

LATER SPEECHES

ON

POLITICAL QUESTIONS

WITH

SELECT CONTROVERSIAL PAPERS

BY

Washington
GEORGE W. JULIAN

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER

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INDIANAPOLIS
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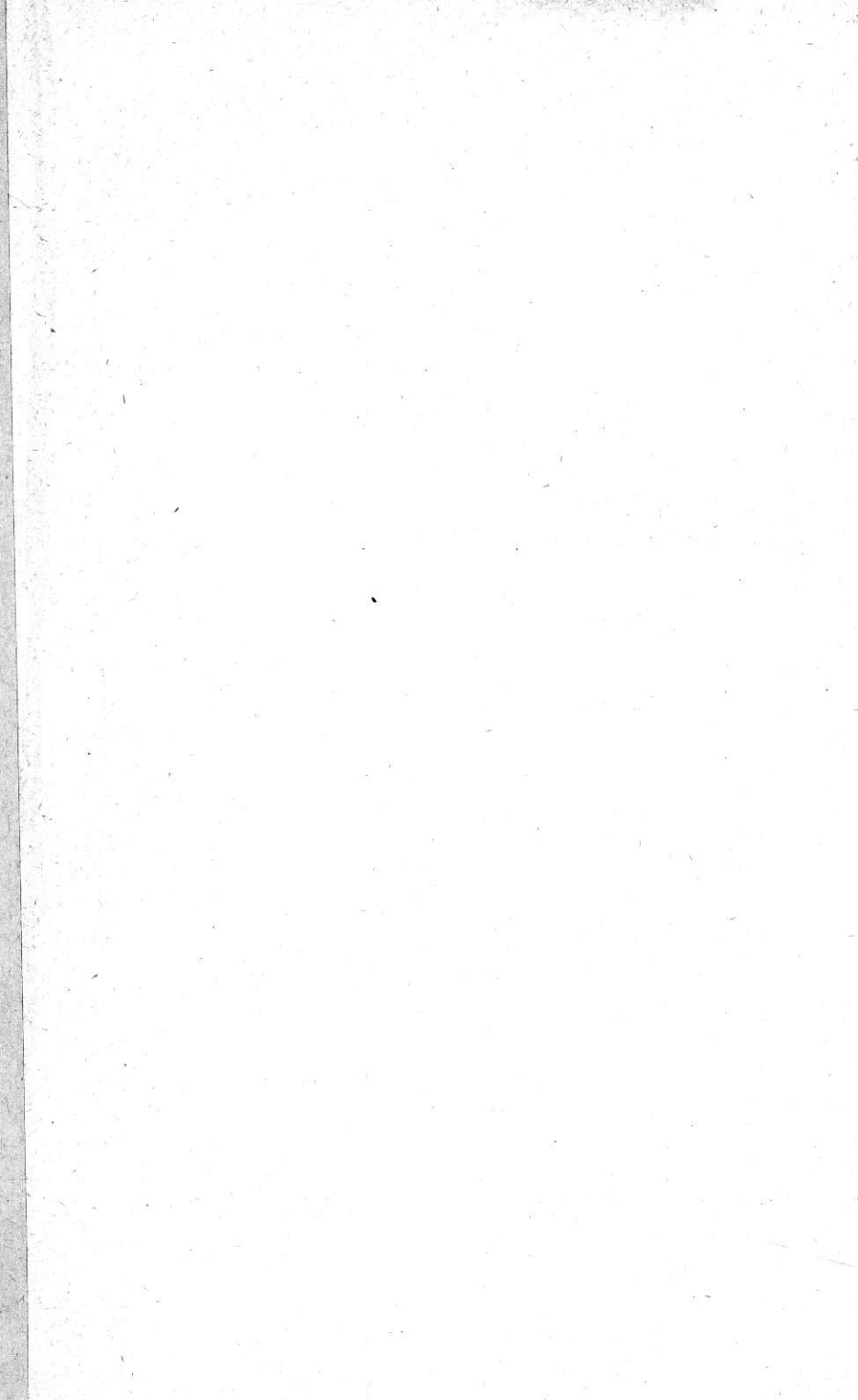
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PREFACE.

THE following speeches deal with questions of current American politics from 1871 to 1889, and they embody, to some extent, the political history of the country during this period. The greater part of them will particularly interest the surviving associates and friends of the men who withdrew from the Republican party in 1872, and thenceforward remained outside of its fold; for they set forth with clearness and force the reasons which prompted them to this memorable revolt against organized intolerance and political greed, and made their return impossible. Although the party still lives, it has completely outlasted the causes which produced it and made it a necessity, while in the clear mirror of history and the light of existing facts it is now seen that the old rallying-cry of "reform within the party" was a false pretense and a mischievous delusion.

The controversial papers which follow the speeches sufficiently disclose the occasion for writing them, and fairly indicate the character and material points of the articles to which they reply. The historical paper which closes the volume is one of numerous magazine articles, and is reprinted because it deals with a vital political question, and is believed to be a real contribution to the truth of history.



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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

SPEECH AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, INDIANAPOLIS, ON THE
12TH OF JUNE, 1872.

[This speech opened the campaign for Greeley, and forcibly presented the issues from the Liberal Republican standpoint. The formidable secession from the Republican party which occurred this year, headed by its chief founders and fathers, was an event of historic significance, and the grounds of the movement, which provoked so much party exasperation at the time, can now be dispassionately considered.]

Fellow Citizens: The political situation to-day is, indeed, novel and peculiar. It invites our careful study, and demands an intelligent solution. When I was in California, a few years since, I was very much interested in the rugged and volcanic look of the earth's surface in certain remarkable localities. Boulders of immense size, and rock of every conceivable character and shape were tumbled together in the wildest confusion and the strangest fellowship. It was a striking illustration of what is sometimes called "confusion worse confounded," and it forcibly reminds me of the present state of our politics. It is difficult to realize what we witness daily, when we remember the absolute party discipline which for so many years has marshaled the people against each other like two hostile armies. Politically men are now assorted so oddly as to excite both surprise and amusement. Those who have been strongly united through long years of intense party warfare are now separated, while those who have been divided into fiercely contending camps are united. This is true alike of our party leaders and of the masses, and the spectacle presented is one of such apparent

confusion and bewilderment that many find the path of present duty considerably tangled and obscure.

The problem, however, is easily solved. The student of American politics who looks beneath the surface of things, and remembers the history of parties in this country, can not fail to see that we are in the midst of one of our periodical political revolutions. Through the sudden upheaval of our politics, we have entered upon a new epoch, very clearly foreshadowing the radical reconstruction of parties on the new and living questions of the times. Parties can not live forever. Political parties are not immortal, as Senator Morton seems to believe. They have their time to be born, and their appointed time to die. They are called into life by certain public exigencies which are now and then evolved from the ceaseless activity and inevitable vicissitudes of our national affairs, and when these exigencies pass away the parties themselves must perish. If they do not, they at once degenerate into mere factions, the great bane of Republics, and ought to be exterminated. Take the old Federal party as an illustration. It was a grand old party in some respects, and had the support of as strong and true men as ever lived; but when its work was done it passed away. The old Whig party had its day, struggling manfully for certain special measures of policy, but when the nation finally pronounced against them the party died and was buried. The old Free-soil party, born of the question of slavery in our national territories, had its day, and it was a day of great usefulness. It was a sort of political John the Baptist, preparing the way for the mightier organization which followed; but when this was done, it was translated into the Republican party, which it first committed to the essential articles of its faith. The Know-Nothing party had its day, and a dark day it was, and, thank the Lord, a short day; and then it also died. The Republican party had its birth in the organized attempt to withstand the further aggressions of the slave power; but as slavery now sleeps in its bloody shroud the mission of the party is ended, and its time to die has come.

How can a man live when the breath has gone out of his body? How can a party survive when the work which gave it life has been accomplished and irrevocably settled? My friends, the Republican party is a spent political force. It is an "organized epitaph." It is to-day as dead as the bones of the prophet Ezekiel, and its issues as perfectly gone as those of the Mexican war. And the trouble with the followers of General Grant is that they are to-day standing in the ruts of the past, or moving along in the same old party grooves, through the mere force of party traditions and the memory of past conflicts, while the supporters of Horace Greeley have the sagacity to perceive the real situation, and the courage to take their stand on the broad level of independent and untrammelled political action.

Gentlemen, am I not right in these views? Is it reasonable to preserve and garnish the scaffolding around an edifice after it has been finished? If Christianity were established throughout the earth would the organization and machinery of our religious denominations be any longer needed? The champions of General Grant seem to forget that a political party is not an end, but a means; that it is simply the instrument through which some desirable purpose is sought to be accomplished. I respectfully commend to them the views of Gerrit Smith, now their favorite idol, as he expressed himself in 1869. Here is what he then said:

"A very lamentable evil is the education of the people into the belief that a permanent political party is a great good; and, therefore, that such a party as the Republican or Democratic ought not to be broken up. But a permanent political party, with the constant tendency of every such party to deterioration, is a heavy curse—for it plants itself with great, and too frequently with invincible power, in the way of all progress, and clings for its own existence to the wrongs with which it is identified. No other but temporary political parties are justifiable—no other but such as occasions call for."

Our Grant friends who are so industriously peddling Mr. Smith's late speech at Petersboro, are respectfully invited to ponder the words of their champion, as I have quoted them. I do not say that political parties are an evil in themselves. I do not deny their usefulness. The point which I empha-

size is, that they are temporary formations, which are to be dispensed with just as soon as the occasions which produced them have passed away. In the very nature of things they can not be permanent; and I am surprised that so wise a man as Charles Sumner, in the year 1860, prophesied that the Republican party, after the accomplishment of its immediate work in dealing with slavery, would be "filled with higher life," and "lifted to yet other efforts," which would demand its continued existence. In this prophecy Mr. Sumner uttered the dream of a philanthropist, and not the sober judgment of a statesman. Gentlemen, every one of you will admit, on a moment's reflection, that in the very fact that the Republican party was created to deal with the single question of slavery, and would not have existed without it; in the very fact that all its energies were constantly directed to the settlement of this single question, and its whole heart constantly absorbed in the problem, it necessarily became unqualified and unfitted to deal with other vital questions which would follow. Its very education and training could not fail to be a hindrance, instead of a help, in the solution of other problems. A political party is not like a machine, which you can apply to a new task. You might as well say that a man who has learned how to make a watch has qualified himself to build a ship. I have said that parties are created by new exigencies, and these exigencies naturally require organizations composed of the fragments of dead parties, which are drawn together by the growing sense of public necessity. Do you ask for confirmation of what I say? You have it, as I have shown, in the history of parties in the United States. And you have it in palpable facts now before the country. The special work of the Republican party has been concluded for some years, and it has applied itself to other tasks. Has it shown itself able to deal with them? Has it not failed, and shamefully failed, in dealing with the question of civil service reform? Has it not equally failed in dealing with the tariff question? Has not its land policy been a disgrace to our legislation, and a con-

spiracy against coming generations? Has our financial policy, including our system of national banks, been a remarkable success? Is not the Republican party to-day the hired man of corporations and associated wealth? Is it not the party of aristocracy and privilege, settling down into the tracks of the old Federal party? Do you not see, gentlemen, the absolute need of political reconstruction?

But let me not be misunderstood. I honor the Republican party for all its grand and glorious work. I preached its doctrines long years before it dared live. I sustained all its grand measures of war and reconstruction during its days of trial. If I differed with it, it was because I espoused its vital doctrines and policy before it was ready to accept them. I gave it my dedicated energy and zeal in putting down a mighty civil war, in emancipating four millions of slaves, and in establishing the principle of universal equality before the law throughout the republic. I have no interest, certainly, in turning my back upon the past, and no motive whatever for plucking a single laurel from the brow of the Republican party. I can well understand the feeling which prompts the members of this old party to cling to its traditions, and reverently cherish the memory of its achievements. I can perfectly understand, also, how naturally its glorious success has given to the organization a momentum that outlasts its mission. And yet I must repeat all I have said as to the complete accomplishment of its work, and the necessity of facing the fact, however unwelcome, that henceforth it has only a place in history. Let it have an honorable place. Let no man grudge it the honors with which history is sure to crown it; but let it now go down to its grave in peace, and not, as did the old Whig party, survive its integrity and moral influence by throwing itself across the track of progress. Its career has been a marvelous one, and its acts are not all of them safe precedents. In facing the great trials and responsibilities which the war imposed it was tempted to resort to extraordinary measures. It dealt with a very strong hand. It accustomed itself to know no law but its own will,

and to stretch the constitution itself, in some instances, in the prosecution of its purposes. Even since the war it has trampled down the principle of local self-government, and carried the policy of centralization to the most alarming lengths. It has no right to press these mistakes upon the country as rightful constitutional measures. It is neither just nor politic to thrust them upon the people of the South, if reconciliation and peace are to be sought between the two sections of our country. The training of the Republican party was that of war. Its spirit was antagonism; and in the very nature of things it can not now be made the instrument of concord and union. The work it had in hand during the conflict was thoroughly done; but the work of peace, of fraternity, of a restored Union and constitutional civil government belongs now to quite other agencies, and far different instrumentalities. What the nation needs to-day is amnesty, complete reconciliation, and oblivion of the past; and it is both logically and morally impossible that these precious blessings can come through the continued life of the Republican party.

