discard its feudal remnant, chattel slavery.

Such a result, if sustained, would give birth to a new glob-

al power dynamic, and ultimately overturn all imperial rule.

The British had signed the 1783 treaty formally acknowledging American independence, but the London powers never agreed with it. Over the succeeding era, London acted to reverse the Revolution by exerting policy influence against nationalist economics, and by conniving to break up the American Union.

## **Burr, the Essex Junto, and Abolition Which Isn't**

The last arrangement in America's founding compromise with its inherited slavery was worked out on June 20, 1790, at a dinner meeting between Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, and Congressman James Madison. On behalf of the plantation-slave states they represented, Jefferson and Madison (both future Presidents) consented to Hamilton's plan for the national government to assume the debts the states had incurred in the Revolution; this put the national government into a more centralized position of power to deal with bankers and other creditors. In return, Jefferson and Madison got Hamilton's agreement that the projected new permanent national capital city would be located within the plantation-slavery region, on the banks of the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland.

But over the next few years, the government's nationalist economic program came under attack from Jefferson and his friends. This attack was joined and accelerated by London's men, Aaron Burr and Albert Gallatin, who, acting together, became Jefferson's most powerful, hatchet-wielding lieutenants.

Burr had surrounded himself with leading British intelligence strategists and military officers, and, while he was New York State attorney general, he was also the private attorney representing British interests seeking control of the U.S. frontier areas bordering on the then-British colony of Canada. Gallatin, the son of America-hating Swiss aristocrats, had brought to America the British "free trade" doctrines that his family's British-agent, Geneva-ruling Council of 200 had promulgated throughout Europe.

In the political heat, Burr's client, Maria Reynolds, seduced Hamilton, and her husband attempted blackmail to keep it quiet. Hamilton refused the Burr-run blackmail, confessed the affair, and was politically weakened.

As usual, the British were on both sides, promoting destruction.

London's "Boston Brahmins" faction, which came out

publicly to "defend" Hamilton, was a tightly intermarried grouping of import merchants (family names Lowell, Cabot, Higginson, Forbes, Cushing, Perkins), originally slave-traders, whose fortunes were made as Britain's partners trafficking in opium to China.

Judge John Lowell (1743-1802) had publicly led the pro-British, anti-patriot political forces in his native town of Newburyport, in Essex County, Massachusetts, until the Revolution forced him into the shadows in 1774. With the shooting stopped in 1782, Lowell worked with London, and directly with British occupation forces in New York, to centralize under his control the financial affairs and claims of the leading Tories who had fought on the British side and had fled to Britain; to service this relationship, he and his Brahmins founded the Bank of Boston.

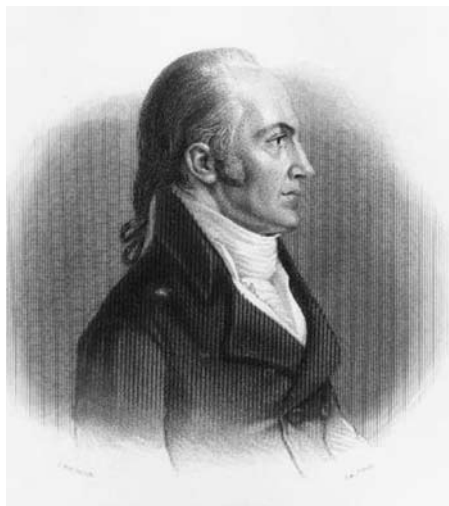
These Brahmins attacked Jefferson, while urging a U.S. alliance with Britain. London's faction in Massachusetts and surrounding Northeast states came to dominate the Federalist Party, of which Hamilton was the nominal leader.

Hamilton in 1800 published his attack on the incumbent Federalist President, John Adams, helping in fact to elect Jefferson to replace Adams. The predictable effect was the splitting and weakening of the Federalist Party—a necessary and healthy result, since the party was dominated by traitors who were enemies to both Hamilton and Adams!

But free trade now reigned, under President Jefferson and Treasury Secretary Gallatin. (Burr was only Vice President, Hamilton having squelched Gallatin and Burr's last-minute plot to steal the Presidency for Burr from their supposed political leader, Jefferson.)

As a result, the founding program of government-sponsored industrialization was blocked. Now Britain's Massachusetts factioneers, dubbed the Essex Junto by John Adams, since most of the plotters were from Essex County, swung into action to break up the nation, on the public premise that slave-owning southerners were dominating the government to the detriment of northern interests. The cabal was known to include former Massachusetts Sen. George Cabot; Judge John Lowell and his son, John, Jr., great-great grandfather of McGeorge Bundy; former Secretary of State Timothy Pickering; merchant Stephen Higginson; Massachusetts Supreme Court Justice Theophilus Parsons; and Aaron Burr's brother-in-law, Judge Tapping Reeve of Litchfield, Conn.

Judge John Lowell having died in 1802, his son John, Jr. (who liked to call himself "The Rebel" against America) took



*Traitor Aaron Burr was in the thick of British plans to split the United States. His scheme was to have his own private army seize the western United States and Mexico, to create a new empire.*

over his father's representation of the Tory emigrés and his father's banking post. He sailed to England in 1803, ostensibly to confer with his clients, but he lived for a time among the circles of Francis Jeffrey and Henry Brougham, who had in 1802 set up the violently anti-American *Edinburgh Review*. Jeffrey and Brougham were chiefs for British intelligence operations against America. Jeffrey would make a daring covert visit to Lowell's Boston home at the height of the War of 1812; Henry Brougham would help launch the British intelligence version of anti-slavery abolitionism, aiming at the ending of the United States.

