

J. S. Black
OPEN LETTER.

J. S. BLACK TO GEN. GARFIELD

WHERE THE GENERAL GOT HIS IDEAS.

PRO-SLAVERY DOCTRINES

OF

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

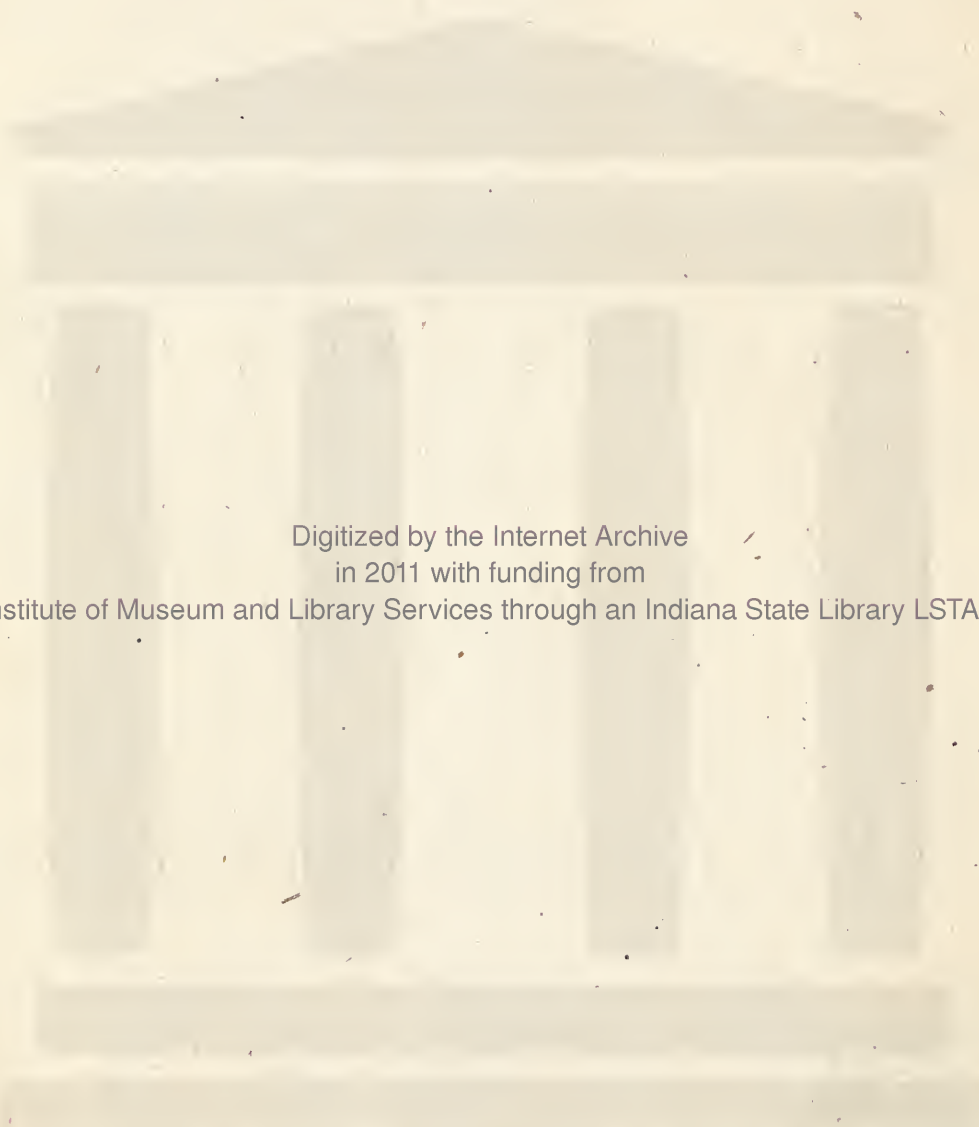
CARPET BAG AND CREDIT MOBILIER THIEVES.

REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION.

GARFIELD'S UNFAITHFULNESS

TO THE

"GODDESS OF LIBERTY."



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LETTER.

TO HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

Member of Congress from Ohio.

I have read the speech you sent me. I am astonished and shocked. As the leader of your party, to whom the candidates have specially delegated the conduct of the pending campaign, you should have met your responsibilities in a very different way. I do not presume to lecture so distinguished a man upon his errors; but if I can prevent you, even to a small extent, from abusing the public credulity, it is my duty to try. Premising only my great anxiety to preserve the fraternal relations existing between us for many years, I follow the Horatian rule, and come at once to "the middle of things."

You trace back the origin of present parties to the earliest immigrations at Plymouth and Jamestown, and profess to find in the opposing doctrines then planted and afterwards constantly cherished in Massachusetts and Virginia, the germs of those ideas which now make Democracy and Abolitionism the deadly foes of each other. The ideas so planted in Massachusetts were, according to your account, the freedom and equality of all races, and the right and duty of every man to exercise his private judgment in politics as well as religion. On the other hand, you set forth as irreconcilably hostile the doctrine of Virginia, "that capital should own labor, that the negro had no rights of manhood, and that the white man might buy, own and sell him and his offspring forever." Following these assertions with others, and linking the present with the long past, you employ the devices of your rhetoric to glorify the modern Abolitionist and to throw foul scorn, not merely on the Southern people, but on the whole Democracy of the country.

This looks learned and philosophical, and it gives your speech a dignity seemingly above the reach of the ordinary demagogue. Happy is he who knows the causes of things; felicitous is the partisan member of Congress whose stump speech goes up the river of time to the first fountains of good and evil. But your contrast of historical facts is open to one objection, which I give you in a form as simple as possible when I say that it is wholly *destitute of truth*. This, of course, implies no imputation on your good faith. Your high character in the Church, as well as the State, forbids the belief that you would be guilty of wilful misrepresentation.