But, gentlemen, perhaps some of you feel a little curious to know what I have to say about Democrats and the Democratic party. I shall not ignore this topic, though there is less occasion to dwell upon it. My chief purpose, to-day, is to appeal to my old Republican friends; but I rejoice to find Democrats, in every section of our country, rallying to the support of Horace Greeley, a veteran Republican journalist, and an honest man. I rejoice, also, to find them, with equal unanimity, standing on the Cincinnati platform. They are thus publicly committed, as a finality, to the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery in the United States forever; to the Fourteenth Amendment, which recognizes the negro as a citizen, secures to him the equal protection of the law, guarantees the validity of the public debt, and forbids the United States, or any State, from assuming or paying any debt incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave;

and to the Fifteenth Amendment, which arms our emancipated millions with the ballot. This, gentlemen, is the Democratic gospel to-day throughout the land; and when the Democratic party thus turns its back upon all that portion of the past which has been offensive to Republicans, and commits itself unequivocally to wise and just measures respecting living issues, it sets an example which I would gladly have the Republican party imitate. It confesses that its mission, as a party of the past, is ended, and comes forward itself with the honorable proposition to fraternize with all who will join it in the endeavor to reorganize and reconstruct the parties of the future. I rejoice at this, and it seems to me that every good man ought to rejoice; for if our Democratic friends to-day had persisted in the desperate party madness which characterizes the champions of General Grant, nothing could be hoped for but interminable discord and strife between the lately warring states of this Union. But, gentlemen, shall I quarrel with Democrats for taking a right position? Shall I imitate Senator Morton by black-guarding and insulting them because they assume a position which for years past we have been pleading with them to accept? Shall I tell them they are hypocrites, when they declare they have turned their backs upon the past, and are willing to stand with us in the issues of the present? When, let me ask, would quarrels ever come to an end, if, when one party proposes peace, the other charges him with duplicity, and insists upon fighting it out to the bitter end? I appeal to the justice and common sense of my old Republican friends, and ask them when the Democrats of the South and the Democrats of the North propose to join us in marching out of the graveyard of dead issues, whether we ought not to meet them in a fraternal spirit? When they offer us the pipe of peace shall we give them the tomahawk and the scalping-knife? Senator Morton tells us that the issue to-day is the same old issue between the boys in blue and the boys in gray. Is this true or is it false? Why, my friends, thousands and thousands of the boys in blue and

the boys in gray have gone down to their graves since the bloody conflict ended. The fourth part of a whole generation of men has passed away; while thousands and thousands of those who were mere children and boys during the struggle have now come to the political front, innocent of any part in the bloody drama, and with a constitutional right to be heard in the settlement of the great questions of the time. Gentlemen, I pity the public man who tells you that the old bitterness and strife of the past must still dominate in our politics, and who seeks to continue his hold on office and power at the expense of the nation's peace. You will all agree with me that peace between the two sections must come some time. You will all agree with me that the law of hate is not the higher law among men, which must be perpetuated in our republic. Tell me, you followers of General Grant and devotees of Judaism in politics, what sort of a union do you desire between the North and the South? Do you want to make another Ireland of the South? Do you want a union symbolized by two hostile armies, threatening each other with slaughter, and only held back for a fit opportunity to strike? Do you want a union like that between the Jews and Samaritans, or the old Anglo-Saxons and Normans, or the Orangemen and Ribbonmen? What sort of a restored union did we fight for? Was it not a real union of hearts and of hands, cemented by common affections, by the spirit of brotherhood, and by the aspirations of the people of every section of the land for the national well-being?

But, you insist that the Democrats are insincere. You say they have mounted the Cincinnati platform deceitfully, and as a means of regaining power. You say they are supporting Greeley from compulsion, and have simply changed their base because they are weary of wrestling with fate and kicking against thunder. I have already said that I do not approve of this method of dealing with men who assume a right position. You yourselves do not adopt it respecting the Democrats who have espoused the cause of General Grant. You believe in the sincerity of the rebel officer who

presided over your national convention. You doubtless believe Mosby to be a patriot, and Governor Orr, of South Carolina, and other ex-rebels of the South whom I could name, who are now supporting your cause. Why, then, do you take it for granted that Democrats who support Greeley are hypocrites? If a Democrat can be sincere in supporting Grant, and standing on the Philadelphia platform, why not allow that he may be equally sincere in supporting Greeley, and standing on the Cincinnati platform?

But let me agree now, for the sake of the argument, that our Democratic friends are insincere, and that they adopt their present tactics from the mere force of political necessity. Giving you the full benefit of this argument, let us apply it on all sides and see how it affects you. You Grant men were generally members of the old Whig party, because the Republican party in the main was formed out of old Whig material. Now I ask you why you gave up your old party and joined a new one? When your party perished, why did you unite with the old Free-soilers in organizing a new party, called the Republican party? You did it because you could not help yourselves. Politically, there was nothing else for you to do. But did I or any other old Free-soiler abuse you for it? Did we impugn your motives? Did we tell you you were eleventh-hour men and hypocrites, ashamed of your party, joining our ranks because you could not help yourselves, and plotting your way into office and power? Not a word of it. We were right glad to see you. We welcomed you into our ranks, and turned you to pretty good account afterward as Republicans. We were not fools enough to denounce and traduce you for offering us your help which we so greatly needed, and so rejoicingly accepted.

The Democrats, you say, are taking the right side now from compulsion. Let me deal with this argument still further. Why, I ask you, did the Republican party abolish slavery during the war? Was it done through the motive power of philanthropy, or the impulse of humanity toward the negro? Was it the embodied virtue of the Republican

party that did it? Every Republican and every Democrat knows the answer. The party abolished slavery because it could not help it. For nearly two years of the war, with Abraham Lincoln at its head, it tried with all its might not to do it. It tried, with all its might, to save the Union and save slavery with it. When I introduced measures in Congress for the repeal, or even modification, of the Fugitive Slave Act, they were overwhelmingly voted down. When the contrabands came thronging to our military lines, tendering us the secrets of the rebel cause and the aid of their muscles in fighting their old masters, they were driven from our camps by our Republican generals, while fugitives were sent back to their rebel masters. We, like the rebels of the South, were fighting for slavery. But when the nation was finally in danger of perishing in the Red Sea into which slavery had plunged it, and we could neither save the country nor ourselves without clutching at black ropes, the Republican party became an anti-slavery party. It armed the negro as a soldier, and set him to shooting at his old master. It struck at the institution of slavery through our confiscation laws. Through Abraham Lincoln it issued its proclamation of emancipation, and it finally consummated the work by the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment. My old Republican friends, therefore, when they charge Democrats with acting from compulsion, can not fail to see how justly the compliment may be returned. I speak, of course, of the Republican party as such. I except, of course, the old Free-soil and abolition element in that party, which, from the beginning, recognized slavery as the guilty cause of the war, and the grand obstacle to peace. But the Republican party, as such, did nothing, I repeat, for the slave, except upon compulsion. And notwithstanding its loud and continued boast to-day that it gave freedom to four millions of slaves, the honor which it earned is simply that which pertains to a great and beneficent act which could not be avoided by the party that performed it.

Gentlemen, this argument will not avail the followers of

General Grant. It is a two-edged sword, cutting them quite as severely as it cuts Democrats. But neither should shrink from its fair application. The truth is, men often adopt a course of action from compulsion, and afterward espouse it from conviction, and maintain it with enthusiasm. I have already referred to the reluctance with which our old Whig friends joined the Republican party, but when they finally did so, and repudiated their servility to slavery, they gave their whole hearts to the very cause they had so bitterly opposed. With what hesitation and anxious misgivings did Mr. Lincoln make up his mind to strike at slavery as a measure of war. But when he finally did it, his heart and conscience and judgment came to his support and made him desperately in earnest. I have referred to the anxious desire of the Republican party to spare slavery; but does any man doubt that, after it had made up its mind to destroy it, Republicans gradually became convinced of the righteousness of the policy and the wrong of slavery? What multitudes of our people longed to avoid the conflict with the South, and espoused the cause of the government with hesitation and doubt, and yet afterward became the most pronounced and uncompromising Unionists. In our Revolutionary struggle thousands espoused the cause of Independence through a virtual compulsion, but after they had embarked in what seemed to them a desperate enterprise, they maintained it with all the fervor which patriotism could inspire. There is often a measure of selfishness in the most praiseworthy acts of men, while enlightened selfishness is not inconsistent with justice and the public good. And let me remind you, my old Republican friends, who are so unforgiving toward Democrats, that you yourselves have some cause to judge them with charity. Our bloody war with the South was the child of slavery, and you, as well as others, had your share of guilty complicity with it. For long years you abetted its monstrous pretensions by your political action. You denounced and opposed all opposition to it. You did everything in your power to make the slavery of the South our

slavery. We have all done our part in pampering the institution into madness, and tempting it into its evil deeds. Gerrit Smith used to say that we ought to pay for the slaves of the South on the principle of "honor among thieves." And can you remember your political partnership with the rebels of the South, whom you now denounce, and the Democrats, whom you distrust, and tell them they are incapable of repentance, while wrapping yourselves in the robes of self-righteousness?

But our Republican friends say that they can not work alongside of Democrats. They say the conduct of those men during the war was such that they can neither forgive it nor identify themselves with the movement in which they are the principal element. They say that if Greeley is elected President the great body of his supporters will be Democrats; that he himself will become their instrument, and the Democratic party will find its way back to power. Let us dispassionately consider these objections. My old Republican friends, let me ask you why this dreadful apprehension of Democratic contamination? Since when did you become so sensitive and gingerly as to your political associations? Let us consider the matter in the light of known facts. I refer, in the first place, to a little matter of history which my old Free-soil friends have not forgotten. In 1849 I was elected to Congress from what was known as the "Burnt District" by a political combination. I was nominated by the Free-soil party of that district, but the great body of my supporters were Democrats. Did I become a tool of these Democrats and betray the anti-slavery cause in Congress? No man of any party, in the district or out of it, ever made such an accusation. About the same time Chase was sent to the United States Senate for six years by a handful of Free-soilers in combination with Democrats in the Legislature of Ohio. Did he become a Democrat and turn his back upon his anti-slavery professions? The whole country knows how grandly he fought Douglas and Buchanan and the slave power during the whole of his Senatorial term. Some twenty-

one years ago Charles Sumner was first elected to the Senate of the United States by a combination of conscience Whigs, Free-soilers and Democrats, the latter forming the great body of his supporters. Has Charles Sumner ever wavered as the advocate and champion of freedom? Has he ever been the tool of any man, or faction, or party? I need not answer the question. Let me come nearer home, and refer to later events. In 1856 the Republicans of Indiana nominated Oliver P. Morton as their candidate for governor. If my recollection serves me, he came to us from the Democratic party, and had been a very distasteful specimen of a Democratic politician. He tells us, to-day, that Liberal Republicans are all sore-heads, and that every man who went to the Cincinnati Convention had a plaster on his cranium. But when he came over to us he had been a candidate for office in the Democratic party every year, from the time he became of age till he joined us. The truth is, he had soured on his party friends, who were quite willing to surrender their claims on him to us. His head at that time needed a plaster almost as badly as his moral character has done ever since. But with all his sins, political and moral, we took him and made him our standard-bearer in that memorable campaign. Indeed, wherever we could persuade a Democrat to join us, we gave him a cordial welcome. If we saw a Democrat coming toward us, we wooed him onward, took him into our political embrace, and bestowed upon him our fondest caresses. You know how many prominent Democrats, in the different states in the Union, joined our ranks, and how glad we all were to receive them. When the war came they were equally welcome, and we made brigadier and major-generals of a goodly number of them. Ben. F. Butler, who had voted for Jefferson Davis fifty-eight times in the Charleston Convention, became a converted political sinner, and we turned him to the best account we could during the war. Of course, his conversion was genuine, for he now supports Ulysses S. Grant! General Dix, General Rosecrans, and scores of others were Democrats, and we were

glad to get their help in fighting the rebels. General Grant himself was a Democrat, and his Republican followers would do well to remember this while boasting that the Republican party put down the rebellion. Indeed, I think the boast a questionable one, since we were not certain that if the Democrats who gave us their help had served the rebels as zealously as they served us, the Union cause would have triumphed. The boast, at all events, is not altogether consistent with the claim now constantly made that General Grant is the savior of the country, for he never voted except for Buchanan, in 1856, when the Republican party was struggling into life, and never became a Republican, according to Colonel Forney, until he was made one by the bribe of the Presidency, and the assurance that he should have it for two terms.