We may review somewhat candid letters of these men, because they were published a generation later by John Quincy Adams' grandson, Henry Adams.<sup>1</sup>

On Dec. 24, 1803, U.S. Sen. Timothy Pickering, a leader of the Essex Junto, wrote to one Richard Peters, calling for "a separation. The white and black population will mark the boundary. The British Provinces [Canada], even with the assent of Britain, will become members of the Northern confederacy...."<sup>2</sup>

That letter, and the following, are early, plain statements that the British-guided version of abolitionism *did not intend to actually abolish slavery in America, but meant to let it keep going in the newly formed Southern country, after the United States was wrecked*.

On Jan. 29, 1804, Pickering wrote to George Cabot, who was considered the head of the Lowell/Cabot/Higginson incestuous family gang:

"I do not believe in the practicability of a long-continued union. A Northern confederacy would unite congenial characters ... while the Southern States ... might be left 'to manage their affairs in their own way.' ... But *when* and *how* is a separation to be effected? ... If ... Federalism is crumbling away in New England, there is no time to be lost. ... It must begin in Massachusetts. The proposition would be welcomed in Connecticut; and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated; and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be made the centre of the confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow of course, and Rhode Island of necessity...."<sup>3</sup>

To accomplish this treason by bringing New York State into secession, Vice President Aaron Burr ran in 1804 for governor of New York.

At a dinner meeting in Washington sometime early in 1804, Pickering, New Hampshire Sen. William Plumer, and Connecticut Sen. James Hillhouse spoke to Vice President Burr about their plans for secession. Hillhouse told Burr that "the United States would soon form two distinct and separate governments."<sup>4</sup>

When Alexander Hamilton thereafter made the public understand that Aaron Burr was menacing the republic, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel, and shot him to death on July 11, 1804.

Burr, in communication with British Ambassador Antho-

ny Merry, then plotted to have a mercenary army seize the western United States and Mexico, to make a British-aligned empire—a new version of the Essex Junto plan. President Jefferson had Burr arrested for treason, but Burr's communications with the British were not then known; he was acquitted, and fled to England to escape charges for killing Hamilton.

## The Saints and their Cruisers

Britain was then at war with Napoleon's France. In 1807, Britain's ruling Privy Council adopted the Orders in Council, prohibiting American ships from trading with France or French colonies. The Orders were based on the arguments put forward in the 1805 book by abolitionist James Stephen, *War in Disguise; or, the Friends of the Neutral Flags*, asserting that neutrality towards British war aims was immoral. The enforcement of these Orders by British warships over the next several years, led directly to the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain.

The British Navy was an instrument of piracy. More than half of its sailors were foreigners captured from foreign ships, who, together with men dragged off English streets by press gangs, were forced to live in animal-like conditions, and were commanded to plunder other nations' ships. By 1812, when the United States declared war, the British had kidnapped thousands of American sailors.

In 1816 and 1817, following that second U.S. war with Britain, John Quincy Adams (the future President, and son of former President John Adams) was in London as U.S. Ambassador. Back in 1808, as a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, Adams had gone to President Jefferson to alert him to the continuing plot by Essex Junto members of his own Federalist Party, to bring about the secession of the Northeastern ("New England") states from the U.S.A. Then in 1812, President James Madison had gone public with the captured letters of British spy John Henry, illustrating the channels of treacherous communication between British authorities and the Essex Junto circle.

Thus, Ambassador Adams was already fully aware of the British-guided treason which used American slavery as a false pretext for its aims. On June 6, 1817, Adams met with James Stephen's brother-in-law William Wilberforce, who was famous as an anti-slave-trade reformer. (Britain and the United States had by then both prohibited the slave trade.)

Adams recorded in his diary that day:

"The suppression of the slave-trade was the subject of Mr. Wilberforce's wish to see me.... His object is to obtain the consent of the United States, and of all other maritime powers, that ships under their flags may be searched and captured by the British cruisers against the slave-trade—a concession which I thought would be liable to objections.

"Probably this project originated in the brain of Master [James] Stephen, the author of *War in Disguise*, and brother-in-law to Wilberforce, one of the party called in derision the Saints, and who under sanctified visors pursue worldly ob-

jects.... Wilberforce is at the head of these Saints in Parliament... [British Foreign Secretary Lord] Castlereagh has more than once thrown out this idea of a mutual stipulation that the cruisers of every nation which has passed laws for abolishing the slave trade should be authorized to search and capture the slave-trading vessels of the other nations by whose laws the trade is prohibited.

"In substance it is a barefaced and impudent attempt of the British to obtain in time of peace that right of searching and seizing the ships of other nations which they have so outrageously abused during war...."

## North and South Unite

American patriots, silenced under free trade and Boston Federalist treachery, had rallied in response to British atrocities—the mass-kidnapping attacks by the "Saintly" British warships, and British arming of American Indian assaults on the internal U.S. frontier.

In 1809, Kentucky's Henry Clay recruited young men and Revolutionary War veterans to run for Congress. They elected Clay as Speaker of the House, and a new anti-imperial nationalism arose, reviving the American Revolutionary idea. They brought about a declaration of war against the British, and campaigned for the reinstatement of protective tariffs and government-sponsored infrastructure projects.

The common people of the entire country joined in support of this policy shift.

In retirement, former President Jefferson agreed with "this second weaning from British principles, British attachments, British manners and manufactures." Jefferson said that, "our defensive war should bring about a spirit of nationalism and of consequent prosperity, which could never have resulted from a continued subordination to the interests and influence of England."<sup>5</sup>

South Carolina's John C. Calhoun joined with Henry Clay to lead the movement for economic nationalism, "The American System." Though British invaders burned the White House and Capitol, the United States fought Britain to a stand-off.

After the war, Americans were impelled to economic self-defense, when the British dumped manufactures into the U.S. market, at prices below the British cost. British leaders boasted that they were crushing America. *Edinburgh Review* founder Henry Brougham told the House of Commons on April 9, 1816, "a rage for exporting goods of every kind burst forth [in 1814 after the Napoleonic wars].... The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect... [and] it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle, those rising manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things."

Now, North and South united behind a nationalist agenda.