The men of Massachusetts, so far from *planting* the right of private judgment extirpated and utterly *extinguished* it, by means so cruel that no man of common humanity can think of them even now without disgust and indignation. I am surprised to find you ignorant of this. Did you never hear of the frightful persecutions they carried on systematically against Baptists and Quakers and Catholics? how they fined, imprisoned, lashed, mutilated, enslaved and banished everybody that claimed the right of free thought? how they stripped the most virtuous and inoffensive women, and publicly whipped them on their naked backs,

only for expressing their conscientious convictions? Have you never, in all your reading, met with the story of Roger Williams? For merely suggesting to the public authorities of the colony that no person ought to be punished on account of his honest opinions, he was driven into the woods and pursued ever afterwards with a ferocity that put his own life and that of his friends in constant danger. In fact, the cruelty of their laws against the freedom of conscience and the unfeeling rigor with which they were executed, made Massachusetts odious throughout the world.

These great crimes of the Pilgrim Fathers ought not to be cast up to their children; for some of their descendants (I hope a good majority) are high-principled and honest men, sincerely attached to the liberal institutions planted in the more southern latitudes of the continent. But if you are right in your assertion that the Abolitionists derive their principles from the ideas entertained and planted at Plymouth, that may account for the coarse and brutal tyranny with which your party has, in recent times, trampled upon the rights of free thought and free speech.

Nor are you more accurate in your declaration that the old Yankees planted the doctrine of freedom and equality, or opposed the domination of one race over another. Messrs. Palfrey and Sumner have said something to the effect that slavery never existed in Massachusetts, and you may have been misled by them. But either they were wholly ignorant of the subject, or else they spoke with that loose and lavish unveracity which is a common fault among men of their political sect. The Plymouth colony and the province of Massachusetts Bay were proslavery to the backbone. If you doubt this I refer you to Moore's "*History of Slavery in Massachusetts*," where the evidence (consisting chiefly of records and documents perfectly authenticated) is produced and collated with a fulness and fairness which cannot be questioned. The Plymouth immigrants planted precisely the doctrine which you ascribe to the Jamestown colonists; that is to say, they held that "the negro had no rights of manhood; that the white man might buy, own and sell him and his offspring forever." Practically and theoretically they maintained that human slavery in its most unmitigated form was a perfectly just, proper and desirable institution, entirely consistent with Christianity as they understood it, and founded on principles of universal jurisprudence. They insisted upon it as an established and settled rule of the law of nations that when one government or community or political organization made war upon its own subjects, or the subjects of another, and vanquished them, the people of the beaten party had no rights to which the right of the conquerors was not paramount. Whenever it was demonstrated, by actual experiment, that any people were too weak to defend their homes and families against an invader who visited them with fire and sword, they might lawfully be stripped of their property, and they themselves, their wives and their children, might justly be held as slaves or sold into perpetual bondage. That was the idea they planted in their own soil, propagated among their cotemporaries, and transmitted to the Abolition party of the present day. You have preached and practised it in all your dealings with the South. This absolute domination is what you mean, if you mean anything, when you talk about the "precious results of the war." If the doctrine thus planted by the original settlers in Massachusetts be true, and if the "*precious fruits*" of it, which you are gathering with so much industry, be legitimate, it is a perfect justification of all the slavery that ever existed on this continent. Your great exemplars, from whom you acknowledge that you have derived your ideas of freedom, certainly thought, or professed to think so, and they carried it out to its logical consequences. When an African potentate chose to fight with and subdue a weak tribe, inside or out of his own dominions, he sold the prisoners whom he did not think proper to kill, and the men of Massachusetts bought them without a question of his title. They kept them and worked them to death, or sold them again as their interest prompted—for they held that the right of domination, resulting from the

application of brute force, was good in the hands of all subsequent purchasers, however remote from the original *conquisitor*.

They executed this theory to its fullest extent in their own wars with the Indians. Without cause or provocation, and without notice or warning, they fell upon the Pequods, massacred many of them, and made slaves of the survivors, without distinction of age or sex. About seven hundred, including many women and children, were sent to the West Indies, and there sold on public account, the proceeds being put into the colonial treasury. Eight score of these unfortunate people escaped from the butchery by flight, and afterwards agreed to give themselves up on a solemn promise of the authorities that they should neither be put to death nor enslaved. The promise was broken with as little remorse as a modern Abolitionist would violate his oath to support the Constitution. The "precious results of the war" were not to be lost by an honest observance of their pledged faith, and the victims of this infamous treachery were all of them shipped to the Barbadoes, and sold or "swapped for Blackamoors." This practice of enslaving their captives was uniform, covered all cases, and included women and children, as well as fighting men. When death put King Philip beyond their reach, they sent his wife and child with the rest to be sold into slavery. The Indians made bad slaves. They were hard to tame, they escaped to the forest, and had to be hunted down, brought back and branded. They never ceased to be sullen and disobedient. The Africans always, on the contrary, "accepted the situation," were easily domesticated, and bore the yoke without murmuring. For that reason, it became a settled rule of public and private economy in Massachusetts to exchange their worthless Indians for valuable negroes, cheating their West India customers in every trade. Perhaps it was here that your party got the *germ* of its honesty as well as its humanity. They made war for no other object than to supply themselves with subjects for this fraudulent traffic. In 1643 Emanuel Downing, the foremost lawyer in the colony and a leader of commanding influence, as well as high connections, made a written argument in favor of a war with the Narragansetts. He did not pretend that any wrong had been done; but he had a pious dread that Massachusetts would be held responsible for the false religion of the Narragansetts. "I doubt," says he, "if it be not synne in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the devil which their powwows often doe." This tenderness of conscience for the sins of other people is very characteristic of the party which got the "germ of its ideas" from that source. But go a little further and you will see with pleasure how exactly you have copied their doctrines. This is the way Mr. Downing applies the motive power. "If," says he, "upon a just war, the Lord should deliver them into our hand, we might easily have *men, women and children* enough to *exchange* for Moors (negroes), which will be more gaynefull pilladge for us than wee conceive; for I do not see how wee can thrive untill we *get into a stock of slaves* sufficient to do all our business." This (except the spelling) might come from an Abolition caucus to-day. You will find Downing's letter in Moore, p. 10.