My friends, in the light of these facts, which could readily be multiplied, how are we to account for this nervous dread of coöperating with Democrats? And if they were good enough to fight with us during the war, why are they not good enough to vote with us after the war is over, if we are agreed as to public questions? And what pretense of decency can there be in shunning political association with Democrats who support Greeley, when we find you hand-in-glove with the same naughty people who are willing to support Grant? Should not a decent respect for the opinions of mankind make you ashamed of such pitiful subterfuges? How is it that you are willing to fellowship one class of Democrats and at the same time denounce Liberal Republicans for associating with another class, whose political principles and antecedents are the same? And how is it, that through all the years since the Republican party was formed, you have been so willing to accept the help of Democrats in detail, or in small squads, while you now blaze with indignation at the idea of welcoming the whole body of Democrats in the nation? Can some of you Grant men solve this problem? Can you tell me why you consider it a capital thing to have caught a few straggling Democrats now and

then, during the past sixteen years, while yet you count it a fearful disaster for the whole body of Democrats to join you! I say, shame upon such logic, and such political morality! Do you not see that no man's essential character can be affected by the fact that this man or that man votes with him? Can any contamination arise from such a circumstance? Am I responsible for the character of a man who votes my ticket? *Can* I be made responsible when he openly subscribes to my political creed, and professes to have the same political aims with myself? And do you not see that if you refrain from voting till all who vote your ticket are known to be honest men, and inspired by pure aims, that you could never vote for anybody? Would not all political action cease, if your ideas are to be accepted and put in practice? For myself, I rejoice unspeakably in the united action of the Democrats throughout the country this year, in their readiness to stand with us. I rejoice because it promises reconciliation and peace to the nation. I rejoice because it delivers us from the ugly trammels and wicked strifes of the past, and thus opens the way for the calm consideration and wise settlement of those living problems which for years past have invoked the judgment of the people.

But even granting the truth of all I have said, our old Republican friends are not satisfied. Let me, therefore, follow up my appeal to them still further. They say they can not support Horace Greeley because he is inconsistent. They say he is a vacillating old man, who could not safely be trusted as President. They say he is a political weathercock, and they copy this from an English journal. I ask you to consider these objections for a moment. For nearly a third of a century Horace Greeley has been the leading editor of one of the foremost journals of the world. For some thirty years past he has each day written down his opinions and impressions upon current events, telling the people just what he thought at the time as to political, social and reformatory questions. Undoubtedly he made mistakes. Of course, he expressed opinions which afterward, on fuller informa-

tion, he reconsidered. It would have required the talents of an angel to write down the truth in every instance and upon all subjects. Of course, the record of such a man presents some inconsistencies, for the very reason that he grew wiser from year to year, and, as an honest man, was ready to confess his errors. But, I ask you, has Horace Greeley really been inconsistent and vacillating upon great and vital questions? Has he not been a firm and unflinching Republican ever since the Republican party was formed? You say he is a political weather-cock. I have a right to what the lawyers call a bill of particulars. Give me the items of his inconsistency as a Republican politician and journalist. A friend of mine said to me, the other day, "My objection to Greeley is, that he lacks that soundness of judgment which is absolutely necessary in the Presidential office." I asked him to specify wherein he was wanting in soundness of judgment, but the specifications were not given. He has certainly manifested a good deal of "soundness of judgment" and executive ability in establishing one of the grandest newspaper enterprises in the country. Undoubtedly he is liable to be duped and deceived, like other men. No man could fill the Presidential office without being exposed to danger in this direction. We all know how sadly President Lincoln was imposed upon, through his misplaced confidence, and what unworthy characters gathered around Mr. Chase, while Secretary of the Treasury, and commanded his unhesitating friendship. That General Grant has been most unfortunate in the men he has drawn about him, and intrusted with responsible positions, is too well known to be questioned. I believe the strong common sense of Horace Greeley, uninfluenced by the temptation to work for a second term, and guided by his ambition for an honorable fame, would save him from fatal mistakes. It does not look well, at all events, for the champions of General Grant, whose ugly record must be confessed, to assail Horace Greeley by assuming that he would imitate the bad example set by their own candidate.

Gentlemen, I have little respect for those who raise the

cry of inconsistency. Suppose I plead guilty for Horace Greeley; what then? Is he the only inconsistent public man in our country? Can you name a prominent statesman or politician in the land whose record is perfectly consistent? I can scarcely think of one, after I have named Charles Sumner. Who of the famous men of the generation past can be referred to as examples? Would the list include Clay, or Webster, or Calhoun, or Benton? Take the notable men of our own time. Take the Grant candidate for Vice-President. He is my personal friend, and I honor him; but when I first knew him, I believe he was a Whig, afterward he became a Conscience Whig, then a Free-soiler, then a Know-nothing, then a Republican, and, by-and-by, he will become—what we shall see. His devotion to the Republican party to-day, and his yearning desire to see it continued, are not at all consistent with his past record. And when, in his opinion, its mission shall have ended, he will probably be as little inclined to linger at its funeral as he was to cling to former party organizations after he had used them as so many ladders to climb up higher. Take the case of your distinguished Senator. As I have told you, he began his career as a Democrat; he then found his way into the Republican party by the light of the dark lantern. You know his record since. On the finance question he has favored the greenback theory of Mr. Pendleton, and opposed it. Early in the war he was opposed to arming the negroes, and to everything savoring of hostility to slavery; but afterwards became a radical of radicals. In the summer of 1865 he declared, with an oath, that negro suffrage “must be put down;” and in the fall of that year, as you well remember, he made his grand hegira into the old Burnt District, and delivered his memorable Richmond speech. In that speech he sounded the key-note of the Johnsonized Conservative Republican New Departure, denouncing the doctrines of Charles Sumner, the policy of negro suffrage, and the principles of reconstruction, as they were subsequently carried out by the Republican party. But very soon afterwards, on finding his

fatal political mistake, he became the champion and eloquent defender of the very principles he had denounced ; and while he and his friends busied themselves in hunting up and consigning to the flames the large edition which had been printed of his speech at Richmond, our Democratic friends, in some half-dozen states, made it a campaign document, and printed it by the hundred thousand. Such is the record of your " great war governor," who is now the right-hand man of this administration, and whom the Grant Republicans so delight to honor, while charging Greeley with inconsistency, and pointing to him as a political weather-cock. I could easily multiply these examples of political inconsistency, but your own knowledge of our public men will readily suggest them, and add confirmation to what I have said.

But Greeley, you say, bailed Jeff. Davis, and therefore you can not support him. My friends, he did bail Jeff. Davis, and if you understand the facts you must-honor him for the act. If you are ignorant of the facts, then your first duty is to ascertain them. I have found some people who actually believe that Horace Greeley saved Davis from the halter. They have persuaded themselves that Greeley so sympathized with treason, and so loved the arch-traitor, that he volunteered his efforts to save him from the gallows. Nothing could be further from the truth. When Davis was bailed he had been imprisoned some two years, although the constitution required that he should have a speedy trial. The question was what the government should do with him. It was not possible to try him by a military court, for the war was over, and no such tribunal could be resorted to. To try him before a Virginia jury would certainly result in his acquittal of the crime of which the whole world knew him to be guilty. To let him rot in prison would not only violate the letter and spirit of the constitution, but outrage our civilization and kindle the fires of a fearful reaction in the South. What was the government to do with the troublesome elephant which it had acquired by the unlucky capture of Davis? I am not now talking about the fit chastisement of the rebel

chiefs at the end of the war. I expressed my decided opinion on that subject at that time, and I have nothing to take back ; but the question I am now considering is, what the government ought to have done with Davis two years after the war, and under the circumstances I have stated? Gentlemen, I submit that the very wisest thing possible was the very thing which the government itself desired to have done, and that was the bailing of Davis. After a conference with leading and influential public men of different sections of the country, this was agreed upon as the way out of the dilemma. But who should go on his bond? Could we take Lee, or Longstreet, or Toombs, or some other rebels, who had probably been made insolvent by the war? If we allowed Davis to go at large, must not the loyal states, as well as the loyal men in the rebel states, be made secure in the forthcoming of Davis, should his trial ever be demanded? If we bailed Davis, the bail, of course, must be amply responsible ; and it was to this end that Horace Greeley, Commodore Vanderbilt, and other wealthy men in the North, signed their names to the bail bond.

These are the facts, gentlemen, and I ask you to remember them when you tell us that you “prefer the man who *whaled* Jeff. Davis to the man who bailed him.” I ask you to remember, too, that your candidate for the Presidency approved the act of Horace Greeley, and that Gerrit Smith, whom you now love so tenderly, united with Greeley in the act which you denounce. Remember, also, that this act was the natural and consistent expression of that policy of universal amnesty which Greeley proclaimed the moment the war was ended ; and that, although you call him a political weather-cock, no power was strong enough to swerve him from it. Remember that while he was a candidate for a seat in the United States Senate, and could certainly have been elected by modifying or suppressing his views, and was so earnestly assured by his friends, he said to them, “It is of small consequence that I should be a Senator ; but it is of great consequence that the North and the South should be

reunited in fraternity and good will, on the basis of universal amnesty." And I ask you to remember further, that while Mr. Greeley, in the act of signing the bail-bond of Davis, and in maintaining his policy of universal amnesty, encountered a torrent of abuse such as has rarely fallen to the lot of any public man, he never faltered in his devotion to what he believed to be the truth; and that now, at last, all parties in this country have practically sanctioned his policy, and vindicated his wisdom.

But Greeley, we are told, was an original secessionist. The charge is grossly untrue. In common with thousands of good and true men in our country, he recoiled from the dreadful alternative of civil war. He hoped it was possible to avert it. He prayed that this bitter cup might not be pressed to the nation's lips. He sympathized with Abraham Lincoln in those earnest strivings for conciliation, which gave offense to many Republicans of a bolder type. He believed the rebel states themselves, if a fair vote could be had, would condemn the policy of secession. If he ever favored the secession of these states, it was upon conditions which were impossible, and which he assented to as the means of securing an important vantage ground to the North if the war should become inevitable. He never favored secession at their own option, and on their own chosen conditions. He never admitted their right to fire on the old flag, and steal our arms and munitions of war, and thus establish their independence. If I am not mistaken, his views were substantially those expressed by the *Indianapolis Journal* at the time. They were shared by a very large proportion of the people throughout the country. The Northern States had been educated in the ideas of peace. General Scott himself, then at the head of the army, scouted the idea of putting down the rebellion by war. He favored a pacification on the basis of Crittenden's infamous compromise, and, if that failed, he was for letting the "wayward sisters go in peace." Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, declared that none but a despotic or imperial government would seek to subjugate

thoroughly dissaffected states. Mr. Lincoln himself expressed the same idea in his message to Congress of July, 1861. It required time and reflection, and the display of desperate rebel madness, to fire the heart of the country with the spirit of war. It was honorable to Mr. Greeley, Mr. Lincoln and his many sympathizers at the time, that they were so anxious to have the nation lay hold of every means in its power to save it from the appalling calamities of a bloody conflict between the two sections of the Union. But when, at last, this became inevitable, Mr. Greeley threw his whole heart into the loyal cause. Having done so much in previous years through his famous journal to create the public opinion which now made the conflict irrepressible, he felt bound to spare no effort within his power to sustain the nation in its struggle with armed rebels. And I believe it safe to say that no man in the republic rendered more effective service, or is better entitled to its gratitude. The truth is, this charge of favoring secession, which is now flung at Mr. Greeley by the supporters of General Grant, is as infamous as it is ridiculous; and the men who have coined it, and are now striving to give it currency, ought to be ashamed of the baseness and indecency which can thus seek to strengthen their cause by calumniating the character of a man whose whole life has been so grandly devoted to his country, and whose pen has been "mightier than the sword" in the battle between liberty and slavery.

Our Grant men blame Greeley, for his attempts, during the war, to restore peace between the two sections of the country. These attempts proved futile, and may have been unwise. The lack of wisdom, however, is not apparent, while the spirit that prompted them is to be commended. The rebels professed a desire to negotiate, but it was quite evident they would agree to no terms which the government could accept. Mr. Greeley and Mr. Lincoln were well convinced of this, but if the attempt at negotiation should reveal this fact, it must strengthen the loyal cause, and thus prepare us for the final struggle. Mr. Greeley is blamed for his

readiness to pay four hundred millions of dollars as a condition of emancipation and peace. But if his proposition had been accepted, it would have saved many thousands of lives, and probably one thousand million dollars, which the further prosecution of the war cost us. Why blame Greeley for this proposition? And how is it that you Grant men do not measure out even-handed justice in censuring our public men? You remember that Mr. Lincoln, in his Proclamation of Emancipation, in 1863, told the rebels that if they would lay down their arms within ninety days, the institution of slavery should be spared. Gentlemen, if ever a great and priceless God-send was vouchsafed to any people, it came to us in that rebel madness which rejected Mr. Lincoln's offer. I express no censure of this act, which, like the other proposition referred to, was rejected. Doubtless Mr. Lincoln did what he thought was the wisest and best thing possible in the trying circumstances under which he was placed. It is fair to give Mr. Greeley the same credit; but if he must be censured for his act on moral or political grounds, much more should you censure the act of Abraham Lincoln. I am sorry to say that in this case, as in so many other instances, the champions of General Grant single out Horace Greeley as the only public man who has gone astray. They are hungering and thirsting for his mistakes and shortcomings. They are pouncing upon him like beasts of prey, and howling over his pretended political sins, while totally oblivious of the fact that others have been wrong, and especially that their own party idols and chiefs can be successfully assailed. I am sorry to witness so many manifestations of this bad spirit, so dishonoring to our politics, but my consolation is that the people love justice and fair-dealing, and will, in due season, adequately rebuke the crooked and insincere tactics of partisan demagogues.

