"Chapter X: Parties in the United States" from Democracy in America by Alexis de Tocqueville, 1835 (pg.1)



TEACHING WITH FRIMARY SOURCES

"Chapter X: Parties in the United States" from *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville, 1835

Chapter X: Parties in the United States

Chapter Summary

Great distinction to be made between parties—Parties which are to each other as rival nations—Parties properly so called—Difference between great and small parties—Epochs which produce them—Their characteristics—America has had great parties—They are extinct—Federalists—Republicans—Defeat of the Federalists—Difficulty of creating parties in the United States—What is done with this intention—Aristocratic or democratic character to be met with in all parties—Struggle of General Jackson against the Bank.

Parties in the United States

A great distinction must be made between parties. Some countries are so large that the different populations which inhabit them have contradictory interests, although they are the subjects of the same Government, and they may thence be in a perpetual state of opposition. In this case the different fractions of the people may more properly be considered as distinct nations than as mere parties; and if a civil war breaks out, the struggle is carried on by rival peoples rather than by factions in the State.

But when the citizens entertain different opinions upon subjects which affect the whole country alike, such, for instance, as the principles upon which the government is to be conducted, then distinctions arise which may correctly be styled parties. Parties are a necessary evil in free governments; but they have not at all times the same character and the same propensities.

At certain periods a nation may be oppressed by such insupportable evils as to conceive the design of effecting a total change in its political constitution; at other times the mischief lies still deeper, and the existence of society itself is endangered. Such are the times of great revolutions and of great parties. But between these epochs of misery and of confusion there are periods during which human society seems to rest, and mankind to make a pause. This pause is, indeed, only apparent, for time does not stop its course for nations any more than for men; they are all advancing towards a goal with which they are unacquainted; and we only imagine them to be stationary when their progress escapes our observation, as men who are going at a foot-pace seem to be standing still to those who run.

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But however this may be, there are certain epochs at which the changes that take place in the social and political constitution of nations are so slow and so insensible that men imagine their present condition to be a final state; and the human mind, believing itself to be firmly based upon certain foundations, does not extend its researches beyond the horizon which it decries. These are the times of small parties and of intrigue.

The political parties which I style great are those which cling to principles more than to their consequences; to general, and not to especial cases; to ideas, and not to men. These parties are usually distinguished by a nobler character, by more generous passions, more genuine convictions, and a more bold and open conduct than the others. In them private interest, which always plays the chief part in political passions, is more studiously veiled under the pretext of the public good; and it may even be sometimes concealed from the eyes of the very persons whom it excites and impels.

Minor parties are, on the other hand, generally deficient in political faith. As they are not sustained or dignified by a lofty purpose, they ostensibly display the egotism of their character in their actions. They glow with a factitious zeal; their language is vehement, but their conduct is timid and irresolute. The means they employ are as wretched as the end at which they aim. Hence it arises that when a calm state of things succeeds a violent revolution, the leaders of society seem suddenly to disappear, and the powers of the human mind to lie concealed. Society is convulsed by great parties, by minor ones it is agitated; it is torn by the former, by the latter it is degraded; and if these sometimes save it by a salutary perturbation, those invariably disturb it to no good end.

America has already lost the great parties which once divided the nation; and if her happiness is considerably increased, her morality has suffered by their extinction. When the War of Independence was terminated, and the foundations of the new Government were to be laid down, the nation was divided between two opinions—two opinions which are as old as the world, and which are perpetually to be met with under all the forms and all the names which have ever obtained in free communities—the one tending to limit, the other to extend indefinitely, the power of the people. The conflict of these two opinions never assumed that degree of violence in America which it has frequently displayed elsewhere. Both parties of the Americans were, in fact, agreed upon the most essential points; and neither of them had to destroy a traditionary (sic) constitution, or to overthrow the structure of society, in order to ensure its own triumph. In neither of them, consequently, were a great number of private interests affected by success or by defeat; but moral principles of a high order, such as the love of equality and of independence, were concerned in the struggle, and they sufficed to kindle violent passions.

The party which desired to limit the power of the people endeavored to apply its doctrines more especially to the Constitution of the Union, whence it derived its name of Federal. The other party, which affected to be more exclusively attached to the cause of liberty, took that of Republican. America is a land of democracy, and the Federalists were always in a minority; but they reckoned on their side almost all the great men who had been called forth by the War of

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Independence, and their moral influence was very considerable. Their cause was, moreover, favored by circumstances. The ruin of the Confederation had impressed the people with a dread of anarchy, and the Federalists did not fail to profit by this transient disposition of the multitude. For ten or twelve years they were at the head of affairs, and they were able to apply some, though not all, of their principles; for the hostile current was becoming from day to day too violent to be checked or stemmed. In 1801 the Republicans got possession of the Government; Thomas Jefferson was named President; and he increased the influence of their party by the weight of his celebrity, the greatness of his talents, and the immense extent of his popularity.

The means by which the Federalists had maintained their position were artificial, and their resources were temporary; it was by the virtues or the talents of their leaders that they had risen to power. When the Republicans attained to that lofty station, their opponents were overwhelmed by utter defeat. An immense majority declared itself against the retiring party, and the Federalists found themselves in so small a minority that they at once despaired of their future success. From that moment the Republican or Democratic party *a has proceeded from conquest to conquest, until it has acquired absolute supremacy in the country. The Federalists, perceiving that they were vanquished without resource, and isolated in the midst of the nation, fell into two divisions, of which one joined the victorious Republicans, and the other abandoned its rallying-point and its name. Many years have already elapsed since they ceased to exist as a party.

[[It is scarcely necessary to remark that in more recent times the signification of these terms has changed. The Republicans are the representatives of the old Federalists, and the Democrats of the old Republicans.—Trans. Note (1861).]] The accession of the Federalists to power was, in my opinion, one of the most fortunate incidents which accompanied the formation of the great American Union; they resisted the inevitable propensities of their age and of the country. But whether their theories were good or bad, they had the effect of being inapplicable, as a system, to the society which they professed to govern, and that which occurred under the auspices of Jefferson must therefore have taken place sooner or later. But their Government gave the new republic time to acquire a certain stability, and afterwards to support the rapid growth of the very doctrines which they had combated. A considerable number of their principles were in point of fact embodied in the political creed of their opponents; and the Federal Constitution which subsists at the present day is a lasting monument of their patriotism and their wisdom.