They did get most of their Indians off, and supplied themselves with negroes in their place. "The shameless inhumanity with which the blacks were used made slavery in Massachusetts "the sum of all villainy." In the letter of Downing, already referred to, he says: "You know very well we shall mayntayne twenty Moores cheaper than one Englishe servant." Think of reducing a West India negro in that intensely cold climate to the one-twentieth part of the food and clothing which a white menial was in the habit of getting. They must have been frozen and starved to death in great numbers. When that happened it was but the loss of an *animal*. The harboring of a slave woman was, in 1646, pronounced by the highest authority to be the same injury as the unlawful detention of a *beast*. In 1716, Sewell, the Chief Justice of the colony, said that negroes were rated with *horses and hogs*. Dr. Belknap tells us that afterwards, when the stock enlarged and the market became dull, young negroes and mulat-

toes were sometimes given away like *puppies*. This is the kind of freedom, this the equality of the races, which you learned from the ancient colonists.

But they taught you more than that. Their precept and example established the slavery of white persons as well as Indians and negroes. As their remorseless tyranny spared no age and no sex, so it made no distinction of color. Besides the cargoes of white heretics which were captured and shipped to them by their brethren in England, they took special delight in fastening their yoke on all who were suspected of heterodoxy. One instance is worthy of special attention. Lawrence Southwick and his wife were Quakers, and accused at the same time with many others of attending Quaker meeting, or "syding with Quakers" and "absenting themselves from the publick ordinances." The Southwicks had previously suffered so much in their persons and estates from this kind of persecution, that they could no longer work or pay any more fines, and, therefore, the general court, by solemn resolution, ordered them to be banished on pain of death. Banishment, you will not fail to notice, was in itself, equivalent to a lingering death, if the parties were poor and feeble; for it meant merely driving them into the wilderness to starve with hunger and cold. Southwick and his wife went out and died very soon. But that is not all. This unfortunate pair had two children; a boy and a girl, (Daniel and Provided), who, having healthy constitutions, would bring a good price in the slave market. These children were taken from the parents and ordered to be sold in the West Indies. It happened, however, that there was not a shipmaster in any port of the colony who would consent to become the agent of their exportation and sale. The authorities, being thus baulked in their views of the main chance, were fain to be satisfied in another way; they ordered the girl to be whipped; she was lashed accordingly, in company with several other Quaker ladies, and then committed to prison, to be further proceeded with. History loses sight of her there. No record shows whether they killed her or not.

This is one case out of a great many. It is very interesting and instructive when taken in connection with your speech; for it shows the "germ of the idea" which your party acted on when it kidnapped and imprisoned men and women by the thousands for believing in American liberty as guaranteed by the constitution. The Quakers and Baptists had no printed organs in that day through which their private judgment could be expressed; else you would no doubt have cases directly in point to justify your forcible suppression of two hundred and fifty newspapers.

Enmity to the right of private judgment comes down to the party of Plymouth ideas by consistent and regular succession. It is woven like a dirty stripe into the whole warp and woof of their history. As soon as they got possession of the federal government under John Adams they began to use it as an engine for the suppression of free thought. Their alien law gave the President power to banish or imprison without trial any foreigner whose opinions might be obnoxious to his supporters. Their sedition law put every Democratic speaker and writer under the heel of the administration. Their standing army was used, as it now is, to crush out their political opponents. If you come into Eastern Pennsylvania, and particularly into the good county of Berks, you will learn that the people there still think with indignation of that old reign of terror when Federal dragoons kidnapped, insulted and beat their fathers, chopped down their "liberty poles," broke to pieces the press of the "Reading Eagle," and whipped its venerated editor in the market house. The same spirit broke out again in the burning of nunneries and churches under Maria Monk, and under John Brown the whole country swarmed with spies and kidnappers. When you abandoned the harlot and rallied to the standard of the thief, you changed your leader without changing your principles.

The slave code planted in Massachusetts was the earliest in America and the most cruel in all its provisions. It was pertinaciously adhered to for generations,

and never repented of, or formally repealed. It was gradually abandoned, not because it was wrong, but solely because it was found, after long experiment, to be unprofitable. Their plan of keeping twenty negroes as cheaply as one white servant did not work well; for in that climate a negro thus used would infallibly die before his labor paid what he cost. They sold their stock whenever they could, but emancipation was forbidden by law, unless the owner gave security to maintain the slave and prevent him from becoming a public charge. To evade this law those who had old or infirm negroes encouraged them to bring suits for their freedom, and then by shame demurrers, or other collusive arrangements, got judgments against themselves that the negroes were free, and always had been. Females likely to increase the stock were advertised to be sold, "for that fault alone." Young ones, because they were not worth raising, were given away like puppies of a superabundant litter. In this way domestic slavery by degrees got loose in practise, simply because it would not pay—but the principle on which one man may own another whom he subdues by superior strength or cunning, was never abandoned, repudiated or denied. That principle was cherished, preserved and transmitted to you, their imitative and loving disciples, and you have applied it wherever you could as tyrannically as they did.