And now, in general response to all I have said, will you insist that General Grant nevertheless, is your choice for President, and that one of your reasons is, that he is paying off the national debt? You might just as well credit him

with sending the sunshine and rain, and causing the earth to bring forth of her abundance. General Grant's share in the work of paying our debt consists in the payment of his individual taxes, just as you pay yours. The reduction of the debt at the rapid rate of one hundred millions per annum is due to the energy, enterprise and thrift of our people, and is accomplished through the machinery of the tax and tariff laws passed by Congress. The honor belongs to the people; but if you ascribe it to Grant, a still larger honor should be awarded to Andrew Johnson, under whose administration a still more rapid reduction was accomplished.

Do you tell me that Grant should be still further honored because he has been the savior of the country? Undoubtedly he did his part in saving it, and did it well; and the nation has abundantly honored and rewarded him for it. But General Thomas did his part. So did General Sherman. So did scores of other Generals. But none of our Generals, nor all of them together, could have saved the country without the heroic courage and unselfish devotion of the common soldier. He, after all, was the real hero of the war. But behind the General and the common soldier stood the great people, from whose ranks our armies were recruited, who furnished the government with its supplies, and with the sinews of war, whose heroic patience and endurance never failed in the darkest hour, and whose aggregate common sense at last gave our civil and military rulers a war policy that saved us. Gentlemen, the real saviors of the nation are the people of the nation, and I am not willing that any man or party shall pluck from them the honor which is theirs. I pity the servile spirit of man-worship, and the sickly craving for personal government, which we daily witness in the effort to exalt and aggrandize one man at the expense of the people. Such despicable exhibitions of latter-day flunkeyism are as disgusting to all sensible and decent people as they are dishonorable to those who profess to believe in our popular institutions.

Do you tell me that the Republican party, with General

Grant at its head, is in favor of abolishing the franking privilege? The action of that party during the entire term of its ascendancy in Congress belies its profession. Parties, like individuals, must be judged by their acts, and if these are inconsistent with their professions, the sin of hypocrisy must be added to that of faithlessness. I have been very familiar with the temper and feeling of both houses of Congress for the past eleven years, and I know that if the party in power had desired to abolish this privilege, it would have been done. You know this as well as I do. And I am equally sure there is not a man in Congress to-day who does not openly or secretly laugh at the false pretense impudently put forth in the Philadelphia platform respecting this issue.

Do you plead that the Republican party is the enemy of land monopoly, and the champion of the rights of settlers? The persistent effort in Congress for years past to so amend the Homestead Law as to prevent the further sale of the public lands to non-resident purchasers for speculative purposes, has been again and again voted down by a Republican Congress. Indeed, from the very date of the passage of the Homestead Law, the policy of the Republican party has systematically favored its nullification by legislation utterly inconsistent with its spirit and purpose. For the leaders of the party to parade their devotion to the welfare of our pioneer settlers and landless poor, is to insult decency and crown party audacity as king. No honest Republican can defend the land policy of his party, because that policy outrages justice, wages war against the equal rights of the people, and is a wanton conspiracy against posterity itself.

Do you point me to your resolution in favor of tariff reform? If interpreted by the action of the Republican party, it means that you are in favor of a tariff for protection, with incidental revenue. It means that you are in favor of tariff monopoly, and not tariff reform. And the best proof of this is the tariff bill hatched by the last session of Congress, after an incubation of five or six months, and which puts on the free list the chief luxuries of the rich, while imposing its

heavy burdens upon the necessities of life, which bear hardest upon the laboring poor. Your talk about adjusting duties so as to secure remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, growth and prosperity of the whole country, savors entirely too much of the other false pretenses to which I have already referred.

Do you refer me to the professed friendship of the Republican party for the soldier? His demand for an honest equalization of his bounties has been denied, and the denial reiterated by Congress during the last seven or eight years. It is true that Congress, at its late session, passed a sort of land-bounty bill; but its provisions were so clumsily framed that the General Land-office confessed itself incapable of executing them, while I believe that no mistake was ever made in any great land-grant through which the corporation asking it failed to get all, if not more than all, that was contemplated by the act. Be it remembered, also, that multitudes of our maimed soldiers are necessarily incapable of tilling the soil, and that what they want is not the common opportunity which the homestead-law opens to all, but a substantial provision for themselves and their little ones by which they may be enabled to live and to enjoy life.

Do you point me to your Philadelphia resolution on the subject of capital and labor? No man, without divine illumination, can tell what it means; but when I interpret it in the light of your party action, of your huge grants of land to railway and other corporations, of your legislation for the rich in the tariff laws to which I have referred, of the organized monopoly in the interest of capital which we see in our system of national banks, and the growing tendency of Republican legislation in the direction of aristocracy and privilege, I can readily perceive in your professed friendship for the laboring classes a measure of insincerity and demagogism which can scarcely be paralleled by any other plank in the Philadelphia platform. Shame upon the false pretense that can thus insult the public intelligence and set all political decency at defiance.

But, gentlemen, I am taxing your patience too long. Cer-

tainly I need not further discuss particular questions of policy or legislative reform. These, I doubt not, will be wisely dealt with if we can first emancipate the people from their thralldom to the past, and from the corrupt and mercenary leaders who are still bent upon controlling them, in the name of radicalism and loyalty. The great and overmastering want of the country to-day is peace. This is the travail of the republic—"Let us have peace!" Not a hollow and hypocritical peace, such as this administration and its leaders are seeking to give us, by keeping alive the old fires of hate and war, in order to their continued ascendancy, but a real peace, which shall bless and gladden the whole land. This, after all, is the grand question to be settled by the national canvass. Shall the states of the South and the states of the North, now once more looking at each other with friendly eyes, be really reconciled in a common forgetfulness of their strifes, and a common purpose to love each other? Shall their political marriage be again solemnized, under the priesthood of our new dispensation, or shall their strifes still prevail, after the cause of their estrangement has been forever removed? Shall we, at last, become one people, instead of two? Shall the nation, purged of the guilt of slavery, and purified by trial, employ its time in crimination and recrimination over questions that need nothing but forgetfulness? This is the question for the country to ponder to-day. It is always easy to pursue a wrong course. It is easy to yield to passion and revenge. It is easy to resurrect passions and resentments after they have been buried. It is easy to remind others of their faults, and thus hinder the healthy tendency toward fraternity and good will. It is easy for Republican politicians to repeat and reiterate their old war speeches, as it would be easy for me to repeat mine, which I would do if you could set back the clock of our history and place me where I stood when I spoke. God forbid that I should utter a word or breathe a whisper that could hinder the approach of peace and brotherhood between the people of the North and the people of the South, when I see the way opening for their advent. Let by-gones be by-gones, and the dead past bury its dead.

THE NEW TRIALS OF DEMOCRACY.

DELIVERED AT ROCKVILLE, SEPTEMBER 13, 1873.

[This speech was delivered in the lull which followed the campaign of 1872, and deals with the general subject of politics in a perfectly dispassionate and non-partisan style. Whoever may read it will notice how remarkably the questions it discusses have since forced their way to the front and compelled all parties to consider them.]

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: The present season of unusual political quiet in Indiana seems to me remarkably favorable to calm judgment and an honest search after the truth. While party feeling has died away among us to an unprecedented extent, and the issues of by-gone strifes have gradually disappeared, the political developments of the past year have powerfully stimulated earnest thought and independent action among the people. New questions are now to be debated, and new dangers are to be met. The dawn of a new epoch in our politics, which was becoming visible last year, is now unmistakable; and both the love of country and the instinct of self-preservation plead with the people for some wise and timely methods of reform. In the light of these facts, I believe this is a time to speak, rather than a time to be silent; and I have, therefore, accepted an invitation from personal and political friends in this section of our state to address the people at this point to-day. I have chosen for my subject, The New Trials of Democracy. In selecting this topic I assume that popular institutions, however admirable in theory or beneficent in practice, are yet exposed to dangers and vicissitudes. I take it for granted that democracy is inevitably bound by the laws of its condi-

tion. "It is not born out of the sky, nor wrought in dreams." It is necessarily colored by the atmosphere in which it lives, and takes on the qualities with which it is mingled. It is an Opportunity, quite as much as a Power. While decidedly acting upon society, and multiplying the sources of its own life, it is constantly acted upon by external forces which hinder the free play and full sweep of its energy. It is always on probation, waiting for its complete ascendancy upon the advance of knowledge and virtue, the ministry of equal laws, and the "eternal vigilance" of the people. It may fitly be compared to the Christian life, in which the very best men never rise to those heights of goodness which lie beyond the reach of temptation. Mr. Buckle argues that in some countries democracy is impossible, owing to the influence of soil, climate, food, and what he calls "the peculiar aspects of nature;" but even under the most favored conditions, and in the most enlightened communities, it is only a grand experiment, a heroic endeavor of the people, a ceaseless conflict with ever re-occurring dangers, which invoke the helping hand of every man who is ready to show his faith in free institutions by his works.

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND.

Without further preface I proceed to notice some of the new trials of democracy in our own country; and perhaps the most formidable of these is the result of false relations between the people and the land. So intimate and vital are these relations in all countries, that in the nomenclature of politics the words "people" and "land" are convertible terms. The laws regulating the ownership and disposition of landed property necessarily shape the institutions of a people. Real democracy must have its roots in the soil, because the land owners of every country are its masters. A democratic government which allows the land to become the patrimony of the few can not possibly be enduring, since liberty and slavery are not more utterly repugnant to each other than are free institutions and the unrestricted monopoly of

the soil. Such a government is democratic in name only, and is, in fact, the most galling and fatal form of aristocratic rule. It has justly been remarked that laws of primogeniture and entail cause an aristocracy to spring out of the ground, and affect the well-being of unborn generations. They make the existence of a true yeomanry impossible, and wage war against the normal life of the family. They breed pauperism and crime, and lay the many prostrate at the feet of the few. It was through the abolition or radical curtailment of these laws by the Puritans that American democracy was born. Not even the germs of aristocracy were originally planted in New England. Her political institutions were the logical product of her laws respecting landed property, which, by favoring a great subdivision of the land, favored great equality among the people. This produced prosperous cultivation, closely associated communities, free schools, a healthy public opinion, democracy in managing the affairs of the church, and that system of local self-government which has spread over so many states, and must finally prevail throughout the world. English ideas, however, took root in the states of the South, and the result was the system of entails and large landed estates, fitly supplemented by African slavery, which simply emphasized the irrepressible antagonism between the democracy of one section of the Union and the aristocracy of the other. The land policy of New England would have made slavery impossible, while democratic institutions would have been the common heritage of North and South.

This vital mistake might have been partially remedied after the colonies became a nation, if a just and comprehensive national land policy had then been adopted. But the colonies emerged from the revolutionary struggle burdened with an immense debt, and our fathers knew of no other considerable source of payment than the public lands. In the disposition of these lands there was but one thought, and that was revenue. In fighting the divine right of kings, the divine right of the land monopolist was forgotten. Instead of laying the foundations of democratic equality in the

soil itself, and thus taking a bond of fate for the welfare of coming generations, the goading need of money and the very abundance of our lands paved the way for great monopolies, which have increased and multiplied ever since. The purchase of vast tracts by individuals and companies was not only allowed, but encouraged by the government. The policy of disposing of the public domain at low or nominal rates, to actual settlers only, and in limited quantities, was not then dreamed of; and so potent was the influence of those feudal ideas which had been transplanted from the Old World, that the enactment of our homestead law did not become possible till seventy-five years after the establishment of the American land system. But this law did not emancipate the public domain. It was a sign of promise, but it did not fulfill the nation's desire. Non-resident speculators are still at liberty to purchase great tracts of the public domain, and hold them indefinitely for a rise in price, which is at war with the whole spirit and policy of the homestead law, and as flagrantly unjust as it is financially stupid. Our land grant system has already surrendered to railroad corporations a territorial empire of over two hundred millions of acres. Our Indian treaty policy has robbed poor settlers of great bodies of choice lands, and handed them over to monopolists and thieves. Our legislation on the subject of military land bounties, while nearly profitless to the soldiers, has been a national disaster, beneficial only to speculators and monopolists. The acts of Congress on the subject of swamp lands and college and Indian scrip have been equally vicious and indefensible.

The rights of settlers under the homestead and preëmption laws have been seriously threatened by department rulings in the interest of railway companies, while the growing power of land monopoly has found a powerful ally in the state and federal courts. The policy of the government and the spirit of the times are alike hostile to those ideas on which alone a true democracy can stand. Under the vicious legislation to which I have referred only one person in fifteen, outside of the towns and cities, is the owner of a home in

the land states of the South. In California quite a number of men own hundreds of thousands of acres each, and in crossing the lands of one of these you are obliged to travel seventy-five miles. The curse of land monopoly in the states of the Northwest, caused by the cruel commerce in land which the government has encouraged, has been an irreparable blight and blast to their prosperity. Great estates are everywhere tending to swallow up the smaller ones, and to produce a constantly multiplying and crouching tenantry. Even in New England, owing greatly to her tariff policy, non-resident proprietors are becoming common in large districts, while the general education of farm laborers is below that of the factory operative, and the condition of agriculture itself is that of rapid decay. These facts are as significant as they are alarming. They foreshadow the approach of a deadly danger to our institutions, and the new and fearful trial which certainly awaits them.