The founders' Bank of the United States was rechartered, after being shut down for five years. In this "Era of Good Feel-

ings," the new President, Virginian James Monroe, made Calhoun Secretary of War, to plan canals and to upgrade the U.S. Military Academy to be a civil engineering powerhouse. Under Clay's lead, Congress raised tariffs and authorized the military to design canals and railroads. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams formulated an anti-imperialist international strategy.

The original American plan for ending slavery was now back in action.

Iron forges and manufacturing plants would be built in the South, and in the new West, nurtured by protective tariffs, national bank credit, and good transportation. As the British trade handcuffs were taken off the nation, feudal plantations would be abandoned in favor of much more profitable modern agro-industrial production. With the Missouri Compromise of 1820, slavery was to be restricted to below a certain latitude, until it died out under industrialization.

## Unity Broken, and Garrison Arises from the Pit

The British counterattack commenced in the runup to the 1824 elections. Patriots backed John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, or Henry Clay for President. But the same New York-Massachusetts treason faction that Hamilton had squashed in 1804, at the cost of his life, was back at work.

Aaron Burr's protégé Martin Van Buren, atop his own New York State political machine, like Burr's earlier one, travelled south in 1823. Van Buren assailed the Monroe Administration and forged an axis of plantation owners with the pro-British Northern elite.

Van Buren's scheme was joined by the Brahmin Tories, led by Timothy Pickens. Van Buren and the Brahmins backed Georgia free-trader William H. Crawford for President. Pickens issued a pamphlet with old letters from John Adams insulting Thomas Jefferson. Van Buren gave Pickens's pamphlet to Jefferson, whom they hoped to prod into attacking the candidacy of Adams' son, John Quincy. But Jefferson wrote to the elder Adams, saying they were now inseparable friends.

John Quincy Adams did become President. He started up America's railroads, spurred canals all through the Midwest, and presided over the first blossoming of manufacturing industry.

But over the next few years, the Brahmins' assaults on Adams, combined with Van Buren's schemes to drive Calhoun into the grip of the Southern plantation oligarchy, crippled the nationalist forces.

Burr himself, having quietly returned from British exile, had invented the Presidential candidacy of Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Burr's Western secession co-conspirator and an old enemy of Jefferson. Burr's Jackson project was tried unsuccessfully in the 1824 election; but in 1828, the Van Buren planter-financier apparatus, newly dubbed the "Democratic Party" and employing screaming populist slogans, put Jackson in the White House.

FIGURE 1

## The British Cheap Labor World System, Mid-19th Century

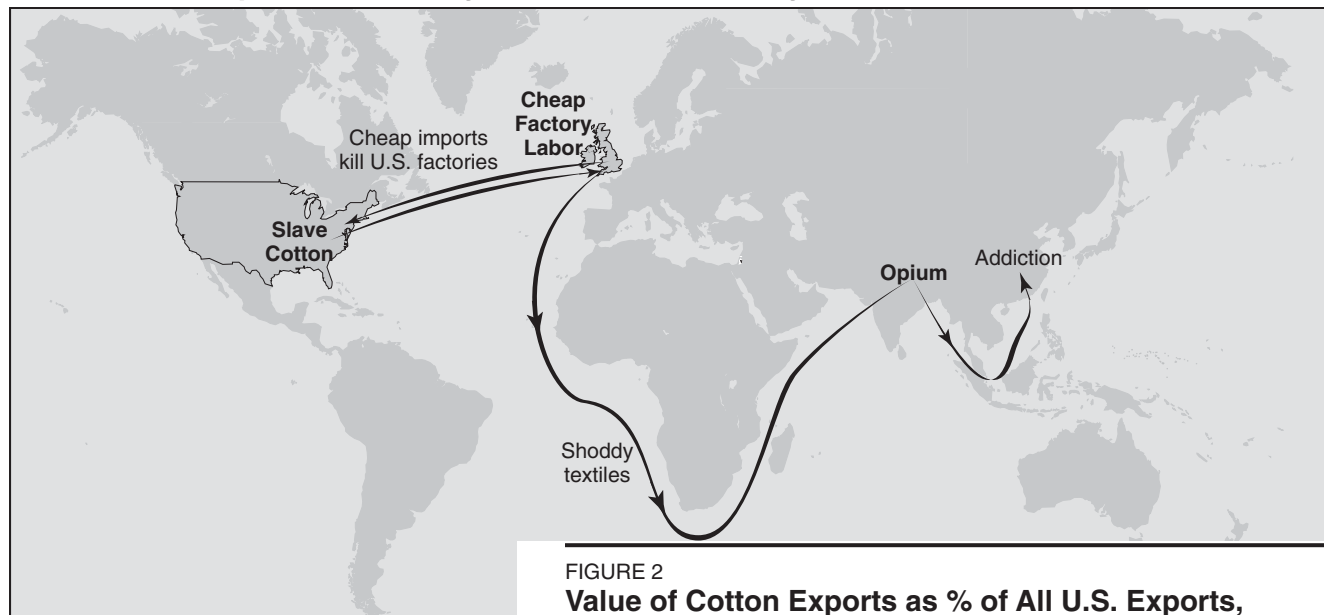
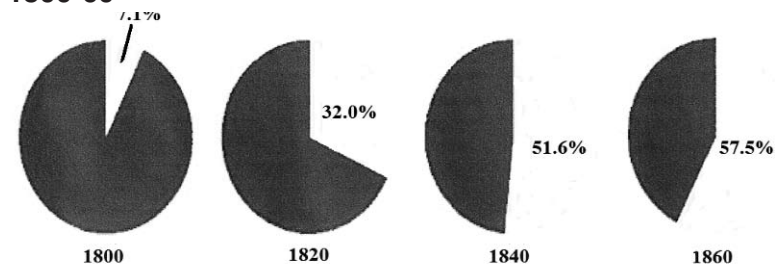


FIGURE 2

### Value of Cotton Exports as % of All U.S. Exports, 1800-60



By 1840, cotton made up more than half of American exports.