You say that "war without an idea is simple brutality." I submit to your judgment, as a christian man, whether war is redeemed of its brutality by such ideas as you and your political associates entertain of its purposes, objects and consequences. In all your acts and measures, and by all your speeches and discussions, you express the idea that the logic of blows proves everything you choose to assert; that a successful invasion of one people by another has the effect of destroying all natural right to, and all legal guarantees for, the life, liberty and property of the people so invaded and conquered; that after a trial by battle the victor may enter up and execute what judgment he pleases against his adversary; that the crime which a weak community are guilty of when they attempt to defend their lives, their property and their families against invaders who come upon them to kill, destroy and subjugate them is so unpardonable that the whole body of the offenders taken collectively, and all individuals who partake even passively of the sin, may justly be devoted to death or such other punishment, by wholesale or retail, as the strong power shall see proper to inflict; that the conqueror, after the war is over, may insist that the helpless and unarmed people, whom he has prostrated, shall assist him by not merely *accepting*, but "adopting" (I use your own word) the measures intended to degrade and rob them, and thus make himself master of their souls as well as their bodies. All *rights* of men are resolved by this theory into the *mights* of men.

I aver that this doctrine, in all its length and breadth, is false and pernicious. It is the foundation on which all slavery rests, and the excuse for all forms of tyranny. It has no support in any sound rule of public law, and has never been acknowledged by wise or virtuous governments in any age since the advent of Christ. You can find no authority for it, except in the examples of men whose names are given over to universal execration. Mahomet asserted it when he forced his religion upon the subjugated East, when churches were violently converted into mosques, and the emblem of christianity was trampled under foot, to be replaced by the badge of the imposter. On the same principle Poland was partitioned, and Ireland plundered a dozen times. The King of Dahomey acted upon it when he sold his captives, and the men of Massachusetts endorsed it when they took them in exchange for captives of their own. You and your confreres adopted it as a part of your political creed when, after the Southern people were thoroughly subdued, you denied them all the rights of freemen, tore up their society, abrogated all laws which could protect them in person or property, broke their local governments in pieces, and put them under the domination of notorious thieves, whom you forced them to accept as their absolute masters.

These results of the war are no doubt very precious. The right to traffic in the flesh of Indians and negroes was precious to the Yankees and the King of Dahomey. That was the fruit of their wars. But was it in either case legitimate? Your great reverence for the founders of your political school in Massachusetts, to say nothing of your respect for the authority of the African princes, or your faith in the Koran, will probably impel you to stand up in favor of the "*ideas*" which you have learned from them. But I think I can maintain the Christian law of liberty in opposition to all your Mussulman notions; for God is great, and Mahomet is *not* His prophet.

It would be very unjust to deny that a great many men, from the earliest period of our history, were sincerely opposed to African slavery, from motives of religion, benevolence and humanity. This sentiment was strong in the South, as well as the North, and by none was it expressed with more fervor than by Jefferson himself, the great apostle of Democracy. But this concession can hardly be made to the political abolitionists. As an almost universal rule, the leaders of that sect were ribald infidels, and their conventicles teemed with the most shocking blasphemy. They were, by their own avowals, the most cruel barbarians of any age. Servile insurrection and a general butchery of the Southern people was a part of their programme from the beginning. The leaders to whom they gave their highest admiration were the men whose feet were the swiftest in running to shed innocent blood. Seward won their affections in his early manhood by proposing measures from which civil war would be sure to come, and in which he promised that negroes should be incited to "rise in blackest insurrection." They applauded John Brown to the echo for a series of the basest murders on record. They did not conceal their hostility to the Federal and State Governments, nor deny their enmity to all laws which protected the liberties of white men. The Constitution stood in their way, and they cursed it bitterly; the Bible was quoted against them, and they reviled God Almighty himself. I know that the mind of man, like his body, is fearfully and wonderfully made; I understand all the difficulty of analyzing human passions, and I admit that we should not judge harshly of motives; but how these heartless oppressors of their own race could have any care for the freedom of the negro passes my comprehension. Unless you can explain it otherwise, the judgment of history must inevitably be against the sincerity of their anti-slavery professions. In the present aspect of the case, it seems impossible to believe that love of the negro was not assumed as a mere excuse for enslaving the white race, just as their ancestors put on the pretence of piety to gratify their appetite for the property and blood of better people than themselves. You must positively reconsider this subject before you undertake again to present the Abolitionists to the world in the respectable character of fanatics. I think you will find that the crew of the Mayflower brought over and planted no "germ of an idea" which has flourished with more vigor than their canting hypocrisy.

Here let me say again, that the vices and wickedness of the Plymouth colonists are not to be visited on the heads of their children, according to the flesh. Among them, in every part of the country, are great statesmen, brave soldiers, true servants of the Church, and virtuous, patriotic Democrats, who are no more responsible for the crimes of their ancestors than a peaceable Scotchman is for the raids and robberies which in past generations were committed by his clan upon the English border. But you acknowledge that you get your political ideas from them—you boast that your party has no doctrines of public law and no notions of public duty which were not planted at Plymouth. Therefore it is not only proper, but necessary, to show what those doctrines and ideas were.