We have here, it is true, no crushing system of landlordism, founded on despotic laws and traditions, but through the land policy of the nation and the machinery of great corporations we have inaugurated a system of feudalism as completely at war with the principles of free government as that which scourges England to-day. I believe that nothing is more logically certain than that this system must be confronted and overthrown, or the epitaph of American democracy must be written. This is the simple but pregnant alternative; and the statesmanship that would postpone or evade it is criminally recreant to the most imperative demands of the hour. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles. In politics, as in morals, we shall reap as we sow. Land monopoly has preyed upon every age of the world. It has sapped the life of every free government of the past, and is to-day the stronghold of every despotism on earth. History ever repeats itself, and the believers in popular institutions are therefore utterly without excuse if they allow its solemn and reiterated warnings to go unheeded.

THE GROWTH AND DOMINATION OF CITIES.

We are threatened with another serious trial of our democratic institutions in the growth and domination of cities. I do not mean to say that great cities are in themselves an evil. They are the necessary outgrowth of our civilization. They supply the producer with a home market. As great intellectual and commercial centers they are the natural handmaids of social and economic progress. They ought to be the natural allies of democracy; but I believe they are preparing for it an ordeal which will tax all the resources of the people to save it. The danger to which I allude is two-fold. In the first place, the government of great cities by democratic methods is an unsolved problem. Thus far, at least, we are obliged to confess that the chief cities of our own country have proved ungovernable. The forms of democracy have been laid hold of by its enemies, who have trampled its substance under foot. In our Northern states, outside the great cities, popular government has been a success. Life and property, as a rule, are secure. Education is widely diffused, and society makes a healthy and natural progress. There is a general equality of condition among the people, which holds in check the spirit of aristocracy and caste. The laws are respected, and the voice of the majority is honestly registered and cheerfully accepted. But in our great cities all this is changed. In the city of New York official thieves have robbed the treasury. Offices are bought and sold like merchandise. Legislatures are auctioned off to the highest bidder. Courts are bribed by villains who escape justice through the power of their money. Great masses of men, native and foreign, cursed by ignorance, poverty and drink, become the miserable tools of demagogues and gamblers, while opposing political parties are equally corrupt, and decent men are tempted to give up public affairs in disgust. The voice of the church, if heard at all, is unheeded. No man's life, property or reputation is safe, and nothing is sincerely believed in by the men who rule the hour but the

beauty and blessedness of wealth. This picture of democracy, as practically illustrated in New York, and in several other chief cities of the Union, shows how powerless it is in these great centers of population and wealth, and how well-founded seems to have been the apprehension of De Tocqueville, uttered more than forty years ago, that our system of government must find its ruin in the growth of our cities and the character of their population. But this failure of democracy is not the fact which is most alarming. We not only fail to govern the cities, but the cities govern the country. In several of the states they hold the balance of power. They hold it, and wield it, in the nation. The same ignorant and brutalized horde which demagogues and thieves employ in the government of the cities, is made to turn the scale in state and national contests. Here is our greatest peril. And this frightful evil is constantly increasing. The domination of our cities, it must be confessed, is every day gaining ground. Through the concentration of capital and its resulting oligarchy of wealth, the "dangerous classes" are all the while on the increase, while the growth of our cities far outstrips that of the nation. In the United States, as in Europe, men are running away from rural pursuits, and coveting the excitements of town life. The professions are more and more crowded, while increasing multitudes are seeking a livelihood in some form of traffic. The character of our civilization and the whole current of modern life favor the growth of these evils. We see this illustrated in our great railway and banking corporations, which so powerfully tend to aggregate capital in the hands of the few, and to draw the many under their control. We see it in the growth of great manufacturing establishments, called into life by labor-saving machinery, which capital can so easily command, and cause the dependent masses to gravitate around new centers. We see it in the monopolization of lands and the absorption of small estates, decimating the farming population, and portending a centralization in agriculture through the combination of capital and machinery, such as we have seen in manufac-

tures and commerce. We see it in the growth of habits of luxury and extravagance, and the decline of those domestic virtues, without which the family and the home lose their sacredness and the state its best support. We see it in the alarming increase of taxes throughout the country, which are chiefly saddled on the poor, and especially in our tariff laws, exempting from duty the chief luxuries of the rich, and heavily taxing the articles of prime necessity to the producer, such as iron and steel, and thus at once taxing his transportation, and his plow, his reaper, and everything else into which these metals enter, while the price of his produce is as low as it was before the late war. We see it, in short, in the unmistakable purpose of the government to lend itself to the service of capital, and to show the world the spectacle of a great nation founded on the aristocracy of wealth, instead of resolutely maintaining the principles of real democracy and fostering the republican virtue of the people.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Hitherto the hope of our country has been in our rural districts. In peace and in war we have leaned upon our yeomanry, and they have never failed us. Brave, patriotic, and incorruptible, they have been our strength and our pride. Will they be able to save us in the trial of democracy involved in the unhealthy growth of our cities, and the increasing distaste for rural pursuits? Can the country stand the present drain upon the farming population, and the growing ascendancy of the bad elements which rule our large towns? Rome perished in the destruction of her peasantry and the concentration of her population in the capital. Great estates destroyed the family life of the people, and while the cultivators of the soil became slaves, luxury and vice preyed upon the empire. The same fate awaits us if we follow in the same path. I believe our deliverance is largely in the hands of the cultivators of the soil. I rejoice to find them so apprehending the dangers which threaten them that they are

earnestly setting about the work of self-defense. While capitalists are combining for their own aggrandizement, and mechanics and workingmen are organizing in various forms to resist their usurpation, our farmers are finding that their policy of isolation is a mistake. They see that organization is both a duty and a necessity. As a matter of self-protection, they are adopting well considered methods of industrial co-operation. In order to break up the monotony of rural life, and beautify its pursuits, they are inviting their wives and daughters to join them on the platform of perfect equality, and thus rebuking the senseless aristocracy of sex, and opening the way for the enfranchisement of woman. The social element and spirit of fraternity enkindled by such methods must naturally lead to concerted political action against whatever grievances may invite it, and thus, it is to be hoped, the exodus from the country to the city will be checked, the thinned ranks of agriculture in some degree recruited, and the cities themselves redeemed in the act of saving the country. The prophecy of this is pretty clearly seen in the various farmers' movements which have recently sprung up throughout the United States. The agriculturists of our country comprise a majority of its population, and if perfectly united could, therefore, outvote all other classes combined. Their business feeds the human race, and is the natural employment of man. It was enjoined upon him by his Maker, and from it both manufactures and commerce draw their life. Every interest of society must necessarily suffer when the great underlying industry of the farmer languishes. One of the most significant and cheering signs of the times, therefore, and the harbinger, as I believe, of the political as well as the industrial regeneration of our land, is the spirit of union which has so suddenly and so marvelously inspired the tillers of the soil, and which, I trust, will finally draw into a common brotherhood the workingmen of all other occupations. Undoubtedly it will adopt some unwise methods. It may now and then strike out wildly and blindly in seeking just ends. It will not be exempt from the mis-

chiefs of self-seeking, demagogism and bad leadership. Leaping into life all at once among men who have known so little of organization, it will sometimes hinder the cause it would promote; but time, experience, and an honest endeavor, will at last enable a powerful body of united and sober men to accomplish their deliberate purpose.

THE POWER OF GREAT CORPORATIONS.

A more immediately threatening danger to our institutions is the growing power of great corporations. Democracy needs the constant support of equal laws. It demands common opportunities for the people. It can tolerate no privileged classes, and no legislative favoritism of any sort. If corporations are created, they should be a clear public necessity or convenience, and never cease to be the servants of the people. Without these conditions they have no right to exist. The question of railroad transportation affords the best illustration of what I wish to say on this subject. Political economy teaches that good roads are equivalent to good tools. They are a part of the economy of labor. They are regarded as a diminution of the cost of all things sent to market by them. But our railways, though the mere instruments of commerce and agents of the people, and often richly endowed by the government, have begun to play the role of master. Instead of helping the people they are becoming a hindrance, and in some instances a positive public grievance. The great railway corporations have grown so powerful that they can manipulate both State Legislatures and Congress. The power of associated capital embodied in them, and exercised in the way of exorbitant freight charges, is rendering agriculture an unprofitable business. In some regions of the West it does not pay to plant a crop. While millions of bushels of corn and wheat are rotting in the fields, thousands of people in the East are suffering for bread. Thousands of bushels of grain are being burned for fuel, while charities are organized to feed the starving poor of New York and other cities. Of the immense crops of corn in Iowa, we are

told by the best authority that it takes five bushels to get one to the seaboard. Owing to the growing spirit of railway rapacity, and the increasing demand for large profits caused by the policy of watering stocks, matters are rapidly growing worse. In portions of Illinois the farmers have actually gone back to the primeval habit of hauling their grain to market on wagons, for the simple reason that they can save money by the operation. The railroad rates are not only exorbitant, but as unjust and unfair as a perverse ingenuity can contrive them, in their discriminations as to distance and the articles shipped.

The exact remedy for these frightful evils has not yet been discovered. Undoubtedly Congress has the right to control the charges on inter-state lines of railroads, under the constitutional power to regulate commerce between the states; but Congress itself has become the servant of the great railway power. We see this shamefully illustrated in the Credit Mobilier developments, and in the ugly fact that their pretended investigation was simply a whitewashing pastime. It is true, also, that the states have the same power as to the roads within their borders, but thus far their legislation has been a confessed failure, for the reason that their law-makers, too, have been the stipendiaries of these monopolies, while in some instances our state and federal courts have succumbed to their purposes. Some relief might be found in the thorough reform of our tariff abuse, cutting down the cost of iron and other fabrics used in railway machinery and equipment. The people are beginning to see this, and will necessarily make tariff reform a battle-cry in their conflict with the railroads; but this reform would be a mitigation, rather than a cure, of the mischief. As a great practical question, demanding immediate public attention, it is by far the most serious one now before the people of the United States. It completely overshadows the ordinary topics of political discussion, because it involves the right of the people to live. The railroad power of our country wields a consolidated capital of four thousand millions of dollars.

The network of its ramifications reaches throughout the continent, and as against the public is as completely a unit as was the slave power of the South. We have now about seventy thousand miles of railroads in the United States, to which we are adding five or six thousand per year. Their annual earnings are more than half a million dollars, and they have in their employ an army of two hundred thousand men, including the ablest legal talent in the nation, and drawing into their support every influence that great wealth can command. The privileged classes of aristocratic Europe are unknown here; but we have in their stead these great corporations, armed with equal or greater power, and threatening the complete subjugation of the people. It is the one-man power in a new and most alarming form. We have no dukes, lords or barons, and in theory can guard against political abuses by frequent changes of our public servants; but we have our great railroad kings, who control the makers and expounders of the law, and are practically endowed with life offices and powers of hereditary succession. Is not this as fatal to democracy as would be the life tenure of the office of President, with power to name his successor? If the European system of government is abominable, is not our system of railway rule equally so? The question thus forced upon us is that of democracy on the one hand, backed by forty millions of people, and struggling for its very existence, and commercial feudalism on the other, dominated by great corporate monopolies which own the wealth of kingdoms, and will be content with nothing less than imperial power over the government and people. I sincerely regret that this grave issue has become inevitable. I certainly cherish no hostility to railroads. Undoubtedly they help develop the country. They often create the towns which they connect. They extend civilization and all its appliances. They are of inestimable value to the country, under a just administration of their affairs, and while content to act as the servants of the public. But they are built by the people's resources and labor, for the people's advantage, and the people

must resist their attempted usurpation at whatever cost. How they are to do this the future alone can fully reveal; but I am sure they will do it, because they are sovereign on their own soil and over their own affairs. I believe they understand their rights, and in the end will find the means of maintaining them. They can not long fail to see that the very life of our government is at stake in this controversy. They will see that it is one thing to establish great lines of intercommunication, foster great commercial enterprises and amass great wealth in the hands of the few, and quite another thing, while reasonably favoring the healthy development of commerce and the activity of capital, to so shape the administration of affairs as to maintain, in their full vigor, the vital principles of democracy. My hope is in the people; and if, in a crisis like the present, they should rally under old political watchwords, and invoke the party machinery through which the evils now complained of have been brought to their doors, they will deserve the humiliation and defeat which their conduct will certainly invite.