The result was a catastrophe for America.

President Jackson, tutored by Van Buren, took down the U.S. Bank, the protective tariff, and the transport-building program. Van Buren himself followed as President, and after him, there was a parade of radical free-trade Presidents.

Over the three decades up to 1860, with financial power detached from promoting industry, plantation slavery was becoming the leading feature of the U.S. economy, and slaveowner politicians dominated Washington.

More than 75% of slave cotton was exported. Cotton soon constituted over half of the value of U.S. exports.

*American slave cotton was now the centerpiece of the British Empire's world cheap-labor system (Figures 1 and 2).*

With no prospect for industrialization, the Southern states gave up their earlier assumption that slavery would gradually be eliminated (the Virginia legislature held its last debates on abolishing slavery in 1829 and 1831). As slave agriculture destroyed the soil of the Southeastern states, the slave system would have to expand westward, and push conquest southward into Latin America, or die out.

As soon as Jackson was installed, and America was thus pinned down, the British commenced new irregular warfare. They sought to reverse the American Revolution by fracturing the Union along the North-South fault line, using British assets in both sections, working in tandem, simultaneously with and against each other.

The Northern star of their show was William Lloyd Garrison, the final embodiment of the Essex Junto, acting under

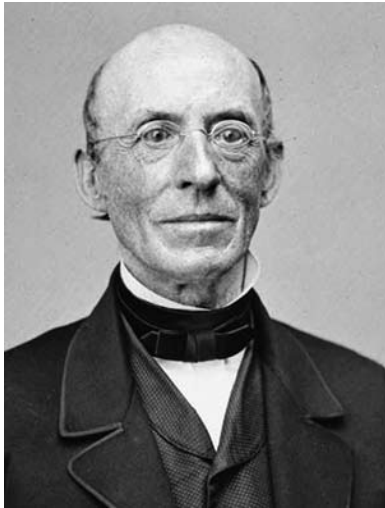
the title of Abolitionist.

His English grandfather, Joseph Garrison, had gone sometime before 1764 to live in New Brunswick, Canada, among settlers who had moved north from the Massachusetts colony. On May 20, 1776, when the people in his village issued a declaration siding with the "united provinces" in revolt against British "tyranny," Joseph Garrison, being English and opposed to the American cause, was one of a small handful in his village to come out *against* the declaration.

Joseph's son, Abijah, left Canada in April 1805, emigrating to Newburyport, Essex County, Mass. Abijah assured his parents that though he was moving to the breakaway U.S.A., he was not "disaffected towards Government." His son, William Lloyd Garrison, was born in Newburyport on Dec. 10, 1805, likely having been conceived in British territory, as his life's projects were to be.

William's drinking father deserted the family before he was three. They were thrown on hardship and sought the protection of the powerful and wealthy.

In 1818, at age 12, Garrison was apprenticed for seven



Library of Congress

*William Lloyd Garrison: disunionist, abolitionist. Immediately after the Civil War began, he called on the United States to surrender, and tell the slave states to “depart in peace!”*



National Archives

*Caleb Cushing: Boston Brahmin, secessionist, mentor of William Lloyd Garrison. He also ran the Presidential campaign of John Breckinridge.*

years to the *Newburyport Herald*, a newspaper continuing the tradition of the town’s radical anti-U.S. leading citizens.

In 1819, William’s mother became nurse to the daughter of Timothy Pickering.

According to the biographical account written by his sons, by 1822, William Lloyd Garrison was an “ardent Federalist” and a “fervent admirer of Timothy Pickering and Harrison Gray Otis.”<sup>6</sup>

Who were these men he worshipped? Eight years earlier, while British troops were burning Washington, Pickering and John Lowell the Rebel had drummed up support for Northern secession. For that purpose, Pickering had instigated the 1814 Hartford Convention. Otis had been a Hartford delegate, having earlier served as private secretary to old Judge John Lowell on his New York conferences, behind enemy lines, setting up the post-Revolutionary financial arrangements for continuing operations within the United States.

In 1822, Caleb Cushing began writing editorials for the *Herald*, and took on the political training of the young apprentice typesetter, William Lloyd Garrison.

The following year, Garrison’s mentor wrote to John Lowell the Rebel, proposing to write a biography of Lowell’s late father, to defend the Lowells against charges in Boston papers that they were traitors. Lowell requested that Cushing write instead a defense of the whole Essex Junto, portraying them as “patriots.” Lowell sent Cushing his family’s correspondence and legal papers, and specified that Cushing must use them as ammunition to lie: They “are but food for your mind to be digested by unknown processes and reproduced under new and more beautiful forms, as we see the odious cat-erpillar reproduced with the most gorgeous and delightful col-

or and proportions.” He placed at Cushing’s disposal, “forever,” the money and the total cooperation of the Lowell circle, and gave Cushing this commission: “I accept you as my champion and that of my race.”<sup>7</sup>

All the while, Caleb Cushing, now the *Herald*’s editor, had been guiding the young Garrison, now the office manager, in his first ventures into political writing. Garrison biographer John L. Thomas notes: “It was Cushing who first called young Garrison’s attention to slavery.... [H]e did not regard slavery as a serious problem until Cushing opened his eyes.... Cushing [also] lent him books and urged him to undertake other ... subjects.... [Under Cushing tutelage,] Lloyd’s investigation of the South American revolts led him to denounce American foreign policy [i.e., Secretary of State John Quincy Adams’ anti-imperialism] in ringing tones. If the new republics could not rid themselves of the ‘dross of superstition and tyranny’ on their own, they must be taught to enforce justice and pay due respect to the American flag.

Coercion held the answer. [Garrison wrote,] ‘The only expedient to command respect and protect our citizens will be to finish with cannon what cannot be done in a conciliatory manner.’”<sup>8</sup>

Thus began William Lloyd Garrison’s career as the leader of the most extreme and provocative elements of Abolitionism. His mentor Caleb Cushing would be the main *pro-slavery* spokesman and strategist in the North, up to the climactic moments in 1861, when both of these Essex men strove to smash the American Union.