I pass now to a later period. You say that there were two radically different theories about the nature of our government; "the North believing and holding that we were a nation, the South insisting that we were only a confederation of sovereign States. It is not true that any such theoretical conflict ever existed between the sections. That the Articles of Confederation first and the Constitution afterwards, united the States together for

certain purposes therein enumerated, and thus made us a nation among nations, was never denied that I know of by any party. But this national character was given to the general government by sovereign States who confederated together for that purpose. They bestowed certain powers on the new political corporation then created, and called it the United States of America, and they expressly reserved to themselves all the sovereign rights not granted in the charter. Democratic statesmen had no theory about it. They saw their duty written down in the fundamental law, they swore to perform it, and they kept their oaths. They executed the powers of the general government in their whole constitutional vigor, for that, as Mr. Jefferson said, was "the sheet anchor of our peace at home and our safety abroad," and they carefully guarded the rights of the States as the only security we could have for a just administration of our domestic affairs. This was universally assented to as right and true. No counter theory was set up. Difference of construction there might be, but all admitted that when the line of power was accurately drawn between the Federal government and State sovereignty, the rights on one side were as sacred as those on the other. But within two or three years last past the low demagogues of your party have got to putting in their platforms the assertion that this is a nation and not a confederation. What do they mean? What do you mean when you endorse and reproduce it? Do you deny that the States were sovereign before they united? Do you affirm that their sovereignty was wholly merged in the Federal government when they assented to the Constitution? Is the tenth amendment a mere delusion? Do you mean to assert that the States have not now, and never had, any rights at all except what are conceded to them by the mercy of the "nation?" No doubt this new article was inserted in the creed of the Abolitionists, because they supposed it would give a sort of plausibility to their violent intervention with the internal affairs of the States. But it is so false, so shallow and so destitute of all respectable authority that it imposes upon nobody.

As a part of this conflict of theories, and resulting from it, you describe the South as "insisting that each State had a right, at its own discretion, to break the Union, and constantly threatening secession, where the full rights of slavery were not acknowledged." In fact and in truth secession, like slavery, was first *planted* in New England. There it grew and flourished and spread its branches far over the land, long before it was thought of in the South, and long before "the full rights of slavery" were called in question by anybody. The anti-democrats of that region, in former as well as in later times, totally misunderstood the purposes for which this government was made.

They regarded it as a mere commercial machine, by which they could make much "gaynefull pillage," if allowed to run it their own way. When they were disappointed in this by certain perfectly just and constitutional regulations of their trade, which the common defence and general welfare made necessary, they immediately fell to plotting the dismemberment of the Union. Before 1807 they organized a conspiracy with the British authorities in Canada for the erection of New England into a separate republic under British protection. (See Carey's "Olive Branch" and the Henry correspondence.) Not long afterwards Josiah Quincy, whose fidelity to the party which elected him was never doubted, formally announced in Congress the intention of his State to leave the Union, "peaceably if she could, forcibly if she must." Their hatred of the Union deepened, and their determination to break it up grew fiercer, as the resolution of the Democrats to maintain the independence of the country became stronger. When the war of 1812 began, they were virtually out of the Union, and remained out during the whole of that desperate struggle, not only refusing all assistance to carry it on, but helping the enemy in every possible way. It was while England had her tightest grasp on the throat of the nation, that the Hartford convention was called to dismember it; and this, Mr. Jefferson says, they would have accomplished but for the battle of New Orleans and the Peace of Ghent. John Quincy

Adams in 1839, and Abraham Lincoln in 1847, made elaborate arguments in favor of the *legal right* of a State to go out. The later Abolitionists did not attempt to conceal their rancorous hostility to the Union. "No union with slaveholders" was one of their watch-words, and down to the opening of the war, its destruction was the avowed object of their machinations.

There is one conclusive proof of your enmity to the Union, and that is your unwavering opposition to the Constitution which held the States together. You know as well as I do how absurd it is to suppose that any man or party can support the Union, and at the same time trample on the Constitution; and you certainly are not ignorant that you and your predecessors, from the earliest times, have been anti-constitutional in all your proclivities. Contemptuous disregard of constitutional obligations is not now the mere germ of a doctrine; it is a part of your settled creed. Before the war, and since, you have trodden under foot every provision contained in the great charter of our liberties. I do not speak at random. I challenge you to designate a single constitutional right of the States, or of individuals, which you have not at some time, or in some way, deliberately violated.

This contempt for the Constitution, this practical denial that an oath to support it is sacred, implies a disregard of all laws, human and divine, and when adopted, it left nothing to guide you except the propensities, evil or good, of your natural hearts. Many of you (and notably you yourself), contracted no individual guilt, because you were too proud for petty larceny, too benevolent for large-handed robbery, and too full of kindness to break wantonly into the tabernacle of human life. But generally, the moral principles of the ultra-abolitionists (if they ever had any) became so wholly perverted, that they saw nothing wrong in the worst offences that could be committed against their political opponents. In their eyes, theft and murder not only lost their felonious character, but became meritorious, if the victims lived south of Mason and Dixon's line. When John Brown stole horses in the peace of God and the State of Missouri, he was taking lawful booty; when he sneaked into a quiet Virginia village on a Sunday night and assassinated defenceless citizens, he was a hero; and when he died a felon's death on the scaffold, to which he was justly condemned, he became a martyr.

You persist in misunderstanding the anti-bellum attitude of the Northern Democracy. We stood steadfastly by the Union against all attempts of the New England party to break it up by secession. We sustained the Constitution against the ferocious assaults of the Abolitionists; we labored earnestly to save republican institutions from the destruction with which they were threatened by you; and as long as the Southern people acted with us, we gratefully accepted their aid in the good work.

Your averment that the Democratic party desired the aggrandizement of slavery, and "yielded their consciences" on that subject to the South, is grossly unjust, if you mean to charge them with anything more than a willingness to protect the Southern, as well as the Northern and Middle States, in the exercise of their constitutional rights. We had disposed of slavery within our own jurisdiction according to our sense of sound policy and justice. But we had made an express compact with the other States to leave the entire control of their domestic affairs to themselves. We kept our covenant, simply because it would have been gross dishonesty to break it. The Abolitionists took a different view, and refused to keep faith. They swore as solemnly as we did to observe the terms of the bargain, but according to their code, it was a sin *not* to violate it. The fact is true, that we did not think it right to cut the throats, or shoot, or strangle the men or women of the South for believing in negro slavery; but that is no justification of your assertion that we yielded our consciences to them.