Great political parties are not, then, to be met with in the United States at the present time. Parties, indeed, may be found which threaten the future tranquility (sic) of the Union; but there are none which seem to contest the present form of Government or the present course of society. The parties by which the Union is menaced do not rest upon abstract principles, but upon temporal interests. These interests, disseminated in the provinces of so vast an empire, may be said to constitute rival nations rather than parties. Thus, upon a recent occasion, the North contended for the system of commercial prohibition, and the South took up arms in favor of free trade, simply because the North is a manufacturing and the South an agricultural district; and that the restrictive system which was profitable to the one was prejudicial to the other. *b

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b [[The divisions of North and South have since acquired a far greater degree of intensity, and the South, though conquered, still presents a formidable spirit of opposition to Northern government.—Translator's Note, 1875.]]

In the absence of great parties, the United States abound with lesser controversies; and public opinion is divided into a thousand minute shades of difference upon questions of very little moment. The pains which are taken to create parties are inconceivable, and at the present day it is no easy task. In the United States there is no religious animosity, because all religion is respected, and no sect is predominant; there is no jealousy of rank, because the people is everything, and none can contest its authority; lastly, there is no public indigence to supply the means of agitation, because the physical position of the country opens so wide a field to industry that man is able to accomplish the most surprising undertakings with his own native resources. Nevertheless, ambitious men are interested in the creation of parties, since it is difficult to eject a person from authority upon the mere ground that his place is coveted by others. The skill of the actors in the political world lies therefore in the art of creating parties. A political aspirant in the United States begins by discriminating his own interest, and by calculating upon those interests which may be collected around and amalgamated with it; he then contrives to discover some doctrine or some principle which may suit the purposes of this new association, and which he adopts in order to bring forward his party and to secure his popularity; just as the imprimatur of a King was in former days incorporated with the volume which it authorized, but to which it nowise belonged. When these preliminaries are terminated, the new party is ushered into the political world.

All the domestic controversies of the Americans at first appear to a stranger to be so incomprehensible and so puerile that he is at a loss whether to pity a people which takes such arrant trifles in good earnest, or to envy the happiness which enables it to discuss them. But when he comes to study the secret propensities which govern the factions of America, he easily perceives that the greater part of them are more or less connected with one or the other of those two divisions which have always existed in free communities. The deeper we penetrate into the working of these parties, the more do we perceive that the object of the one is to limit, and that of the other to extend, the popular authority. I do not assert that the ostensible end, or even that the secret aim, of American parties is to promote the rule of aristocracy or democracy in the country; but I affirm that aristocratic or democratic passions may easily be detected at the bottom of all parties, and that, although they escape a superficial observation, they are the main point and the very soul of every faction in the United States.

To quote a recent example. When the President attacked the Bank, the country was excited and parties were formed; the well-informed classes rallied round the Bank, the common people round the President. But it must not be imagined that the people had formed a rational opinion upon a question which offers so many difficulties to the most experienced statesmen. The Bank is a great establishment which enjoys an independent existence, and the people, accustomed to make and unmake whatsoever it pleases, is startled to meet with this obstacle to its authority. In

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the midst of the perpetual fluctuation of society the community is irritated by so permanent an institution, and is led to attack it in order to see whether it can be shaken and controlled, like all the other institutions of the country.

Remains Of The Aristocratic Party In The United States

Secret opposition of wealthy individuals to democracy—Their retirement—Their taste for exclusive pleasures and for luxury at home—Their simplicity abroad—Their affected condescension towards the people.

It sometimes happens in a people amongst which various opinions prevail that the balance of the several parties is lost, and one of them obtains an irresistible preponderance, overpowers all obstacles, harasses its opponents, and appropriates all the resources of society to its own purposes. The vanquished citizens despair of success and they conceal their dissatisfaction in silence and in general apathy. The nation seems to be governed by a single principle, and the prevailing party assumes the credit of having restored peace and unanimity to the country. But this apparent unanimity is merely a cloak to alarming dissensions and perpetual opposition.

This is precisely what occurred in America; when the democratic party got the upper hand, it took exclusive possession of the conduct of affairs, and from that time the laws and the customs of society have been adapted to its caprices. At the present day the more affluent classes of society are so entirely removed from the direction of political affairs in the United States that wealth, far from conferring a right to the exercise of power, is rather an obstacle than a means of attaining to it. The wealthy members of the community abandon the lists, through unwillingness to contend, and frequently to contend in vain, against the poorest classes of their fellow citizens. They concentrate all their enjoyments in the privacy of their homes, where they occupy a rank which cannot be assumed in public; and they constitute a private society in the State, which has its own tastes and its own pleasures. They submit to this state of things as an irremediable evil, but they are careful not to show that they are galled by its continuance; it is even not uncommon to hear them laud the delights of a republican government, and the advantages of democratic institutions when they are in public. Next to hating their enemies, men are most inclined to flatter them.

Mark, for instance, that opulent citizen, who is as anxious as a Jew of the Middle Ages to conceal his wealth. His dress is plain, his demeanor unassuming; but the interior of his dwelling glitters with luxury, and none but a few chosen guests whom he haughtily styles his equals are allowed to penetrate into this sanctuary. No European noble is more exclusive in his pleasures, or more jealous of the smallest advantages which his privileged station confers upon him. But the very same individual crosses the city to reach a dark counting-house in the centre of traffic, where every one may accost him who pleases. If he meets his cobbler upon the way, they stop and converse; the two citizens discuss the affairs of the State in which they have an equal interest, and they shake hands before they part.