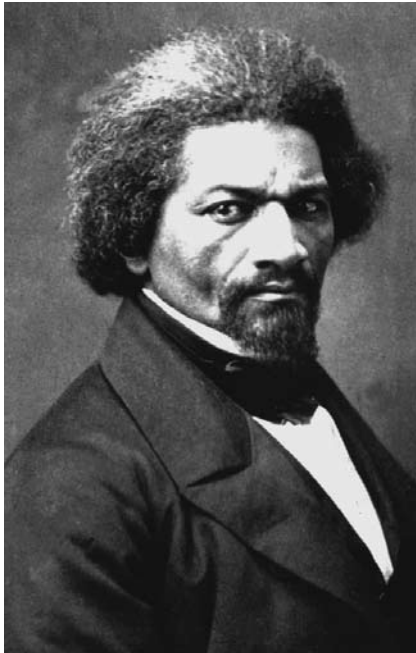
## The British Underground vs. the Underground Railroad

Anti-slavery sentiment and action date back to well before the American Revolution, being quite pronounced in Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton were leaders of anti-slavery organizations. A massive slave revolt in the Caribbean islands in the early 1790s ruined the Boston Brahmins’ slave trade. Haitian slaves (their leadership allied to Hamilton) threw off French rule, and in 1804 established Haiti as the second oldest nation in the Western Hemisphere.

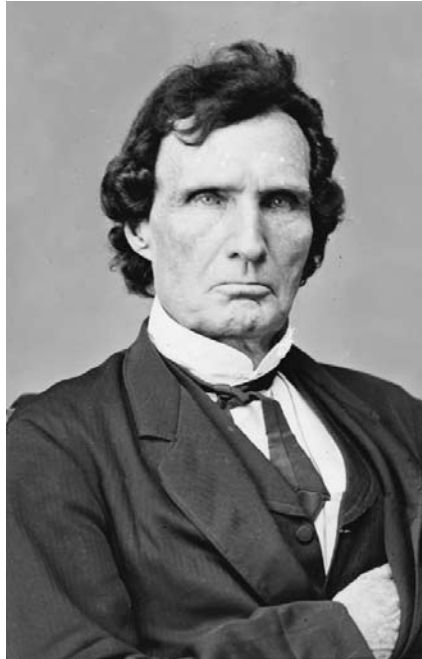
As for the decades leading up to the American Civil War: It would be a grave error to be misled into grouping together under one term and category, “abolitionists,” all those who were then seen as active against slavery. One would entirely miss the underlying dynamic in American life.

The scene may perhaps be most accurately analyzed by stressing three distinct points of view.

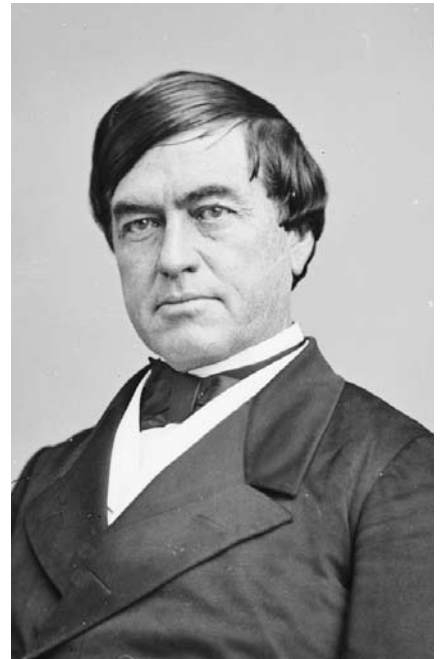
1. The British interest in disunion, to have America as a raw-material source and dumping ground for manufactures, rather than as an independent nation; and the U.S.-based



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*Abolitionist leaders and patriots, left to right: Frederick Douglass, a Unionist who broke with Garrison; Thaddeus Stevens, nationalist Congressional leader; Cassius Clay, Unionist, ambassador to Russia.*

political operatives who, from perceived material self-interest (e.g., Northern importers, or lords of the Southern hierarchy), and family Tory tradition, shared that British interest.

During the Civil War, Lord Robert Cecil (later called the Marquess of Salisbury) expressed this viewpoint in Parliament: "The Northern States of America never can be our sure friends because we are rivals, rivals politically, rivals commercially. . . . With the Southern States, the case is entirely reversed. The population are an agricultural people. They furnish the raw material of our industry, and they consume the products which we manufacture from it. With them, every interest must lead us to cultivate friendly relations, and when the war began they at once recurred to England as their natural ally."<sup>9</sup>

2. American nationalism, opposed to Southern and other colonial feudalism. Kentucky's Cassius Clay (Henry Clay's cousin) and Pennsylvania's Thaddeus Stevens were outstanding nationalists who were known as ardent anti-slavery activists. They sought to use the vast Constitutional powers of the government to rapidly industrialize and benefit all America, which would at the same time break the Southern oligarchy.

As Lincoln's Ambassador to Russia, Cassius Clay, distributed to Russian leaders the books of America's greatest economist, Henry C. Carey. In his memoirs, Clay wrote of how the British-aligned Russian aristocrats ran the provocateur, false-flag, anarchist/nihilist movement to counter the government's nationalist modernizers. Congressional leader Thaddeus Ste-

vens pushed post-Civil War Southern Reconstruction towards the complete destruction of the oligarchs' power, until he died in 1868. (The 1915 Ku Klux Klan movie, *The Birth of a Nation*, depicts Stevens as a monstrous villain.)

3. The standpoint of African-Americans, whether slaves seeking freedom, or former slaves or black Americans born free, knowing that their freedom is precarious.

Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman are world-renowned as black American heroes.