Again: You charge us (the Northern Democracy) with having given bad advice to the Southern people. This consisted, you say, in assuring them that if they seceded we would take their part against any attempt to force them back

again into the Union. This is a gross error, and you will see it when I recall your attention to the facts. In all our exhortations to Southern men against secession we were met by the expression of their fear that the Abolitionists intended, in any event, to invade and slaughter them. Some reason for this apprehension was given by the fierce threats of your leading men, and especially by your almost universal admiration of Brown for his raid into Virginia. Certain Democrats (and very good men too) did then declare that a lawless expedition intended for purposes of mere murder and pillage could not and should not be started in the North, without such opposition as would effectually stop it. But this was before secession, and it was intended to prevent that movement, not to encourage it.

You cannot, with any show of justice, deny that devotion to the Union was one of the strongest feelings in the heart of the Northern Democracy. We had always deprecated a separation from the Southern States with so much earnestness that one of the opprobrious epithets you bestowed on us was that of "Union savers." This was not a mere sentiment of admiration or gratitude to the great Southern men who had led us through the perils of the revolution, settled our institutions, and given our country its high place in the estimation of the world. We felt all this! but we felt much more. The preservation of the Union was to us an absolute necessity. It was indispensable to the security of our lives, our personal liberty and our plainest rights of property. How true this was at all times, and especially in 1860, you will see if you reflect a moment on our situation at that time.

The Abolitionists were coming into power. I need not say by what combination of imposture and accident they got it. All the Northern States as well as the Federal government fell into their hands. No doubt their dislike of Southern people was very great; but Northern Democrats were objects of their special malignity. Long before that time, and ever since, this sentiment has been expressed in words and acts too plain to be misunderstood. You show how strong it is in your own heart when you tell Southern men (and you do tell them so in this very speech) that you honor them ten thousand times more than Democrats of the North. Remember, in addition to this, that the leading Abolitionists acknowledged no law which might stand in the way of their interests or their passions. Against anybody else the Constitution of the country would have been a protection. But they disregarded its limitations, and had no scruples about swearing to support it with a predetermination to violate it. We had been well warned by all the men best entitled to our confidence; particularly and eloquently warned by Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster; that if ever the Abolitionists got a hold upon the organized physical force of the country, they would govern without law, scoff at the authority of the courts, and throw down all the defences of civil liberty.

But if the South had not seceded we might have made a successful defence of our constitution though the powers of the government were in the hands of its enemies. With the aid of the Southern people, if they had been true to their duty, we could have organized an opposition so formidable in its moral and political power that you would scarcely have dared to assault us. No wonder that we were "Union savers;" for to us the Union meant personal liberty, free thought, an independent press, habeas corpus, trial by jury, the impartial administration of justice—all those great legal institutions which our forefathers had shed so much of their blood to build up.

The South deserted us at the crisis of our fate, and left us in our weakness to the mercy of the most unprincipled tyrants that ever betrayed a public trust. Secession was not mere folly and madness; it was something much worse. We could not but feel that we were deeply wronged. There was no remedy for the dire calamities with which we were threatened except in bringing the seceded States back to their places in the Union. Our convictions of legal duty, our ex-

asperated sense of injury and a proper care for our best interests, all impelled us to join the new administration in the use of such force as might be found necessary to execute the laws in every part of the country.

But the Abolitionists wanted a war for the destruction of the Union, for the overthrow of the Constitution, for the subversion of free government, and for the subjugation of the whole country to that "higher law" which imposes no restraint upon the rapacity and malice of the ruling power. To such a war the national conscience was opposed. The soul of every respectable officer in the army and navy revolted at it, and every virtuous man in private life felt it to be an unspeakable outrage. To those who doubted before, the disaster of Bull Run made it plain that the war could not be successfully carried on unless it was put upon principles consistent with the usages of Christendom and the safety of our own institutions. Therefore, it was that on the 22d of July, 1861, Congress with almost perfect unanimity passed a resolution through both Houses, declaring in the most explicit words, that the war should be conducted, to preserve the Constitution, and not to revolutionize it. I give you here the words of the resolution itself from the Congressional Globe, p. 223.

"Resolved: That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Confiding in this assurance Democrats from every Northern State rushed to the front by the hundred thousand; the border States of the South gave in their formal adhesion to the government; and our great military leaders drew their swords with alacrity in support of the free institutions to which they had shown their fidelity so often before.

With what base perfidy this solemn pledge was broken I need not tell you; for this speech shows that you know it well. You expressly declare that so far from sustaining the government you revolutionized it. Instead of a war for the Union, you claim that it put the States out of the Union, and you had a right to keep them out as long as you pleased, or admit them to their places on any terms, however degrading, which you choose to dictate. Instead of restoring the supremacy of the constitution, all your politicians held, and, so far as I know from their public declarations, still hold, that the victory of the Federal forces abolished the Constitution, not only in the South, but in the North, and therefore they were not bound to observe its limitations, either in their legislative, judicial, or executive measures. Instead of bringing back the States with their rights unimpaired, according to your promise, you crippled, enslaved, subjugated and disfranchised them. Instead of using the war power for the just and lawful purposes to which you were pledged, you converted it into a black Republican job to put the rights of all the people permanently under the feet of an unprincipled party.

I submit this part of the case to your consideration. I ask you to say whether you can find in the whole history of the human race another instance of similar perfidy on a scale so large. The baseness of the Massachusetts authorities in selling the surrendered Pequods into slavery after a solemn promise to the contrary was but the "germ of an idea," on which you acted in the fulness of its growth. Their act was in its nature and character nearly as bad as it could be; but only eight score of helpless people suffered by it; the victims of your treachery are counted by millions.