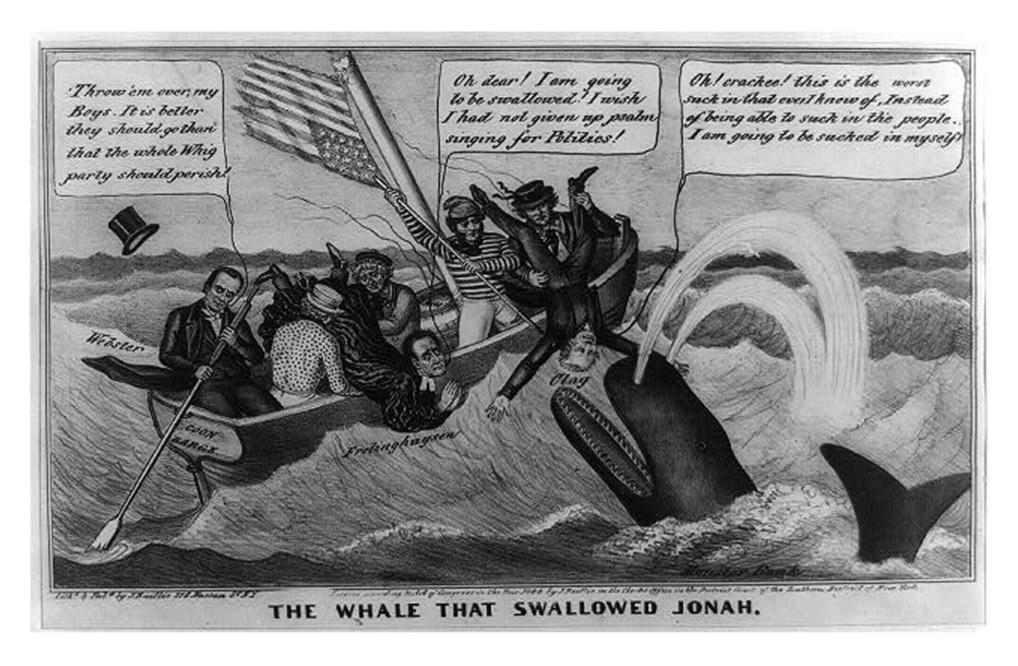
But beneath this artificial enthusiasm, and these obsequious attentions to the preponderating power, it is easy to perceive that the wealthy members of the community entertain a hearty

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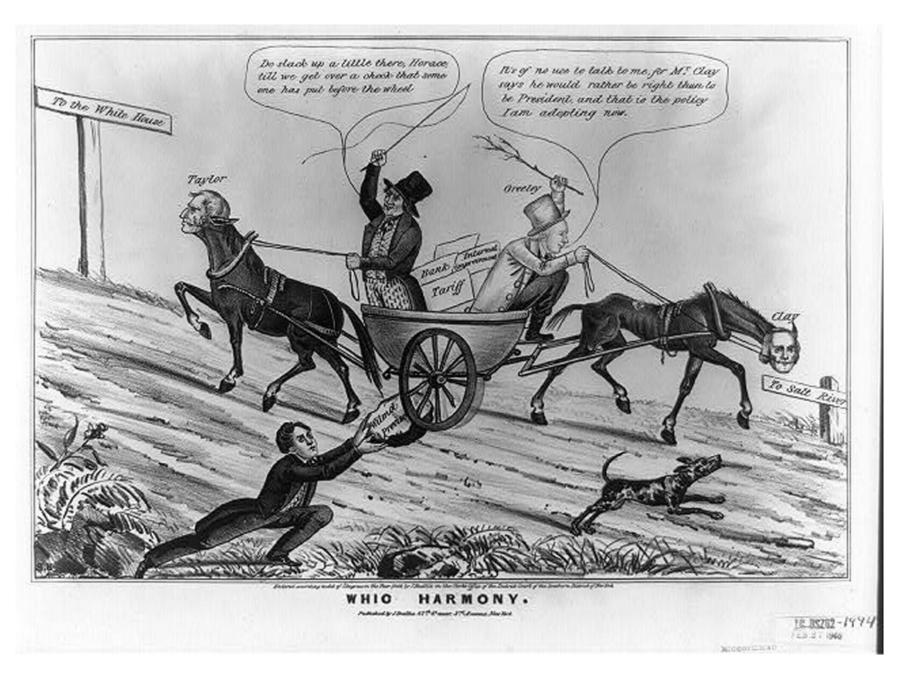
distaste to the democratic institutions of their country. The populace is at once the object of their scorn and of their fears. If the maladministration of the democracy ever brings about a revolutionary crisis, and if monarchical institutions ever become practicable in the United States, the truth of what I advance will become obvious.

The two chief weapons which parties use in order to ensure success are the public press and the formation of associations.

"The Whale that Swallowed Jonah," 1844



"Whig Harmony," 1848



Know-Nothing National Platform, July 13, 1855

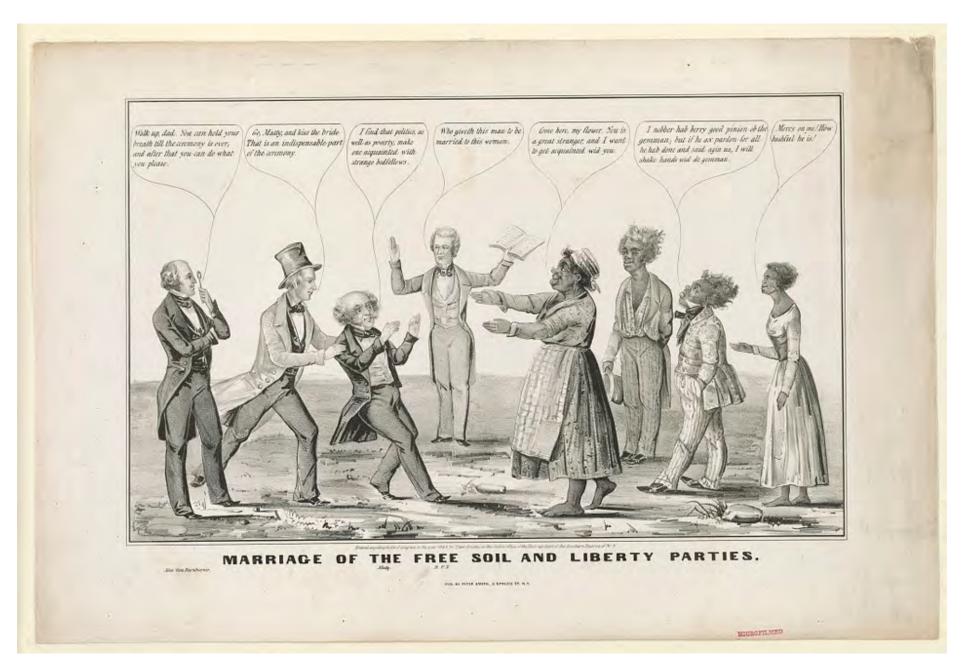
"Chr Stutes--- Distinct as the Billow, bu one as the Jen." CHARLOTTE, N. C., FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 13, 1855.