In this reference to the conflict between our democratic institutions and the power of great corporations, I must not omit the subject of our national banks. They number more than two thousand, and represent an aggregate capital of nearly five hundred millions of money. If they were necessary during the war as a means of enlisting capital on the side of the government, that necessity has long since ceased. But they still exist, and their number is increasing. Nor is bank extension governed solely by the business wants of the people. To a great extent it depends on what the politicians call "influence." That this system of national banks might readily be made a tremendous political power, no sane man will deny. That this power was almost perfectly united on the side of the administration in the national canvass of last year, is equally undeniable. In the very nature of things it must become a political engine; and in comparison with this great oligarchy of capitalists the old Bank of the United States, which justly alarmed the people, was insignificant if

not contemptible. And there is, I repeat, no valid excuse for its existence. The banks are supported by the government at the bidding of capital, and capital demands it, because they pay their stockholders from fifteen to thirty-odd per cent. per annum for the little clerical work involved in running their machinery, while these profits must come out of the pockets of the people, and necessarily aggrandize the rich and heap exactions upon the poor. Why should the government make itself substantially responsible for national bank notes, and hand them over to corporations to be loaned as money, without exacting anything for their use? Why not issue greenbacks at once, and retire the government bonds held by the banks, amounting to over three hundred millions of dollars, and thus save to the nation twenty millions in interest? But I can not here enlarge upon this topic, and I only repeat what I have said on other occasions, that the people of the United States have the right to a sound national currency without the costly machinery of these banks, which are a pure monopoly in the interest of capital, demanded by no public necessity, and rendering no service to the country that can justify the expense which they occasion or the profits they receive. A national currency of uniform value throughout the Union is exceedingly desirable; but if that currency must be irredeemable paper, let the government issue it directly, and thus rid the people of the burden of supporting a great moneyed power for the enrichment of a privileged few, and at war with every principle of democratic equality.

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

The practical success of our democratic experiment is seriously menaced by the labor problem. This subject is involved in what I have said of the monopolization of lands, the growth of cities, and the power of corporations; but it demands a distinct consideration. A right adjustment of the relations of capital and labor is absolutely necessary to the permanent success of popular institutions. We have seen this illustrated in the old slave system of the South, which

was simply an extreme form of the tyranny of capital. It was the logical climax of that system of political philosophy which makes the protection of property the chief end of government. Democracy teaches that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that man is paramount to wealth. Whether the domination of capital takes the form of chattel slavery, or serfdom, or that practical ownership of the laborer which our system of modern industrial skill has inaugurated, can make no sort of difference in principle, since in all such cases the sacredness of humanity is invaded, and democracy, in the same degree, renounced. The great practical difficulty is that the improvement in the condition of the working people does not keep pace with the increase of the wealth which they produce, and its constant accumulation in the hands of the few. While the forms of aristocracy and privilege have been driven from our political system, they have reappeared in the industrial. Our great manufacturing establishments are so many great centers of aristocratic power. The cost of labor-saving machinery, which the wealthy alone can afford, causes great mills to spring up which do the work that before was done by the handicraftsman. It is true that the cost of production is lessened by the extent of the establishment, the amount of capital and credit employed, and the division and subdivision of labor. It is likewise true that a better article is manufactured, and that the mind of the master is invigorated and enlarged by the training involved in the supervision of such an establishment. But the laborer is sacrificed. He becomes the perfect master of the little task allotted to him, but dwarfed in everything else. "In proportion as the workman improves the man is degraded." In the manufacture of a pair of boots there are more than a dozen distinct processes, supervised by as many hands. It takes sixteen persons to make a pin, and each must become more and more a machine the longer he pursues his business. "Hitherto," says John Stuart Mill, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater pop-

ulation to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not begun to effect those great changes in human destiny which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish." They have achieved signal material results, but as yet they have not proved the handmaids of human welfare. On the contrary, they have plunged the laboring classes of all countries into new dangers, which invoke new safeguards for their protection. They have created a new trial for democratic institutions, and thus pointed the way to new fields of political action in the interest of multitudes, who will need the strong hand of law in their struggle against new and formidable forces.

The abolition of the small industries which once flourished and the substitution of the factory system, carried on by great capital and the vast power of machinery, have founded a new era in industrial economy, to be followed by a new era in legislation. It is estimated that the steam engine is now doing the work which would employ the whole population of the globe without it. Improved machinery is revolutionizing the business world. The innumerable contrivances for economizing labor now in use, while they greatly facilitate production, naturally tend to the concentration of capital, and thus to render the laborer more and more dependent, while the capitalist is enabled to amass increasing wealth. This law of concentration is to-day in full blast, pointing to the still further degradation and helplessness of the masses, and the more complete domination of the few. Can American democracy stand so severe a trial of its very life? Is there no remedy? We are often told that this ugly conflict between the power of wealth and the rights of humanity will settle itself. Pretended political economists and great party leaders assure us that the law of supply and demand will solve the whole problem, and that government has nothing to do with it. This is as shallow as it is heartless. "Two great discoveries," says the Duke of Argyle, "have been made in

the science of government: the one is the immense advantage of abolishing restrictions upon trade; the other is the absolute necessity of imposing restrictions upon labor." The law of supply and demand works very well where the parties stand on an equal footing; but where one party, from whatever cause, is so circumstanced that he holds the other completely in his power, the law is a law of death to the latter. The author I have just quoted illustrates this by reference to the workings of the English factory system. He shows that the great mill-owners compelled children from seven to ten years old to work twelve hours per day, in dens of dreariness and filth, shut out from God's sunlight and air, and treated like brutes, while men were worked from twelve to twenty hours. The English people finally saw that the law of supply and demand sacrificed humanity itself on the altar of mammon. They saw that it made cotton king, as it did in our Southern States, and its dehumanizing effects were at length checked by an act of Parliament fixing a limit to the hours of toil. The sad truth is that capital, under the stimulus of modern society, is utterly deaf to the appeals both of justice and mercy. It cares for nothing but its own increase. It has been said with as much truth as force that the love of gain overrides even the love of life, and silences even the fear of death. There is too much truth in the saying of one of our foremost writers and thinkers, that "the mere men of wealth, the bankers and brokers, are those who exert the worst influence upon the state; their maxim is, let the state take care of the rich, and the rich of the poor, and not let the state take care of the weak, for the strong it need not." Non-intervention, we are told, is the gospel to be preached to the workingman when he asks fair play at the hands of the government; and yet the government has always intervened against him, and does to-day. This is true in all countries. Our laws of property were originally founded in conquest and violence, and still bear some of the marks of their beginning. Instead of taking pains to temper the inequalities which exist in the conditions of men, they have

taken pains to aggravate them. Instead of favoring the diffusion of wealth they have constantly favored its concentration. Instead of taking care of the weak they have all the time given their help to the strong. All this, as I have shown, is illustrated in our legislation respecting the public lands, in our banking and financial system, in the monstrous power of great corporations, in the frightful monopolies in the interest of favored classes which have grown up under our tariff laws, and in the despotic power of great manufacturing establishments over the lives and fortunes of the poor. And yet we are gravely told, in the face of facts like these, that the law of supply and demand will right their wrongs! Their present condition of helplessness is the result of a systematic and long-continued course of legislation dictated by capital; but instead of undoing this legislation, and turning the current at last in favor of the working classes, the convenient makeshift of supply and demand is appealed to, which is exactly what capital wants and all it needs. I do not condemn this principle, but only its misapplication. I would accept it in the adjustment of our tariff, and in the exchange of all articles which are properly commodities. I would not deal with labor as merchandise, but as capital, endowed with the sacred right to have its human needs attended to. I would treat the labor market as different from every other, since the seller of a commodity has the option to sell or not, while the capital of the workingman is life, and he must sell it or perish. I would have government recognize the principle that "the man who has labor to sell has as many rights as the man who has it to buy." To refer him for relief to the law of supply and demand, when capital has already glutted the market and holds him by the throat, is like commending the lamb to the jaws of the wolf. Precisely how the despotism of capital is to be overthrown, and the grievances of the working classes redressed, I do not pretend to decide. I only know that this is the grand problem of our coming statesmanship, and that it must be solved, if democracy is to be carried safely through the trials I have

mentioned. In this work the laboring classes must themselves take the lead, and this, I rejoice to see, they are likely to do. They are coming to the front. Their power was significantly felt in the late victory of the people in California. Their general discontent with their lot is a good augury. Their numerous organizations are signs of promise. They are coming into closer relations in all civilized countries, and reaching a better understanding of their needs. They are very sure to make many mistakes, but these will be schoolmasters, teaching them a better way. Through the principle of co-operation, and by intelligent combinations among themselves to resist the never-ceasing combinations of capitalists, they will be able to do much for their own redemption, but their appeal, at last, must be to politics. Legislation has placed them where they are, and this legislation must sooner or later be reversed. Capital has too long shaped our laws and ruled our politics with an eye single to its own greed, and it should now cease to be the master and accept its place as the servant of the people. This is at once the impelling demand of labor and the supreme need of democracy.

FEDERAL USURPATION.

A fearful trial awaits our system of government in the growing tendency towards federal usurpation and the centralization of power. During the late civil war the national government was compelled to deal with a strong hand. A thorough schooling in the use of power seemed to be its only alternative. Theories of strict construction found little favor when the life of the nation was menaced in the name of State Rights. The people looked for their salvation only in the vigorous exercise of power by the central government, and cared far more about the end to be obtained than the means of its accomplishment. The natural effect of this military training was to familiarize the people with military ideas and habits, and to attach them to loose and indefensible opinions respecting the relative powers of the general and state governments. At the same time, and just as naturally, these

mischiefs of war crept into the civil administration after the war was ended, largely coloring the views of the leading public men who had most zealously sustained the government in the great conflict, and producing a final harvest of maladministration and misrule which the country has had to reap during the past four years. This was inevitable. DeTocqueville asserts that war "must invariably and immeasurably increase the powers of civil government," and that "if it lead not to despotism by sudden violence, it prepares men for it more gently by their habits." These unavoidable mischiefs were considerably aggravated by a remarkable popular fallacy, which still extensively prevails. The effect of the war was mistaken for its cause. The rebellion was charged upon a particular theory of State Rights, whereas its real cause was African slavery, and the pretended right of secession was only a pretext. Devotion to this institution was the overmastering sentiment of the people of the South, and while at one time they manifested this devotion by setting up their pet dogma of secession in its support, at another they were equally ready to strike at the very citadel of States Rights by a policy of monstrous federal aggression. The right of the states to secede at their own pleasure was not more indefensible than the federal authority assumed in the Dred Scott decision, and the Fugitive Slave act of 1850. The cotton states did not secede on account of the tyranny of the national government, but because of their inability any longer to rule it in the interest of slavery. The simple truth is, that in the hands of the old slave masters the constitution was made to dip towards centralization or State Rights, exactly in the degree it promised help to the claims of the slave power. These facts are perfectly evident, and must, I am sure, enter into the verdict of history. But the people, as a rule, judged otherwise, and their judgment necessarily exercised a shaping influence over the action of the government. In insisting that it was the heresy of State Rights which caused the war, they believed it was not only necessary that that heresy should be crushed, but that in do-

ing it the central power should be sustained in its most latitudinarian pretensions. The whole policy of the government was thus swerved towards centralization, and with such an impulse that it still continues. The constitution expressly declares that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved by it to the states respectively, or to the people;" but the theory on which General Grant conducts his administration is that all powers not conferred on the states by the constitution are reserved to the United States, thus completely overturning the doctrines of the fathers, and setting at defiance the express words of the constitution itself. This is now the political creed of the men who sit at the right hand of the President. And he not only tramples down the principle of local self-government, but sets up his own will as law, even against the authority of Congress.

In the San Domingo affair we have seen him deliberately usurp the war-making power which is vested in Congress by the constitution. On the pretense of helping the farmers in "moving the crops," we have seen him assume powers which no despot would dare exercise, in issuing millions of currency without any warrant of law, and on his own individual caprice. We have seen him appointing to civil places about him men in the military service, in violation of an express statute which he is sworn to execute. We have seen him grant a leave of absence to General Sickles from his mission at Madrid, to aid him in an effort to gain control of the Erie Railway for his own private advantage, and issuing a ridiculous order authorizing the inspection of the books of the company, which his own Secretary of the Treasury was obliged to revoke. In disregard of law, and in violation of the constitution and his oath of office, we have seen him quartering federal soldiers on the Cherokee neutral lands in Kansas to protect a railroad corporation in driving from their homes hundreds of settlers who claimed the lands occupied by them in good faith under the preëmption laws. We have seen him standing by a reckless and corrupt federal judge

in Louisiana, and using him in crushing out the lawful government of that state in order that a gang of graceless demagogues and conspirators may set up a pretended state government, which even his own leading friends and most zealous partisans confess to be a cheat and a sham. These are a few examples only, selected from many, showing how the President carries the imperial and military spirit into his high office, and sets aside the laws which are as binding upon him as upon any other citizen, while the example of his disobedience is pre-eminently mischievous. The same disregard of law—of its spirit, if not of its letter—is shown in his gross misuse of the power of pardon. Since his late election, I believe the first subject of his tender mercy was the Philadelphia repeater and ballot-box stuffer who was righteously sentenced for a term of years to the state prison, but promptly pardoned out of it. A defaulting paymaster and gambler who stole from the treasury some four hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and was sentenced to a service of ten years in the penitentiary, is the next favorite of the Executive. If I am not mistaken, some pardoned forgers come next, while his rescue from the gallows of the murderer O'Brien is an utter mockery of criminal justice, and an atrocious tampering with murder itself. In granting a pardon without cause, or on insufficient grounds, the President violates the oath which solemnly binds him to "take care that the laws are faithfully executed," and becomes himself an offender against society by interfering with the operations of law in the interest of its violators, instead of enforcing its mandates. If our government is one of law, and not of force, and if the well-being of society can only be maintained by steadfastly upholding the Anglo-Saxon principle of the sacredness of law, then the time has come for the people, the fountain of law, to make their voices heard by the Executive. Nor has Congress escaped the centralizing influences to which I have referred. Instead of rebuking, it has approved, the conduct of the President. It has been at all times his ready and faithful

ally. The authority conferred on him to suspend the writ of habeas corpus at his own pleasure, armed him with the powers of an autocrat. It was a plain violation of the constitution, since neither "invasion" nor "rebellion" justified it, and no better plea could be made in its support than that the end justified the means. The enforcement acts of Congress embody provisions at war with the very principle of municipal government, and which can only be defended on the tyrant's plea that the central power can administer the affairs of a locality better than the people can do it themselves. The same spirit has occasionally cropped out in the judicial department of the government. It uniformly leans to the side of power. In controversies between the citizen and the government, the Supreme Court of the United States for many years past has unquestionably favored the strong against the weak, and has thus shown itself the watchful guardian of the government, instead of administering impartial justice.