The offences which you are now engaged in committing upon the public treasury are the natural sequence of your crimes against popular liberty. Universal experience proves that power usurped will always be dishonestly used. Seeing

that the abolitionists were led by men whom no oath could hold to the Constitution, and whom no pledge could bind to an observance of its principles, we had no right to expect a decent regard for justice in their administration of the national finances. I do not mean that the masses of your party were, or are now, destitute of common integrity. But that was overruled by the political doctrines of their leaders. Having once set aside the established law of the land they had no standard by which they could measure the moral conduct of themselves or others, and they became incapable of seeing the difference between right and wrong in public affairs. The "higher law" threw the reins loose on the neck of all evil passions. It not only abrogated the Constitution, but the Decalogue as well, and the eighth commandment was nullified with the rest.

You have consequently made ours the corruptest government on this side of Constantinople. Perhaps you will say this is a mere general assertion. But I am ready to maintain the truth of it against all opposers. You may take the rottenest monarchy in Europe, go over its history for a hundred years, and produce the worst act you can find of fraudulent spoliation upon its people; and if I do not show something worse committed here under the auspices of the party now in power I will give up the case.

I am speaking of the government—of the officials who rule us for their pleasure, and plunder us for their personal profit—and it is no answer to quote Mr. Lord's speech before the Senate on the trial of Belknap. His eulogy was on the virtue and intelligence of the *people*, and he argued from that the duty of their servants to behave with integrity. He certainly did not mean to whitewash the administration. If he had meant to do so he could not have succeeded, for there was not wash enough in his bucket to go over the twenty thousandth part of the job.

While you were hunting for certificates of character among the speeches of the impeachment managers, why did you overlook that of Mr. Hoar? He said in effect (for I cite him from memory) that the one production in which our country excels all others in the world is the corruption of its government. There was the testimony of a candid witness belonging to your own party, who knew whereof he affirmed and spoke directly to the point.

But it is useless to cite the evidence of individuals upon great public facts that are felt and seen and known of all men. Nothing ever was more notorious than the general disregard of all sound principle by this administration. No people on earth are now suffering so much from extravagant taxation, and nowhere does so small a portion of the taxes go to legitimate public purposes, or so much to the rulers themselves and the rings they choose to favor. Industry is crushed as it never was before. Labor no longer works for itself since all and more than all of its surplus profits are exacted and consumed by the hangers-on of the government. Now, although we call ourselves freemen or freedmen, we are to all intents and purposes slaves, so long as you continue to make us hand over to you the earnings of our labor; for the essence of slavery consists in compelling one man, or class of men, to work for another without equivalent. We are determined to relieve ourselves from this intolerable bondage, as far as we can legally and peaceably, and, if you do not help us, you must at least cease to mock us by pretending to be an anti-slavery man upon principle.

You tell us that the Republican party "will punish its own rascals." The newspaper report of your speech says that this was greeted with laughter from the Republican side of the House. Certainly it sounds like the broadest of jokes. If you meant it in earnest, please to say what you found this claim of impartial justice upon. You will hardly prove it by showing that Bristow and Wilson succeeded, with much tribulation, in convicting certain manufacturers of crooked whiskey, and thereby got themselves turned out of office. It is vain to deny that there is, and has been, a general *system* of dishonesty pervading all ranks of the civil service, which, so far from being punished, is protected, encouraged and

rewarded by the highest authorities. You have set your faces like a flint against all investigations tending to expose rascality. Proof of that, if proof were wanting, would be found in your own denunciation of the present Congress for pushing its inquiries into those regions where venality and corruption might otherwise have dwelt in safety.

In all your Southern measures you have shown a positive abhorrence of honest government. You forced into all places of power, men whose characters were notoriously bad, and maintained them while they perpetrated the most shameless robberies. You resisted every effort of the oppressed people to throw them off, and when those efforts were successful in some of the States, you mourned the fall of the felons with sincere lamentation. Just look at the crew of godless wretches by whom Louisiana has been almost desolated! In the face of a constitutional interdict, your administration at Washington repeatedly interfered to shield them from justice, and to uphold them in the possession of power to which they had no manner of legal claim. At this moment they are preying upon the prostrate people of the State, under the protection of Federal bayonets. Is that what you call punishing your own rascals?

You may answer that the white people of Louisiana being conquered, are rightfully enslaved, according to the principles planted at Plymouth, and therefore it is not for the like of them to invoke the protection of law and justice. I will therefore call your attention to another case to which the Dahomeian rule does not apply, and in which the failure of the Republican party to punish its own rascals has been equally signal; I mean the frauds of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Credit Mobilier.

You will pardon me, I am sure, for referring to this affair; you are the last man upon whom I would make a personal point, and I could not do it here if I would try; for the conviction I have often expressed remains unchanged, that your integrity was not stained by such connection as you had with that business. But we both know that it was the most gigantic fraud that the history of modern times discloses. The magnitude of the iniquity almost exceeds belief. The entire amount of the booty already taken from the public and stowed away in the pockets of the perpetrators cannot be less than one hundred millions of dollars, and every six months they make a new demand, which is honored at the treasury by an additional payment. I am told that a late Attorney-General counts *one hundred and eighty millions* as the sum which the United States will lose in solid cash, directly taken out of the treasury. I am not sure that this calculation is accurate, but it cannot be very far wrong, and it is not equal to one-half of the whole steal; for it does not include the value of the road itself, nor the land grants, nor the proceeds of the bonds to which the lien of the United States was postponed, nor the equipment bonds. As this swindle was the largest, so it was one of the most inexcusably base. It was perpetrated at a time when the nation was swamped with debt, when the people were loaded with taxes, and when the most rigid economy was imperatively required. All circumstances, as well as the direct evidence, show that it was no sudden act of thoughtless imprudence, but was wilfully, deliberately and corruptly pre-arranged and determined. There is nothing to mitigate it; you cannot defend it even by waving the bloody shirt.