Grand Democratic Free Soil Banner, 1848



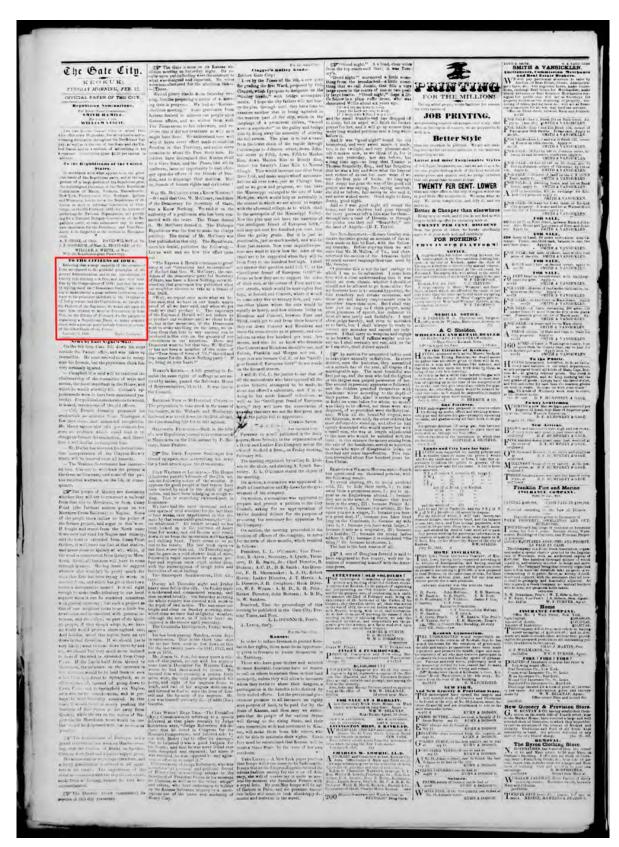
"Grand Democratic Free Soil Banner," 1848. Courtesy of Library of Congress

"Marriage of the Free Soil and Liberty Parties," 1848



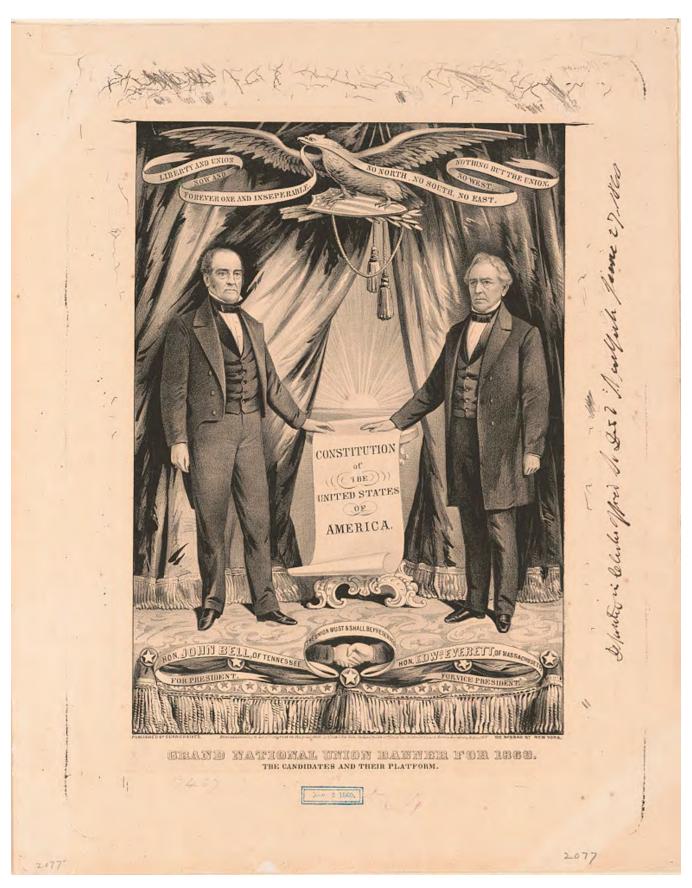
"Marriage of the Free Soil and Liberty Parties," 1848. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Governor James Grimes' Letter to the Citizens of Iowa, February 12, 1856



Grimes, James, "To The Citizens of Iowa," *The Daily Gate City*, pp. 2, 12 February 1856. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Grand National Union Banner, 1860

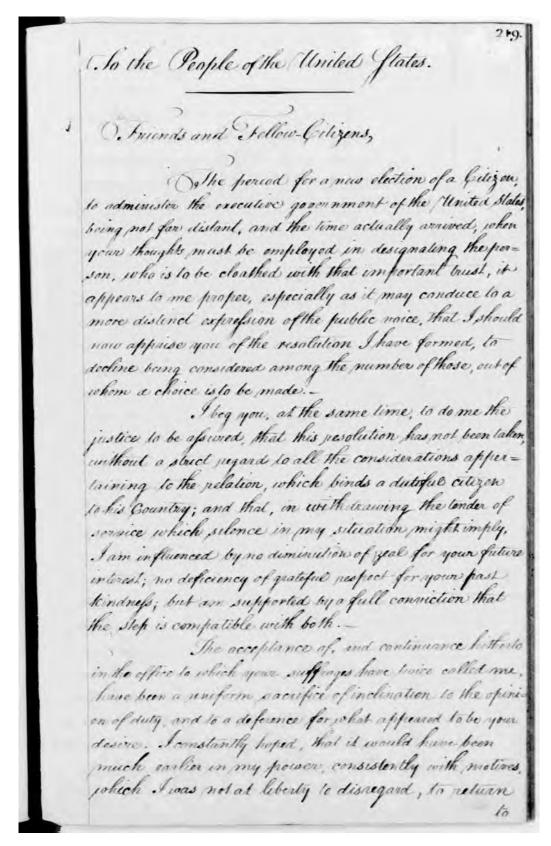


"Grand national union banner for 1860. The candidates and their platform," Currier & Ives, 1860. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Federalist Paper No. 10, November 22, 1787

Madison, James, Federalist No. 10: "The Same Subject Continued: The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection," *New York Daily Advertiser*, 22 November 1787. Courtesy of National Archives