This centralizing tendency, independent of the particular causes to which I have referred, seems to be a marked feature of the age. According to the high authority last quoted, it constitutes the chief danger of every people in Europe, and is, at the same time, the special danger of our democratic institutions. They had their birth and first trial in the town meeting, the township, the county and the state. Without this schooling in local self-government, the development of a nation would have been impossible. The people must be trained to freedom in small concerns before they can be trusted with great ones. "The end of good government," says DeTocqueville, "is to insure the welfare of a people, and not merely to establish order in the midst of its misery." He shows that the very principle of equality works in favor of centralization, since the love of equality is stronger than the love of liberty, and the general hatred of privileged classes finds satisfaction in the strength of a common government under which the rights of all are equal. Democracy has failed in France because it has discarded provincial government, trusting in the dogma of equality, without the sup-

port of democratic institutions in detail. The French people have lost sight of the danger of a centralized tyranny, in the desire "for an equal chance to everybody of tyrannizing." American democracy may fall into the same fatal mistake, and has abundant reason to remember its old maxim, that power is ever stealing from the many to the few. Decentralization, inspired by slavery, struck at the nation's life; but it lies buried in the grave of treason. The real danger which now confronts us is the insidious approach of imperial power, the blight and paralysis of paternal government. This is not only evident in the light of what I have said, but is still further illustrated in the efforts of the government to secure the control of the telegraph, in stupendous projects of internal improvement which it evidently favors, in its disgraceful interference with state politics, in the late nefarious attempt, undoubtedly inspired in Washington, to crush out the freedom of the press, and in meretricious schemes of territorial annexation which, if consummated, would bring new perils to our institutions, and mould them into still closer resemblance to those of European despotisms.

THE DECLINE OF POLITICAL MORALITY.

The last trial of democracy which I shall notice is the rapid decline of political morality throughout the country. This is the most alarming evil of the times, because it underlies and aggravates every other. Political corruption is a great canker at the heart of the republic. It is the dry rot which threatens to undermine the whole fabric of our government. In the sphere of politics the divine command, "Thou shalt not steal," is rapidly becoming obsolete; and it is inevitable that this political absolution from moral obligations must seriously infect the whole community. If a public man may steal, it necessarily weakens the standard of integrity by which men regulate their affairs in private life. The lapse from honesty of a trusted politician is a public misfortune, because it becomes a conspicuous and mischievous example. One public rascal, as has been well remarked, be-

comes the father of a multitude of private ones. If a member of Congress, on the plea that he is insufficiently paid, is justified in stealing five thousand dollars, any private rogue, under similar temptations, may do likewise. If men in office may prize their own interest above that of the public, why may not every man steal from his neighbor? The old ethical writers went further, and insisted that every moral rule is magnified a hundred fold in relation to the public. This is a sound principle, and should be thoroughly instilled into the minds of young and old. Cheating the state should be regarded as next to blasphemy, because government is a divine ordinance, and because the consequences of such cheating are wholesale and widespread. Stealing from the state is stealing from the poor whose toil produces the wealth of the state. It is stealing from the resources by which the people combine to procure the blessings of good government. It has been branded as worse than robbing widows and orphans, because it breeds general corruption and misgovernment, and thus multiplies widows and orphans. Stealing from the state by the guardians appointed to watch over her interest, is like robbing a blind man, whose helplessness adds a special ignominy to the deed.

That principles so elementary and obvious should be flagrantly set aside by men high in official position, and sometimes winked at by the people, is as dishonoring to our politics as it is shameful to our virtue. The evils of political ambition are bad enough, but they are trifles light as air in comparison with that inordinate greed of clutch which now pollutes the very fountains of political action. It was the pursuit of power for the sake of plunder that destroyed the French Empire; and the same malignant spirit may work out like results in our own country. Offices are now sought as the chosen means of amassing wealth. Men are nominally elected by the people to take care of their interests, while in fact they are the hired men of corporations and capitalists, whose money manipulates the machinery of politics. Judges are bribed, and state legislatures are bought and

sold. Jay Gould says under oath, "I needed the legislatures of four states, and in order to acquire them I created the legislatures with my money. I found that this is the cheapest way." It is no secret that through the power of money drunken libertines are sometimes installed in high places, and that men are made Governors and United States Senators who ought to be in the penitentiary. The traffic in human flesh still goes on, but white men are now the chief victims. Popular elections are carried by wholesale bribery, while the convicted ringleaders in grand schemes of ballot stuffing are allowed to go unpunished. Political magnates and reputed "Christian statesmen" are persuaded to invest their money and their influence where they "will do the most good" to a great railroad corporation in its organized robbery of the treasury, while both Houses of Congress and the President of the United States join hands in a salary theft, which makes the average rogues of society comparatively respectable.

The civil service of the government, which is vaunted by some of its modest champions as the "best on the planet," is so disgusting a system of official huckstering and political prostitution that nothing can possibly match it but the unblushing duplicity and demagogism of the administration in pretending to favor its reform. Of course, this fountain of corruption, breaking out in high places, must find its level, overflowing the county and the township, and poisoning the moral as well as the political life of the people. Whether this evil originates in the laxity of moral training in the family, or in some radical defect in our system of education, or in the recreancy of the church to her high mission as a moral instructor and guide, or in all these causes, it presents a problem which every true man and woman should earnestly ponder. Its successful solution involves the salvation of the land. No reform is possible in any direction if we can not stem the black tide of political corruption which threatens to lay waste the republic. In meeting the great dangers I have mentioned we shall fail hopelessly if we can not inspire in the

people, and especially in the coming generation, the love of rectitude, and restore the maxims of common honesty to their rightful sway. The grand need of our time is a general resurrection of conscience. Legislatures are purchased, because the moral sense of the people permits knaves and traders to represent them. Congress is controlled by the railways, because the people fail to choose incorruptible men to stand in the places of great temptation. Courts are bribed and seats in Congress are bought, because the general mammon worship of the times fails to see in these acts their real turpitude, or their treason to democracy. Cities are governed by the mob, and the ballot ruthlessly profaned, because decent men retreat from politics in despair, and thus become themselves a mob, by disowning the government which demands of them political duties as the price of protecting their rights. The word "politics" is synonymous with plunder, because the people heap honors upon men who abjure every principle of morality in public as well as private life, and are by nature incapable of any higher aim than political success. And this fearful treachery to virtue does not stand alone. It finds its strong allies in widespread popular ignorance, which is itself a great national danger, and in the vice of intemperance, which lends itself to the service of every evil element in society. Nothing less than the power of indwelling moral principle, and the most devoted and patient labors of the preacher, the schoolmaster, and the patriot, can rescue our country from this appalling assemblage of perils.

I have thus approached the conclusion of what I desired to say respecting the new trials of American democracy. I have referred to the false relations between the people and the land, as illustrated in the growth of great estates and the resulting inequality of the people; to the domination of great cities, and its antagonism to popular institutions and the prosperity of the rural districts; to the dangerous power of great corporations over the national and state governments and the rights of the people; to the concentration of capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery, and its remorseless

power over the working classes; to the centralization of political power, keeping step to the march of great industrial and social forces, and helping them in their evil direction; and to the shocking decay of political morality now everywhere visible, and which is partly the cause, and partly the effect, of the evils I have mentioned. These are some of the dangers which cast their baleful shadow over the future, and summon the people to the work of reform. In pointing to these dangers and emphasizing their magnitude, I have taken the first step toward their removal, since men are not willing to wage war against an evil till they are convinced of its existence. I can not here enter into the discussion of particular remedies or methods of action which the new trials of democracy may demand; but one preliminary duty will be found absolutely necessary, and that is organization. This is now the watchword of progress throughout the world. Those who see a great and threatening evil must combine against it. Those who think and feel alike respecting the dangers I have set forth must find each other out and stand together. New political occasions demand new agencies to meet them. I earnestly hope that the people of this country have by this time discovered that a political party is not a deity to be worshiped, nor a master to be served, but simply a means to an end. It is a political make-shift. It is only a temporary contrivance, born of some new exigency, which men lay hold of in order to accomplish a cherished purpose, and when that purpose is attained it becomes as worthless as the scaffolding about an edifice after it has been finished. I hope the people have also learned that a party, once corrupt, whether religious or political, has lost the power to reform itself, and that a long lease of power breeds corruption in any party, and compels the people, in self-defense, to disown it. They must see how such a party reduces the manipulation of conventions and caucuses to a fine art, in which the people have no share, save as victims, and that it converts our national politics into a great national industry, with subordinate bureaus of lying, cheating and stealing, all directed by a few party potentates, under whose inspiring genius the

general welfare is made entirely subservient to their selfish ambition.

If I am right in these views, the reformation of existing abuses must begin in the rebellion of the people against the party tyranny of the times. Their emancipation from their old political masters must precede the overthrow of the evils which confront us, and which have grown to their full stature under the nurture of the great organizations which to-day contend for the mastery, and have alternately ruled the country in the past. Instead of watching over the interests of the people, they have themselves been the ready instruments of those grand schemes of jobbery and corruption which have so long afflicted the republic, and at last clutched at its life. They have not only accomplished their mission and outlived their usefulness, but they are organized obstructions to the public welfare, and quite as potent for evil as they ever were for good. Their machinery has been so long prostituted to base ends that it has become incapable of serving any other. Their discipline has degenerated into a wanton tyranny over individual judgment and conscience, and an unmixed curse to the country. One of them struggles to prolong its rule after the death and burial of its conscience, and while shamelessly wallowing in the mire of its damning apostacy; and the other gasps for life with equal desperation, after forfeiting its right to live by its unhallowed service of negro slavery, and writing its own epitaph last year in the nomination and support of Horace Greeley on the Cincinnati platform. They present the wretched spectacle of one faction struggling to keep the other out of power, and the other struggling to get in, while roguery and charlatanism rule them both. Each holds the other in its orbit, and revolves round a common center of antagonism, which is its life. Like the two great parties of twenty years ago, they are substantially agreed as to their declared principles and policy, while the spoils alone divide those who are brethren in heart. They rival each other in the alacrity with which they engage in schemes of pelf and plunder, and the refreshing audacity with which they violate their political professions. Each

justly charges the other with venality and corruption, and each pleads the existence of the other as the excuse for its own. Neither of them could survive if the other should perish, and either of them would mourn the death of the other, since it would inevitably liberate the people from party thralldom and usher in a new dispensation akin to that which at first followed the disruption of the old Whig party, and finally buried the Democratic organization in irretrievable dishonor. One of them impudently makes its strut before the nation as "the party of great moral ideas," while numbering among its chief apostles and recognized leaders such characters as Simon Cameron, Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin F. Butler, Matt H. Carpenter, Powell Clayton, Thomas Murphy and Brother-in-law Casey; and the other is obliged to confess itself the political father of these anointed patriots, that it taught them their first lessons in modern democracy, and at last sorrowfully gave them up to the more inviting service of the enemy. The marvellous energy displayed by one of these parties during the late war has since been triumphantly turned into the channels of profligacy and plunder, with results that have startled the whole land and made its very name a stench; while the other, throwing away its many opportunities of retrieving its fortunes and saving its once-honored name from disgrace, has joyfully shared in the worst misdeeds of its debauched rival, and thus richly earned the honors of burial in a common grave. No friend of his country should therefore think of pouring the new wine of reform into these old bottles, now so thoroughly defiled by foul uses, and so hopelessly beyond the power of disinfection.