How did the Republican party "punish its own rascals" in this case? Not a hair on the head of any rascal was touched. On the contrary, they were promoted, honored and advanced; the most guilty of them are now, as they were before, the very darlings of the party. Even that is not the worst of it. These swindlers are periodically swelling the colossal proportions of their crime by taking out of the treasury additional millions which they claim as the "precious results" of their original fraud. They have no better title to them than a wolf has to the mutton he slaughters by moonlight. The legal remedy against these exactions is so plain that ignorance alone could hardly miss it. But your officers have found out the way not to do it. They permit the government to lie down

and be robbed semi-annually, by a corporation which Tilden would long ago have disarmed of its power, and whose criminal abettors he would have swept into the penitentiary by scores.

I repeat, that I do not blame you as an active accomplice in this wickedness. But you ought to have come out from the evil and corrupt fellowship as soon as you saw how evil and corrupt it was. You owed it to yourself, your Church, and your country to break off at once from political associates capable of such indefensible conduct. But your acceptance of the doctrines planted at Plymouth by the Yankees blinded your judgment, and made your conscience inaccessible to the principles planted in Jerusalem by the "people first called Christians at Antioch."

You would have us believe that Hayes, if elected, will reform abuses and give us a pure administration. Your statement, and that of other gentlemen equally reliable, make it certain that Mr. Hayes bears an irreproachable character in all his private relations. I do not doubt his possession of that negative honesty which it is a disgrace to want. I accord him those tame household virtues which entitle him to the respect of his neighbors and the confidence of his family; but he can no more stem the torrent of Republican corruption than he can swim against the rapids of Niagara. His whole history shows that he would not even make an effort to do so. He has been most happily called "a man of tried subserviency."

A reformer in these times must be made of stern material. He must have no connection with, and be under no obligation to, the authors of the abuses which need reform. Above all things, he must not have consented expressly or impliedly to the commission of the public wrongs which his duty as a reformer would require him to punish. When he comes to oppose wickedness in high places, the consciousness that he himself is *in pari delicto* will make even a strong man as nerveless as infancy.

To show how hard it would be for a man like Mr. Hayes to resist the worst orders of his own party, I will cite a case directly in point, and certainly within your recollection as well as mine.

In the case of Milligan, you made an eloquent and powerful speech before the Supreme Court for those free principles which I, at the same time, supported in my weaker way. You showed the indestructible right of every citizen to a legal trial; you proved that *Magna Charta* did not perish on the battle field; you demonstrated by irresistible logic that the Constitution was supreme after the war as it was before; you spurned with lofty contempt the brutal idea that law was extinguished by the victory of the forces called out to defend it; and you closed with that grand peroration on the Goddess of Liberty, which, if spoken at Athens in the best days of her "fierce Democratic," would have "shook the arsenal and fulminated over Greece." These were not the words of a paid advocate, for you had volunteered in the cause; nor the sudden emotions of a neophyte, for you had read and pondered the subject well. You spoke the deliberate conclusions of your mind, and there is no doubt that in your heart of hearts you believe them to be true this day.

Yet when the reconstruction law was proposed you suffered yourself to be whipped in, surrendered your conscience to your party, and voted against your recorded convictions, for a measure that nullified every provision of the Constitution, whereby ten millions of people were deprived of rights which you knew to be sacred and inalienable.

If this was your case, what subserviency may not be expected from Mr. Hayes, when the party lash comes to be laid on *his* back? You are his superior in every quality that holds a man true to public duty. You have been carefully schooled in the morality of the New Testament, you have lived all your life in the full blaze of the gospel, you are gifted with a logical acumen which few can boast, and with moral courage far above the average. If you fell down before

the Moloch of Abolitionism, and gave up all principle at once, what act of worship will Hayes deny to that grim idol?

Speaking of reconstruction, and seeing your broad accusations of treason, I am tempted to ask if you are sure that you yourself and your associates did not commit that crime.

In March, 1867, the then existing government of the Union was supreme all over the country, and every State had a separate government of its own for the administration of its domestic concerns. That government was entitled then, if it ever was, to the universal obedience of all citizens, and you, its officers, had taken a special oath of fidelity to it. Nevertheless, you made a deliberate arrangement, not only to withdraw your support from it, but to overthrow it totally in ten of the States; and this you did *by military force*. In all the South you *levied war* against the nation and against the defenceless States, destroyed the free governments of both, and substituted in their place an untempered and absolute despotism.

Now suppose you had been indicted for this; how could you have escaped the condemnation of the law? I know your excuses, and I can understand your claims to mercy—but what *legal* defence could you have made consistent with your own argument and the decision of the court in the Milligan case?

I cannot describe to you how unpleasant is the sensation produced by your professions of a desire for peace. Why do you not give us peace if you are willing we shall have it? You need but to cease hostilities and the general tranquility will be restored. You refuse to do that, because, peace would endanger your party ascendancy. To maintain your plunderers in power you have uniformly resorted to the bayonet—you have made civil war the chronic condition of the country—wherever you could you have displaced liberty, fraternity and equality, and given nothing instead but infantry, artillery and cavalry. You are at this moment openly engaged in preparing your battalions for armed intervention in the struggle of the people with the carpet-baggers.

What makes this worse is your closing declaration that you will take no step backward. There is to be no repentance, no change of policy, and consequently no peaceful or honest government. "Onward" you say is the word. Onward—to what? To more war, more plunder, more oppression, more universal bankruptcy, heavier taxes and still worse, frauds on the public treasury?

J. S. BLACK.