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220, to that reterement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then purplised and outscal posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the son. tement of duty or propriety; and anopersuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our Country, you well not disapprove my determination to retire. The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, come explained on the proper occasion . In the discharge of this trust Swell only say, that I have with good intentions, conbutuled towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. . Not unconscious, in the outset, of the infent ority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strongthened the molives to difficence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me asit will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value torny services

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they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the holitical scene, patriotism does not forbid it. In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not formit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which fowe to my believed Country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opporter milies I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persovering though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted toods Country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every derection, were liable to mislead, askidst appearances sometimes dutions, pricessitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not un= frequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of outicism the constancy of your support was the Sportial prop of the efforts, and a quarante of the plans by which they were effected . - Profountly pendialed with this idea, I shall carry it with melo my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing pows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence - that your union and brotherly affects on may be perpetual - that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained that its administration in every department may be stamped

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222.	
222.	
	stamped with wisdom and value - that in fine,
0	the happiness of the people of these states, under
	the auspecies of Liberty, may be made complete by
	so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of
	this blefoing as will acquire to them the glory of
	recommending it to the applause the affection
	and adoption of every nation which is riet a shange to it -
	Hore, perhaps, Tought to stop. But a
	solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but
	with my life, and the apprehension of danger,
	natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion
	like the present, to offer to your solemen contempla-
	lion, and to recommend to your frequent wow
	some sentiments, which are the result of much
	replection, of no inconsiderable observation, and
	which appear to me all important to the from a =
	suncy of your felicity as a people. These will
	be offered to you with the more freedom, as you
y	of a parting friend, who can posibly have no
	personal motive to bias his council . Vor can
	Iforget, as an encouragement toil, your indulgent
	reception of my sentiments on a former and not
	difimilar occasion
	Interwoven as is the love of Liberty
	with every ligament of your hearts, no recom-
	mendation of mine is necessary to fortify or
	confum the allackment.
	The unity offwernment which
	constitutes you one people, is also now dear
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to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pollar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility al home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of you perety; of that very Liberty which you be highly p But as it is easy to foresce, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pouns will be taken; many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constant - by and actively (though often covertly and insidiously directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual hap pinos; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Pallo dium of your political safety and prosperty; watch ing for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discoun lenancing whatever may suggest wen a suspicion that il can be my goest be abandlened; and indignantly from ing upon the first downing of every attempt to alienate my portion of our Country from the rest or to enfuble He sacred lies which now link together the various For this you have every inducement of sym pathy and interest . Gitizens by both or choice, of a Gommon Gountry, that Country has a right to concen trate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exall the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation

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224.	
of fet	Cation derived from local descriminations
	the slight shades of difference you have the same
	nion manners, hatits, and political principles.
	have in a common cause fought and bumphio
lear	then; the Independence and Liberty you
	of are the work of joint councils, arte joint -
	ds, of common dangers, sufferings & sucrefies.
117"	But these considerations, however power
· tu	
	by they address themselves to your sensitelity,
	qualty culiverghed by those which apply more
	edialely to your interest He ere word portion
	Country finds the most commanding motives
	vefully guarding and preserving the Union
of the	whole
	The North in an unustrained inter-
	se with the South, pretected by the equal laws
1.6	common Government, finds in the productions of
	after great additional resources of martine and
	morethe enterfrise and precious materials of
	infacturing industry. The south in the same
	course benefitting by the agency of the north
	its agriculture grow and its commerce expand.
lun	ning partly into its own charmels the seamen
	North, it finds its particular navigation were
	led; and while it contributes, in defferent ways.
	wish and increase the General male of the
	nat navigation, it looks forward to the protection
	martiche stringth, to which itself is uniqually
	bled. The work in a like intercourse with the
	already finds, and in the prografiene improvement
of on	lerior communications by land and water, will
1	More

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more and more find a valuable next for the communities which it brings from abroad, or manufactores at home. The West downs from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort and what is perhaps of still qualer cons quence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment in dis persable outels for its own productions to the weight, influence; and the future maritime strength of the allantic side of the Union develed by an indistrible community of Interest as one nation . Iny other leneve by which the Hat can hold this ofential advantage whether derived from its own seperate strongth, or from an apostale and unratural connection with any foreign power, must be intunsically precarious. While then every hart of our country thus feels an immediate and porticular interest in Union all the hanks combined cannot fail to find in the linded muft of means and offerts qualer strength, greater usowice, reportionably quality security from External danger, a les frequent interruption of their peace by foreign hattons; and what is of inestimable value! They much derive from Union an exemption from these brils and toos between themselves which so greguently afflict neighboring count bies, not led logether by the same Government; which their own revalships alone would be suffecient to produce but which opposite foreign alliances attachments and intrigues would stimulate and imbeller . - Honce likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown metetary establishments, which under any form of govern ment are inaus picious to Liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Bepublican Siberty; In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered

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226 considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preser valion of the other . These considerations speak a posua sive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and while the continuance of the Union as a fremary object of Patriotic desire. Is there adoubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere! Let experience solveit. To listen to more speculation in such wase were ourninal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the undiary agency of Governments for the respective sute divisions, will afford a happy if we to the experiment. Tis well worth a fair and full experiment with such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all harts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated it improcletitity, there will always be reason to destrust the patriolism of these, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken it bank. In contemplating the courses which may distint our Union, it ocaus as maller of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by Geographical discumonations Northern and Southern - Allantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local Interests and powers. One of the expedients of party to require influence within particular districts, is to his represent the opinions and aims of other district. Joucannot sheld yourselves too much against the jealousies and heard burnings which spring from

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these misrepresentations: they tord to under dlien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fratunal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lefon on this head : they have seen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Semate, of the Greaty with spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the went throughout the united states, a decisive perof how unfounded were the suspecions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and In the Atlante states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the diffif pi : They have been to drefses to the formation of two heaties. that with great Butain and that with Spain, which se cure to them every theny they could assire, in respect to our foreign relations, lowards confirming their prosperty. Will it not be their wisdom to pely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not hence forth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are who would sever them from their A other and connect them with alers? To the officery and permanency of your union a Government for the whole is indispensable No alliances however stud , between the parts can be an adequate substitute; They must inevelably experience the impactions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth you have improved upon your fish spay by the adoption of Gonstitution of Govern ment better calculated than your former for an internate Union, and for the effections management of your com mon concurs. This Government the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full in vestigation and malure deliberation, completely free in