Douglass was, after his initial escape from slavery, an ally of Garrison and the British-based abolition movement. In the 1840s, Douglass broke with Garrison, set up his own newspaper in upstate New York, and taught that the U.S. Constitution is implicitly anti-slavery, and must be used to free the slaves. (Garrison had nagged Douglass that he should cease speaking in a literate manner, the better to resemble an ignorant slave.)

Douglass led the recruitment of 200,000 black soldiers, which was the margin of victory for the Union Army. In 1871, Douglass was appointed to the upper house of the Washington, D.C. local government. He led the political coalition that, in two astonishing years, created the modern city of Washington with paved streets, sewers, sanitation, health facilities, public lighting, and streetcars. This project proceeded from Douglass's nationalist vision of the capital city, with a mission to show off America's progress to the world.

Harriet Tubman escaped from slavery and then came back to lead hundreds to freedom along networks of anti-slavery activists, white and black, known as the Underground Rail-

road. During the war she was back in the South yet again, as a Union scout and spy. Tubman was a close ally of Douglass, having become free only after Douglass had broken with Garrison.

### Garrison's 'Agreement with Hell'

These essential distinctions being made, we may now proceed with a summary account of important events in the career of William Lloyd Garrison. This should provide some insight into the political reality facing Abraham Lincoln, and help in appreciating Lincoln's leadership.

**1824:** Garrison attacked Presidential candidate John Quincy Adams, and supported Georgia pro-slavery free trader William H. Crawford, candidate of the Pickering faction and of Martin Van Buren.<sup>10</sup>

**1829:** Garrison attacked President Adams, who had just been defeated for re-election, publishing extensive blistering correspondence between Adams and the Essex Junto.<sup>11</sup>

**1829:** Garrison said, "If [slavery] cannot be speedily put down ... if we must share in the guilt ... *as the price of our union* ... then the fault is not ours if a separation eventually take place...." (Garrison's emphasis).<sup>12</sup>

**1830:** Garrison wrote, "I join with the eloquent and indignant Brougham—'Tell me not of rights ... of the planter with his slaves....'" hailing Henry Brougham, then Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, who was notorious in America for his boast of stifling U.S. manufacturing in the cradle.<sup>13</sup>

**1831:** Garrison began publication of *The Liberator* Jan. 1, 1831. He had few paid subscribers. He sent 100 free subscriptions to Southern, pro-slavery newspapers. The Southerners would read *The Liberator*, publish an editorial denouncing Garrison and send him a copy of it; then he would reply, and so forth.

**1831:** South Carolina Gov. James Hamilton sent a special message to the legislature in December, accompanied by copies of *The Liberator* and of a Garrison speech. The Governor said in the present "united confederacy of states" we must submit to this hostile treatment, whereas if the states were separated, such acts would justify suspending peaceful relations between the two countries.<sup>14</sup> Governor Hamilton used Garrison's ammunition to help organize anti-Union forces, threatening secession unless the Federal government allowed his state to veto ("nullify") America's protective tariffs.

**1831?:** Aaron Burr met with Garrison at a Boston hotel. The two incendiaries discussed the question of slavery. Garrison later wrote admitting the meeting, and claimed to remember they had disagreed but not the precise year they conferred.<sup>15</sup>

**1831:** Giuseppe Mazzini, Garrison's future partner, founded "Young Italy," the first of his ethnic-political insurrectionary movements for many countries. Starting in 1830, when he joined the Carbonari secret society, for the next 35 years, Mazzini's "left" and "right" provocations were a glove for the

hand of Lord Palmerston, the British Secretary at War (1809-28), Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (internal security) (1852-55), and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).

**1832:** Garrison founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society, on the program of the Agency Committee, founded in England the previous year by James Stephen's son George.

**1832:** In *The Liberator*, Garrison called the compact formed on the adoption of the Constitution "the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men ... not valid then ... not valid now."<sup>16</sup>

**1833:** Garrison went to England to work jointly with Captain Charles Stuart, a military officer of the East India Company, on Stuart's international crusade against Henry Clay's American Colonization Society.

**1834:** Captain Stuart moved to the United States to operate Theodore Dwight Weld, his young ward and apostle. Weld became a full-time Washington, D.C. "abolitionist" operative against Henry Clay's nationalist politics.

**1842:** Calling for secession of the North, *The Liberator* put on its masthead, "A repeal of the union between northern liberty and southern slavery is essential to the abolition of the one and the preservation of the other"<sup>17</sup> [sic].

**1843:** Garrison led the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to pronounce the U.S. Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."<sup>18</sup>

**1844:** The American Anti-Slavery Society formally adopted the disunion doctrine of Garrison, its president.<sup>19</sup>

**1844:** The abolitionist Liberty Party gained enough votes in New York State to tip the national election against Henry Clay, giving the Presidency to slavery-expansionist James K. Polk.

**1845:** Mazzini's "Young America" movement was founded by Edwin DeLeon in South Carolina, aiming at the conquest of the Western Hemisphere for slavery.

**1846:** The Polk Administration struck a bargain with Britain, giving Britain, without compensation, two-thirds of the area of the Oregon territory (above latitude 54.40°N), the massive Pacific Coast area now called British Columbia. In exchange, the British did not oppose Polk's invasion of America's sister republic, Mexico, to spread slavery there. Immediately afterward, Polk ordered the attack beginning the Mexican War. Abraham Lincoln wrote later that "the principal motive for the [invasion], was to divert public attention from the surrender of [Polk's insincere electoral campaign slogan] 'Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight' to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question."<sup>20</sup>

**1846:** On his third trip to England, Garrison was hosted by William Henry Ashurst, the host and patron of Giuseppe Mazzini. Garrison later wrote of his first meeting with "the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini ... at the charming residence of my honored friend ... Ashurst.... [Mazzini] impressed me very favorably ... by the brilliancy of his mind ...

he strongly drew upon my sympathies and excited my deepest interest. There our personal friendship began, which revolving years served but to strengthen ... and [we] had many experiences in common.”<sup>21</sup>

**1851:** Caleb Cushing met in Newburyport with Mississippi Sen. Jefferson Davis (future president of the slaveowners’ Confederacy) and his friends, to plan the “surprise” Presidential candidacy of New Hampshire’s Franklin Pierce.<sup>22</sup>

**1852:** Mazzini was “working with the very numerous Germanic element in the United States for [Pierce’s] election.... He was to appoint American representatives in Europe who would be favorable to us and would help us; and almost all his nominations are such as we desired.”<sup>23</sup>

**1853:** President Pierce made Caleb Cushing Attorney General, and Jefferson Davis Secretary of War. Cushing put through Congress the Kansas-Nebraska Act, repealing earlier compromises that blocked the spread of slavery. Kansas was drowned in the blood of rival armed settlers, pro-slavery and

anti-slavery.