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228.	
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	its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting sice
	rely with onergy, and containing within itself a provision
	for its own amendment, has a just claim to your conf
	dence and your support. Respect for its authority,
	compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures,
	are dulies enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true
	Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right
	of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of
	Government - But the Constitution which at any time
	erists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act
	of the whole people, is scoredly obligatory whomall. The
	very idea of the power and the pight of the people to esta-
	blish Government purapposes the duty of very invisional
	to stey the established Government -
	All obstructions to the execution of the
	Laws, all combinations and afsociations, under what
	ever plausible character with the real design to
	direct, controll, countered, or awe the ugular deli
	becation and action of the constituted authorities, are
	destructive of this fundamental principle, and
	of fatal lender off. They serve to organize fuction
	to give it an artificial and extraordinary fora to
	put in the place of the delegated will of the nation,
	The will of party, often a small but artful and
	enturprising monority of the community; and accord
	ing to the alternate triumphs of deferent putes, to
	make the public administration the mirror of the
	ill concerted and in conquious projects of faction,
	rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome
1	plans digested by common councils, and modified
	by mutual interests
	Mowever

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If owever combinations or afsociations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they we likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambilious and unfoun cipled men will be enabled to subveit the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the peigns of Govern ment; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lefted them to unjust dominion. Sowards the preservation of your Govern ment, and the permanency of your present happy state it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance onequelar oppositions loits acknowledged authority but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its founciples however specious the fulexts. One method of afault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution allerations which will impair the energy of the system and thus to undermine what cannot be directly over thrown . In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember. that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the two character of Governments, as of other human inste tutions - that experience is the surest standard, by which to lest the wal tendency of the wishing constitution of a country - that facility in changes upon the credit of more hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opimion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is undespensable. Liberty itself will find in such

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230.	
	a some of ill book but he with the
	a government with powers properly distributed and adjust
	its surest quardian. It is indeed, little else than a
	name, where the government is loo fable to withstand
	the enterpreses of faction to confine each member of the
	Socuely within the limits prescribed by the laws, and
	to maintain all in the secure and tranquel injoyment
	of the nights of person and property
	I have already intimated to you, the
	danger of parties in the state, with particular refor-
	ence to the founding them on geo graphical discar-
	minations. Let me now take a more computersen
	wine, and warn you in the most solemn manner
	againer the baneful of sects of the spirit of party,
	Generally
	This spirit, unfortunately, is insepuale
	from our nature having its noot in the strongest pop
	one of the human mind. It wisis under defount
	shapes in all governments more or les stifled continued
	or represed; but in these of the popular form, it is sun
	in it's quartest ran lenefo and is truly their worst enemy.
	The atternale domination of one faction
	over another, sharpered by the spirit of perenge, halu
	ral to party descrition, which in different agreement
	countries has perpetrated the most hornit enormeter
1	is itself a frightful des polism . But this lands at
	length to a more formal and prominent despetion
	The disorders and miseries which pout, gradually
	encline the minds of mon to seek security and
1	repose in the absolute power of an individual and
1	dooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction,
1	more able or more fortunale than his competitors
1	turns

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levens this disposition to the purposes of his own sevation, on the ruins of Public Leberty. Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind which nevertheless ought not to be entirely ought of age the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of farty are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise Sople to discourage and pestain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and infuble the public Administration . It agitales the Community with ill founded palousies and false alarms; kindles the animosely of one part against another foments occa signally not and insunection . It opens the door to forigh influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated accept to the government itself through the charnes of party fragiers. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. There is an opinion that parties in free courbus are useful checks upon the administration of the Govern ment, and some to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, Patriolism may look with indulgance, if not with favour whow the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in go vernments purely decline, it is a sperit not to be encouraged From their natural tendency, it is cutain there will always be enough of that stiril for every salulary purpose. And there being constant danger of ercefs the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to metigate and afrage it. A fire not tobe quenched; it demands a uniform orge lance to prevent its bursting into a flame lest, instead of warming it should consume

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232. It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution. in these entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres. avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encloach upon another. The spirit of sucreachment Lends to consolictate the powers of all the departments in one, and the to create, whatever the form of grown ment, a real despetism. A just estimate of that love of power, and pronents to abuse it, which predominates in the human hant, is sufficient to salisty as of the buth of this position . The necessity of peciprocat cheeks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the quardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been eveneed by experiments ancient and mornen some of them in our country and unau our non eges. To preserve them much be as nece pary as to institute them If, in the opinion of the Poople , the distribution or most preation of the constitutional powers be in any fraticular corong, let it be corrected by an amendihent in the way which the constitution designates . - But let the be no change by usunpation; for the this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary wapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in forma ment wil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield . -Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports . In vain would that Man

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man claim the butule of patriotism, who should labour to subout these great pillars of human happiness, these firmed props of the dulis of Men and Citizens . - The more Polite equally with the pious man ought to perfect and to che nish them - A volume could not trace all their connections with provate and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the securely for property, for reputation, for Life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in bourts of fustice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be concid. ed to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in evclusion of religious prin cifile ._ The substantially true, that value or one on ldy is a necessary spring of popular government. The pull free governments Who that is a senene friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the founda-Premote, then, as an object of prinary importance institutions for the general diffusion of know ledge .- In proportion as the Structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is opinited that public openion should be enlightened. . As a very important source of strongth and security cherish public credit. One method of freser ing it is to use it as sparingly as popule, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that limity disbursements to prepare for danger frequently Precent

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234. prevent much greater disbursements to repet it; avoid ing likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shun ming occasions of expense, but by sugarous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoid able wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throw ing whon posterity the burther which we ourselves ought to have . The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necepary that public opinion should cooperate . To facilitate to them the performance of their daty it is ofential that you should percelically bear in mind, that lowards the payment of debls there need be Revenue: that to have Revenue there must be layer; that no lares can be devised which are not more or life inconvenient and unpleasant; from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties I ought tobe a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spent of acquiesence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public engencies may at any time declate. Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; Heligion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at me distant peries, a great hation to give to mankind the magnane mous and too move example of a people always que by an matted justice and benivolence . It ho can doubt that in the course of times things the fruits of such a plan would rickly pepay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it! can it be,