**1854:** The Republican Party was founded on the single issue of stopping the spread of slavery.

**1857:** Free trade crashed the U.S. economy, with mass unemployment. Over the next four years, the government of President James Buchanan transferred its armaments and treasury to Southern secessionists. Before Buchanan had left office, his Vice President, John C. Breckinridge, ran for President on a slaveowners’-secession platform, the campaign managed from the White House by Caleb Cushing of Essex County, Mass.

**1857:** The Massachusetts State Disunion Convention met on Jan. 15. Its vice president, William Lloyd Garrison, said: “I know ... with what tenacity I clung to this Union, inspired by the patriotic feelings of my early days, and never dreaming that anything would ever separate me from it, or lead me to desire its dissolution.... If Disunion be a matter of slow growth ... I expect it will go on, slowly gathering to itself

## Frederick Douglass: We Had To Save the Union

The great African-American leader Frederick Douglass, himself born a slave, provides the strongest defense of the course which Abraham Lincoln took in defending the Union, before abolishing slavery. In his autobiography *The Life and Times*, Douglass describes the intellectual process he went through over the issue of the Constitution: “I was then [the 1840s-ed.] a faithful disciple of William Lloyd Garrison, and fully committed to his doctrine touching the pro-slavery character of the Constitution of the United States.... With him, I held it to be the first duty of the non-slaveholding states to dissolve the union with the slaveholding states, and hence my cry, like his, was ‘No union with slaveholders’....

“My new circumstances [as a newspaper publisher—ed.] compelled me to re-think the whole subject, and to study with some care not only the just and proper rules for legal interpretation, but the origin, design, nature, rights, powers, and duties of civil governments, and also the relations which human beings sustain to it. By such a course of thought and reading, I was conducted to the conclusion that the Constitution of the United States—inaugurated to ‘form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty’—could not well have been designed at the same time to maintain and perpetuate a

system of rapine and murder like slavery ... that the Constitution of the United States not only contained no guarantees in favor of slavery but, on the contrary, was in its letter and spirit an anti-slavery instrument, demanding the Abolition of slavery as a condition of its own existence as the supreme law of the land....”

And in his reply to the infamous 1856 *Dred Scott* decision, Douglass noted that the slaveholders “do not point us to the Constitution itself, for the reason that there is nothing sufficiently explicit for their purpose; but they delight in supposed intentions—intentions nowhere expressed in the Constitution, and everywhere contradicted in the Constitution.”

Douglass’s attitude was reflected in the fact he became a close collaborator with President Lincoln himself. He described Lincoln as “the first great man that I talked with in the United States freely, who in no single instance reminded me of the difference between himself and myself, of the difference of color”).

*At the unveiling of the Freedmen’s Monument of Abraham Lincoln, in Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1876, Douglass described his evaluation of Lincoln:*

It must be admitted, truth compels me to admit, even here in the presence of the monument we have erected to his memory, Abraham Lincoln was not, in the fullest sense of the word, either our man or our model. In his interests, in his associations, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man.... You [whites] are the children of Abraham Lincoln. We are at best only his step-children; children by adoption, children by forces of circumstances and necessity....

friends and advocates, until at last it shall culminate in an all-pervading Northern sentiment, and the great work be easily accomplished.”

Participants at this convention organized the elements of abolitionist John Brown’s forthcoming (1858) private-military attack on the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Va.

**1861:** After the election of President Abraham Lincoln, with South Carolina beginning the secession of the slave states, Garrison called on the United States to surrender—and to give up Washington, D.C.:

“Under these circumstances, what is the true course to be pursued by the people of the North? Is it to vindicate this sovereignty by the sword till the treason is quelled and allegiance restored? Constitutionally, the sword may be wielded to this extent . . . if the Union is to be preserved. . . . Nevertheless, to think of whipping the South (for she will be a unit on the question of slavery) into subjection, and extorting allegiance from millions of people at the cannon’s

mouth, is utterly chimerical. True, it is in the power of the North to deluge her soil with blood, and inflict upon her the most terrible sufferings; but not to conquer her spirit, or change her determination.

“What, then, ought to be done? The people of the North should recognize the fact that the Union is dissolved, and act accordingly. They should see, in the madness of the South, the hand of God, liberating them from a covenant with death and an agreement with hell. . . .

“Now, then, let there be a Convention of the free States called to organize an independent government . . . and let them say to the slave States, Though you are without excuse for your treasonable conduct, depart in peace! Though you have laid piratical hands upon property not your own, we surrender it all in the spirit of magnanimity! And if nothing but the possession of the Capital will appease you, take even that, without a struggle! Let the line be drawn between us where free institutions end and slave institutions begin! Organize your

The name of Abraham Lincoln was near and dear to our hearts in the darkest and most perilous hours of the Republic. We were no more ashamed of him when shrouded in clouds of darkness, of doubt, and defeat than when we saw him crowned with victory, honor, and glory. Our faith in him was often taxed and strained to the uttermost, but it never failed. . . . Despite the mist and haze that surrounded him; despite the tumult, the hurry, and confusion of the hour, we were able to take a comprehensive view of Abraham Lincoln, and to make reasonable allowance for the circumstances of his position. We saw him, measured him, and estimated him; not by stray utterances to injudicious and tedious delegations, who often tried his patience; not by isolated facts torn from their connection; not by any partial and imperfect glimpses, caught at inopportune moments; but by a broad survey, in the light of the stern logic of great events, and in view of the divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will, we came to the conclusion that the hour and the man of our redemption had somehow met in the person of Abraham Lincoln. . . .

His great mission was to accomplish two things: first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin; and, second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery. To do one or the other, or both, he must have the earnest sympathy and the powerful cooperation of his loyal fellow-countrymen. Without this primary and essential condition to succeed, his efforts must have been vain and utterly fruitless. Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people and rendered resistance to rebellion impossible. Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr.

Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined. . . .

Few great public men have ever been the victims of fiercer denunciation than Abraham Lincoln was during his administration. He was often wounded in the house of his friends. Reproaches came thick and fast upon him from within and without, and from opposite quarters. He was assailed by Abolitionists; he was assailed by slaveholders; he was assailed by the men who were for peace at any price; he was assailed by those who were for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; he was assailed for not making the war an abolition war; and he was bitterly assailed for making the war an abolition war. . . .

[Lincoln’s assassination] was a new crime, a pure act of malice. No purpose of the rebellion was to be served by it. It was the simple gratification of a hell-black spirit of revenge. But it has done good after all. It has filled the country with a deeper abhorrence of slavery and a greater love for the great liberator. . . .

Dying as he did die, by the red hand of violence, killed, assassinated, taken off without warning, not because of personal hate—for no man who knew Abraham Lincoln could hate him—but because of his fidelity to union and liberty, he is doubly dear to us, and his memory will be precious forever. . . .

*Reprinted in Waldo W. Braden, ed., Building the Myth: Speeches Memorializing Abraham Lincoln (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).*

own confederacy, if you will ... and relieve us from all responsibility for your evil course!”<sup>24</sup>

## Lincoln on Slavery

From 1854, when the Republican Party was formed in response to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, until he was elected President in 1860, Abraham Lincoln warned that a pro-slavery oligarchy was conspiring to make slavery universal. He held unwaveringly to the principle that slavery was an absolute wrong and moral evil; that though it could not lawfully be overturned right away in the old slave states, its spread must be prohibited, and that this would ensure its ultimate extinction.

Lincoln’s speeches and the 1858 debates with Sen. Stephen Douglas of Illinois, were thoroughly reported in Chicago newspapers and were circulated throughout the United States. The debates caused intense excitement because of the honesty and depth with which Lincoln probed the country’s moral and political crisis over the slavery issue.

His views on the subject of slavery can be seen in the following excerpts from the period 1854-58:

*Oct. 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Illinois.*

“This *declared* indifference, but as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principle of civil liberty—criticizing the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but *self-interest*.”<sup>25</sup>

*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855.*

“...The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small, odious and detested class, among you [in Kentucky]; and yet in politics, they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters, as you are the masters of your own negroes.

“...I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that ‘*all men are created equal*.’ We now practically read it ‘*all men are created equal, except negroes*.’ When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read ‘*all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and catholics*.’ When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be tak-

en pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy....”<sup>26</sup>

*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857.*

“[Senator Stephen Douglas said two weeks ago,] ‘the signers of the Declaration of Independence referred to the white race alone, and not to the African, when they declared all men to have been created equal—... they were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain....’

“My good friends, ... see what a mere wreck—mangled ruin—it makes of our once glorious Declaration.

“...Why according to this, not only negroes but white people outside of Great Britain and America are not spoken of in that instrument. The English, Irish and Scotch, along with the white Americans, were included to be sure, but the French, Germans and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the Judge’s inferior races.

“I had thought the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects; but no, it meant only the we should be *equal* to them in their own oppressed and *unequal* condition. According to that, it gave no promise that having kicked off the king and lords of Great Britain, we should not at once be saddled with a king and lords of our own.

“... [Senator] Douglas’ version ... will run thus: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all British subjects who were on this continent eighty-one years ago, were created equal to all British subjects born and *then* residing in Great Britain.”<sup>27</sup>

*The famous “House Divided” speech, accepting the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, June 16, 1858.*

“We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated [under pro-slavery Presidential administrations] with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

“In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. ‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.”<sup>28</sup>

*Speech at Lewistown, Ill., Aug. 17, 1858.*

“The Declaration of Independence ... said to the whole world of men: We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all

men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

“This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures—yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows.

“They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children, and their children’s children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of posterity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began; so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.”<sup>29</sup>

## Lincoln Shapes the Future

Between the 1830s and 1860, American working people had been hit with repeated industrial paralysis under free trade; arrogant Southern slaveowners mocked them as low-class worker-scum; and Boston abolitionists taunted them with threats to dissolve the nation, while preserving slavery within a separated Southern country.

How could Lincoln rally them to defend a government and nation that seemed, at that point, only a memory and a potentiality?

At the 1860 Republican convention in Chicago, Philadelphia economist Henry C. Carey and his Kentucky associate Cassius Clay forcefully organized the delegates to nominate the economic nationalist candidate: Abraham Lincoln. Running for President on the protectionist program that Carey wrote, Lincoln went to the heart of the industrial working class, in Pennsylvania, and pledged to them that he would rebuild the economy under government protection. Their votes were the margin needed to swing the election to Lincoln.

After his inauguration, Washington was surrounded by hostile forces, and the communication lines and railroads were cut. When the Confederates fired on the U.S. fort at Charleston, S.C., Lincoln asked the American people to rouse themselves, as military volunteers, to save their

Union. Leading them in battle, and showing them the beginnings of undreamed-of economic progress: U.S.-funded transcontinental railroads, free higher education, free farmland, tariff-protected steel production rising 10,000% over the next 20 years; he gave them a national mission, and ended slavery.

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