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235 that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a mation with its victue? The experiment, at least is proommended by every sentiment which unnobles human pature. Has . is it rendered impossible by its vices? In the societion of such a plan , nothing is more epential than that permanent, involvate autipathies against particular Nations, and papionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amerable pellings toward all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulys towards another an habitual hatred, or an habelual fondrely, is in some degree a slave. It is a place to its animority ortils affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duly & its interest. Anlipathy in one nation against another disposes each more peadely to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughly and in = tractable, when accidental or hipling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate envenomed, and bloody contests. The Vation prompted by illwill and resentment sometimes impels towar the Government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participales in the national propersity, and abopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambetien and other simister and purhiceous motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Mations has been the weline . So likewise, a possionate allackment of one Nation for another produces availely of wils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an

President George Washington's Farewell Address, September 19, 1796 (pg.18)

235 that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a mation with its victue? The experiment, at least is proommended by every sentiment which ennobles human pature. Has . is it rendered impossible by its vices? In the societion of such a plan , nothing is more epential than that permanent, involvate autipathies against particular Nations, and papionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amerable pellings toward all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulys towards another an habitual hatred, or an habelual fondrely, is in some degree a slave. It is a place to its animority ortils affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duly & its interest. Anlipathy in one nation against another disposes each more peadely to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughly and in = tractable, when accidental or hipling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate envenomed, and bloody contests. The Vation prompted by illwill and resentment sometimes impels towar the Government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participales in the national propersity, and abopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambetien and other simister and purhiceous motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Mations has been the weline . So likewise, a possionate allackment of one Nation for another produces availely of wils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an

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236. maginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest posts, and infusing into one the inmilies of the other belays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to conceptions to the favornike . Valion of privileges denied to others which is aft doubly to enjure the nation making the Concepts ous; by unneceparity parting with what ought to have been retained; and by weiting jealousy ill will and a disposition to relatiate in the pulies from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambelious corrupted, or deluded bitizens who devote themselves to the favorile nations facility to beliag or sacrefice the interests of their own boundry without odum Sometimes were without popularity; gilding with the appearances of a soluous sense of bligation a commentable defer ence for public of inion or a landable year for public good, the base or foolish compliances of unbilion corrup: lion or infratuation . . As avenues to foreigh influence in wome merable ways, such allockness are particularly alarming to the buly enty blace and independent patriet. How many ofportundes do they afford to laufer with downs lie factions to practice the acts of Seduction to mistant public ofmin, to influence or awe the hubble Councils! such an allackment of a small or week lowards a great and powerful thation, dooms the former to be the Salellile of the baller . -Against the insidious wiles of foreign infleence I conjure you to believe me, fellow believes the calousy of a free people ought to be constantly awate;

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238.	
- 4	hazard the giving as provocation; when we may
	choose peace or war, as our interest, quided by
	justice shall counsel
	Why forego the advantages of so peculi
1	a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon for
	ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with the
othing;	of any part of Gurope intangle our heace and
oth	prosperity in the toils of Buropean ambition, words
2	interest humour or capsice?
er can	Tis our true policy to steer clear of fur
1	manent alliances, with any fierlier of the foreigh toor
1 60	So far, I mean, as we are now at liberty lodeit; for
es co	let me not be understood as capable of patronising in
man	fedelity to existing engagements. Sheld the maxim
, la	les applicable to public than to prevate reflies that home
run	is always the best policy . Infeat it therefore, let these
the	ongagements be observed on their genuine sense. But in any opinion, it is unnecessity and would be unwise to
W.	entend them
24	Jaking care always to keep varselves,
med	by suitable establishments, on a us pedable defension
119	posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances
100	for extraordinary omergences.
4 64	Harmony, liberal intercourse with all
lyin	nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and
defound and deserved	interest. But even our commercial policy should
de	hold an equal and impartial hand; wither seeking
and	morgranting exclusive favours or preferences; consult-
bus	ing the natural course of things testablishing, with
offen	from so disposed in order to give trade a stable
2, 4	course, to define the jughts of our . Hachants and
*	to

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to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present cucum stances and mulual openion well permet but temperary, and liable lobe from line tolome abandoned or varied as experience and cucumstan cu shall declate; constantly kuping in rece, that tis folly in one nation to look for disenteristed favours from another, that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place uself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours and get of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect; or calculate upon peal favours from nation to mation. Is an illusion which experience must care, which a just feeds ought to descard . In offering to you my Gountrymen, these cour sels of an old and affectionale friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impressions could wish . that they will controve the usual current of the papiens, or prevent our mation from punning the course which has he therto marked the desting of nations: But if I may woon flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit some occasional good; that they may now and then wew to moderate the dary of party spirit to warn against the Mischufs of foreign intregue to quard against the empossures of pretended patriohim; this kope will be a full recompence for the soliculade for your weifare by which they have been declated How for in the discharge of my official duties, I have been quided by the principles which have

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240.	
240.	
	been delineated, the public necords and other evidences
	of my conduct must withely to you and to the world.
	To myself the afourance of my own conscience is, that
	I have at least believed myself to be quided by him.
	In relation to the still Subsisting War
	in Europe, my proclamation of the 22? of april
	1793 is the index to my plan . Sanctioned by your
	approving voice and by that of your Representations
	in toth Houses of Congress the spirit of that measure
	has continually goverhed me; uninfluenced by any
	allempts to deler or divert me from it.
	After deliberate examination with the
	aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well sale
	fied that our country, under all the circumstances
	of the case, had a jught totake, and was bound in
	duly and interest, to take a puntal position, -
	Having taken it I deturnined as far as should
	depend upon me to maintain it, with moderation,
	perseverance and fammels.
	The considerations which respect the
	right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on
	this occasion to detail . I will only observe that
	according to my understanding of the matter that
	night, so far from being denied by any of the Better
	gerent bowers has been virtually admitted by all.
	The duty of holding a puntral conduct
	may be inferred without any thing more from the
	obligation which justice and humanity impose on
	every mation, in cases in which it is free load,
	to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and
	amily lowards other malions -
	The
	ma

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The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour le gain line lo our country le pelle & malure de get recent institutions, and to progres without interruption to that degree of dringth and consistency which is necessary to give it humanly speaking, the command of its own forlunes . Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration dam unconscious of intentional error. Sam never theles loo sousible of my depects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errow. whatever they may be I pervently besuch the . Himighty to avest or miligde the wells to which they may lend . I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never rease to vino them with indulgence; and that after porty five years of my life dedicated to its sorvice with an upright zeal the faults of in composione abilities will be consigned to bolivion as my rely must seen be to the mansions of rest .. Relying on its hinduels in this asin other things, and actualed by that fewert love lowards it which is so palural to a man who, since in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I articipate with pleasing expedition that retreat in which of promise my self to realize, without alloy the sweet enjoument of partaking in the midst of my follow Colizens the benign in fluence of good laws under a free government - the ever favourite object of my heart. and the happy wward, as I but, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers . -Unded States, 4. Hashington. 17 . September 1796.

Letter from Former President Andrew Jackson to Amos Kendall, June 2, 1840

XLI.

HERMITAGE, June 2nd. 1840.

My Dear Sir: I have just seen your letter of resignation in the Giobe, and your amnouncement that you will, until next November, become the editor of the extra Globe. Al the I regret your resignation & still more the cause, still I am rejoiced that you will take held of the extra Globe, as I well know you will give life & spirit to the paper, as well as to the democratic republican party throughout the union. The present crisis requires this, and all our papers require a stimulus to call things by their proper names, and to bring to the view of the people the present attempt of the Federalists to bring our republican system into perfect contempt by holding forth to the world there are none fit to rule a representative Government but those who drink some cider & live in Logg cabins. Was there ever such an attempt to degrade our republican system & bring it into perfect disgrace by the Federalists and all its unprincipled coalitions? This, by your pen, can be brought before the people in such strong colours that will destroy the opposition, and cause them & their humbug to be deprecated by all men who are in favour of a republican government & representative system. It is only necessary to bring this attempt to degrade & distroy our government by the hard cider system fairly before the people, to destroy them.

to be deprecated by all men who are in favour of a republican government & representative system. It is only necessary to bring this attempt to degrade & distroy our government by the hard cider system fairly before the people, to destroy them.

By the way of a small encouragement I enclose you a five dollar Tennessee Bank bill just handed me by a Mr. William W. Gift, of Holly Springs, Mississippi, with a request that you will forward to his address to that place, five copies of the extra Globe. It is impossible here now to get Eastern funds to remit. Mr. Gift is a thorough going democrat, & wishes the five to be enclosed to him for distribution.

I enclose you a quarter Eagle, sealed to this letter,

I enclose you a quarter Eagle, sealed to this letter, for which you will please send me two copies, one for myself & the other for Major A. J. Donelson, which you will please send to my address.

will please send to my address.

If you have leisure please write me & give me the political views of Washington. Our democratic members from some cause get on badly in Congress. Why is it that the independant treasury bill has not yet been acted upon? The passage of that bill now would have a fine effect upon our republican cause.

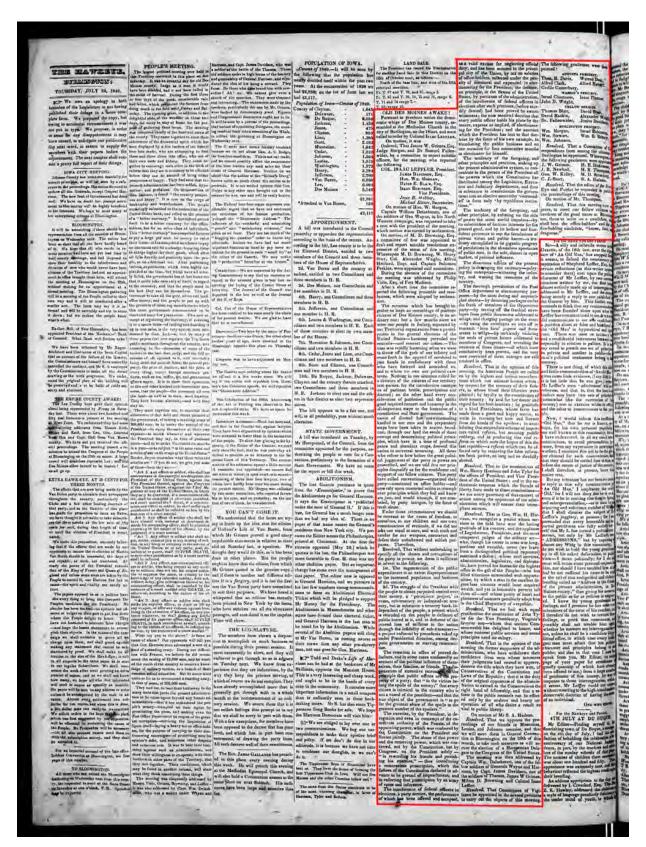
I have been quite sick lately; am a little better to-day; but with my various & continued affliction, my glass must soon run out.

I would be very happy to see you at the Hermitage once more.

With the kindest feeling myself & family salute you & yours. Yr friend ANDREW JACKSON

P. S. 5 copies to be sent to W.W.Gift, Holly Springs, Marshall County, Mississippi. AMOS KENDALL Esq late P M General, Washington

"Old Des Moines Awake!" Newspaper Article, July 23, 1840



"True Republican Ticket" Ballot, 1860

True Republican FOR PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN. FOR VICE PRESIDENT Hannibal Hamlin. ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. Senatorial-FITZ HENRY WARREN of 1st Dist. .. -JOS. A, CHAPLINE " 2d " Congressional-M. L. McPHERSON " 1st " -CHAS, POMEROY " 2d " Judge of the Supreme Court-GEO. G. WRIGHT. For Secretary of State ELIJAH SELLS. " Auditor of State......J. W. CATTELL, " Treasurer of State JOHN W. JONES. " Register of State Land Office. . A. B. MILLER, " Attorney General CHAS. C. NOURSE. Representative to Congress. . SAMUEL R. CURTIS. Member of the Board of Education. . S. F. COOPER. Clerk of the District Court WM. S. EDGAR. For Supervisor, S, A. AlKIN. For Justices of the Peace, GEO. BENNETT, " " JOHN FUNSTON. For Constable, JOHN VOORHEES, CARLISLE CANTERBERRY. For Assessor, JACOB MILLER. Trustees, T. SHANNON, PETER CANINE, and MADISON TICE. For Clerk, WM. MILLER. Road Supervisor Dist. No.