What we want is a perfectly unshackled movement of the people—a fellowship of honest men in every section of the land—against the new forms of aristocracy which the greed of sudden wealth and the agencies of modern society have created. We must have the substance, and not the form merely, of free institutions. We must snatch freedom itself from the perilous activities quickened into life by its own spirit. We must search out new defenses of democracy in

the new trials of its life. The grand work of our times is not the highest development of favored individuals or classes, or the accumulation of great wealth in their hands, but the utmost enlightenment and supreme welfare of the masses. It is not the exceptional culture or commanding advantage of the few, but the uplifting of the many to a higher level. This is the blessed mission of Democracy, and the true religion of humanity. It may be delayed for a season. It may be temporarily frustrated by the great and impending dangers I have attempted to depict. The blindness of organized cupidity, trampling down the rights of the people, may even precipitate the country into revolution and violence, as did the slave power of the South, but in the end democracy will be vindicated. All the divine forces are on its side. Christianity is pledged to its triumph and coincident with its teachings. The great law of social evolution foreordains it. Democracy is to come in its fulness, sweeping away the conspiracies of wealth and the subterfuges of monopoly, and enforcing "all rights for all;" but whether this shall be sooner or later, and whether heralded by the kindly agencies of peace or the harsh power of war, must depend upon the wise and timely use of opportunities. The result is certain, since justice can not finally be defeated, but the circumstances of the struggle and the cost of the triumph are committed to our hands. We can help, or hinder, the grand march of human progress. We can smooth its pathway and speed its momentum, or fold our arms in slothful indifference, and thus hand it over to the un pitying logic of events. Let us not shrink from this solemn responsibility. While holding fast our faith in God, in the might of the truth, in the victory of right over wrong, let us dedicate our lives anew to the grand tasks appointed for us as the servants of our kind.

"And though age wearies by the way,
And hearts break in the furrow,
We'll sow the golden grain to-day,
The harvest comes to-morrow."

THE SLAVERY YET TO BE ABOLISHED.

DELIVERED AT VARIOUS POINTS IN MICHIGAN AND IOWA
IN THE YEAR 1874.

[During this year the question of Woman Suffrage became a practical one in the states named by its submission to the people as a proposed constitutional amendment. The off-hand and colloquial style of this speech makes it exceptional in character.]

Ladies and Gentlemen: It must be quite apparent to every thinking man and woman that we have entered upon a new epoch in our politics, a new dispensation of reform. The abolition of slavery has lifted the curtain which so long bounded the horizon of progress, and brought us face to face with vital problems which else might have remained in abeyance for generations. "It is not only the slave who has been freed"—says John Stuart Mill—"the mind of America has been emancipated." The spirit of reform is in the air, and years are now crowded into days. The common life of the people palpitates with its new-born interest in momentous questions which have hitherto engrossed the attention of a select few. Even our little boys and girls have caught the contagion, and are in a fair way to outstrip their fathers and mothers in a knowledge of the fundamental principles of free government and the rights and duties of the citizen. Indeed, the work of social evolution has secured such a footing, and is impelled by such an impulse, that humanity is being trundled onwards, whether it sees the way and desires to move or not; and the chief work of the reformer to-day is to oil the machinery of progress and remove certain ugly obstructions from its path, not so much to speed its momentum as to

avert the dangerous friction which is always threatened by a stupid conservatism. Permit me to approach my subject by referring to some of these hindrances to progress.

One of the most formidable of these is the one-sidedness of reform movements. All reforms constitute a brotherhood. They have their logical relationships to each other, and the proper rank and value of each should be recognized. But sometimes we lay hold of a particular phase of a reform, or some particular method of serving it, and push it into a false position. We unduly emphasize it, and confound it with the reform itself. We get so in love with our panacea that the welfare of the patient is endangered. Let me refer to the temperance movement as an illustration. The evils of intemperance are not only great, but incalculable. They fully justify a specific, organized endeavor to suppress them. But we must remember that the vice of drunkenness is an effect, quite as much as a cause. It has its genesis in unequal laws, in the domination of wealth over the poor, in the lack of general education, in inherited infirmities, physical and mental, in the false maxims of our modern society and civilization, in neglected household training,—in a word, in untoward social conditions which must be radically reformed before we can strike with effect at the root of the evil. The temperance question is thus a many-sided one. The temperance reform presupposes attention to vital questions which underlie it, and which must be intelligently dealt with if we would go beneath the surface. It involves, in fact, the general uplifting of humanity, and no legislation will avail much which loses sight of this truth. We must reform our land policy, and thus facilitate the acquisition of homes by the poor. We must curtail the remorseless power of corporate wealth. We must legislate for the rights of labor, as well as the prerogatives of capital. We must educate the masses, and equalize their opportunities. We must check the appetite for drink by kindling the thirst for something nobler. We must reduce the supply of alcohol by first lessening the demand. The magnitude of the temperance reform, in this

comprehensive sense, can not well be overstated. But while it summons every good man and woman to its support, it gives countenance to no schemes of fanaticism. Its wisest friends have little faith in the sufficiency of any legislative short-cut to the virtue of temperance, but rely chiefly upon time, toil, and patience, in dealing with the essential conditions of progress. They comprehend the logic of their enterprise, and its inevitable limitations, and only expect the final overthrow of the fabric of intemperance by undermining its foundations. This view of the temperance reform is not very satisfying to those eager and impatient men whose zeal for the good cause blinds their eyes to unwelcome facts, but the truth is better for all men and for every reform than any possible delusion.

The anti-slavery reform furnishes another illustration of my thought. The abolition of negro slavery was a grand work, but it was the abolition of one form of servitude only. Others remain to be abolished. Among these is that system of agricultural serfdom which we call land monopoly. A government which allows the land to become the patrimony of the few can not be democratic, can not be free. Land monopoly is one form of slavery, and, indeed, the underlying foundation of all slavery, because freedom *must* have its roots in the soil. The fact will not be disputed that the land owners of every country are its masters, and I repeat what I have so often said, that under our popular form of government we must have small farms, thrifty tillage, compact communities, free schools, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights. We may as reasonably attempt to make brick without straw as to build our free institutions on any narrower foundation. On the other hand, if we journey on as we have started towards the policy of large estates, widely-scattered settlements, slovenly agriculture, the decline of education and the arts, contempt for honest labor, and a pampered aristocracy lording it over the poor, then the epitaph of our vaunted free government may be written, for it can not stand. In one of the states of our Union there are sev-

eral men who own five hundred thousand acres each, and in crossing one of these "plantations" you have to travel seventy-five miles. It suggests the kindred ease of an English lord who can travel from his castle a hundred miles in a straight line on his own estate—owning the land, and practically owning the men who till it. Through our policy of large land grants to corporations, our system of Indian treaties, our legalized speculation in the public domain, and other forms of misgovernment and maladministration, a system of feudalism is rapidly taking root in these states which should alarm every friend of democratic government. Even in old Massachusetts, where American liberty and local self-government had their birth in her system of limited land holding, the small farms are rapidly being swallowed up by the larger ones, while a crouching tenantry toils for absentee landlords. This growing serfdom must be resisted and overthrown, and it constitutes an essential part of the anti-slavery movement.

Commercial Feudalism is another remaining form of slavery. It finds its fittest expression in the power of our great corporations. The old slave power had an estimated combined capital in human flesh of two thousand millions of dollars. It ruled the nation forty years. But the railway power to-day has a combined capital of four thousand millions. It has in its employ an army of two hundred thousand men, including the ablest legal talent in the nation and a considerable per cent. of its brains. You know something of its well nigh absolute power over Congress and our state legislatures. Already it has been crawling into our courts of justice and coiling itself about the necks of our judges. This power is kingly, because it controls the makers and expounders of the laws, and through its great corporations is practically endowed with life offices and powers of hereditary succession. In the days of slavery it was exceedingly hard for a Northern man to stand up in Congress and look the slave power in the face; but I speak from personal observation and experience when I say that I believe it to be quite as difficult

now for a member of Congress, North or South, to face the railway power. The danger is different, but not less. It is not any longer the fear of personal violence, or the frowns of a compact oligarchy of domineering men, but the insidious tactics of the lobby, in sapping and mining its way through the consciences of members. That this fearful system of serfdom must be overthrown will not be disputed. It is a new form of slavery, scarcely a generation old, but it already menaces the liberty and welfare of white and black, and its abolition is imperatively demanded.

The logic of the anti-slavery movement demands the abolition of another form of slavery, which may be called industrial serfdom. It has its birth in the alliance of concentrated capital with labor-saving machinery, and displays its worst qualities in the Factory System. It teaches that the chief end of government is the protection of property, and practically justifies the maxim that capital should own labor. It proposes to adjust the relations of capital and labor by the law of supply and demand, and it commends this principle to the workingman as the remedy for his grievances. No form of slavery is more cruel, for its tap-root is pure cupidity, the naked rapacity of gain, with conscience and humanity turned adrift. Accordingly, under the English factory system before Parliament intervened, men and women, and children of very tender years, were worked in dismal dungeons, under cruel task-masters, from twelve to twenty hours per day, and were frightfully brutalized by their treatment. Humanity was forgotten in the worship of mammon as completely as under our system of chattel slavery. The defenders of this system of serfdom should remember that liberty is not a mere dream. It is a substance, not a mocking shadow. It is not the "liberty to die by starvation," but means just laws for all. It means opportunity. It means a home, and bread, and education, and fair play in the race of life. The law of supply and demand is well enough when the parties stand on an equal footing; but when the capitalist holds the laborer absolutely in his power this law is a mockery of justice.

When the workingman, with no capital but his muscles, goes into the labor market, he must sell or perish, since the employer can force upon him the alternative of starvation on the one hand, or work on the other for the mere pittance he may choose to offer. The principle of slavery thus necessarily involved in the dependence and helplessness of the poor, should be restrained by legislation. Government should help the weak, rather than the strong. From the beginning of civilization capital has been the world's lawmaker, and labor has been enslaved or degraded; but slowly and gradually the working classes are emerging from their bondage, and their final emancipation will come through that spirit of humanity which triumphed over the spirit of mammon in the abolition of negro slavery.

It is thus evident, my friends, that the slavery question, like that of temperance, is a many-sided one. Devotion to humanity was the basis of the anti-slavery enterprise, and that devotion should find expression against every form of oppression. It should heed the logic of its work, and when one task is done proceed to another. The abolition of the chattel slavery of the southern negro only brought anti-slavery men to the threshold of their undertaking. It was the mere prelude to a far grander movement, looking to the emancipation of all races from all forms of slavery. It not only opens the way for systematic opposition to the several forms of slavery I have mentioned, but it makes inevitable the demand for the enfranchisement of woman; and thus I am naturally conducted to the principal subject of my present discourse.

In entering upon it, let us first endeavor, if possible, to ascertain how far we are united, and how far we are divided. Let us determine how much common ground there is on which all of us can stand, and how narrow is the territory in dispute. Let us see, as clearly and as precisely as we can, what is affirmed on the one side and denied on the other, so that we may hope for an intelligent and decisive verdict upon the issue we are to try. I ask you to follow me, step by step,

in the argument I shall make, and if I do not deal fairly with the subject I bespeak your condemnation. But if I rest my argument on undisputed facts and the conclusions which inevitably follow my premises, then, as a matter of simple fair-dealing, I ask you to surrender your prejudices and lay hold of the truth.

In the first place, I take it for granted that we are all agreed in the purpose to stand by our popular form of government. I assume that none of you desire to reopen the controversy between monarchy and aristocracy on the one hand, and democracy on the other, which was settled by our fathers a century ago in the forum of argument and by the ordeal of battle. You would not call in a king and reinstate an order of nobility if you could ; or if such persons exist in our midst they are so few in numbers and so prudently non-committal that I need not notice them in dealing with the problem I am considering. You all believe in a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and you all concede that it must be carried on by a majority, through the instrumentality of the ballot. So far, I am sure, there is no difference of opinion between the friends and opponents of woman's enfranchisement.

We are equally agreed upon the fundamental principle of American democracy, that in the exercise of the right of suffrage there shall be no qualification founded on property. It makes no difference whether the voter is worth one hundred dollars or one hundred thousand dollars, for we agree with Dr. Franklin that "the poor man has an equal right, but greater need of the ballot, than the rich man." In the early period of our grand experiment a property qualification was required in all the states ; but as a nation we have long since outgrown this political folly. I rejoice that we have done so, for if we had allowed this heresy to be engrafted upon our system of government the right of property to rule would have been recognized, and the corruption of voters and the bribery of officials would have been legitimated. In disowning this qualification the American people have wisely

placed humanity before property, repudiating the European principle that the chief end of government is the protection of what a man owns, and not of the owner himself.

In the next place, we have definitely settled the kindred principle that the right to vote shall not depend upon the nativity of the voter, or the race to which he belongs, or the color of his skin, or the religion he may have embraced. The foreigner, upon a brief probation, is allowed his equal right with the native to share in the government. To have denied him this right would have been as mean a political discrimination as can well be conceived, since he is no more to be blamed for having been born abroad than the native is to be praised for his accidental birth here. So of the question of race. The various nationalities and races of the civilized world have sought their welfare in this grand political asylum, and they are all made welcome to the hospitality of equal rights. So, likewise, the color of the skin is no longer a bar to the right of suffrage. Some of you earnestly opposed the enfranchisement of the negro, while others assented to it with hesitation and reluctance, but whether you were willing or unwilling, it has been done, and nobody pretends that it will be undone. No party proposes, or is likely to propose, the disfranchisement of the black millions who are now playing their part in American politics, and whose loyalty to our flag in the nation's great peril was never found wanting. Necessity, which knows no law, rather than our love of the negro, or our devotion to democracy, has compelled us to treat the African as a man, and to recognize his rights as a citizen. In like manner we have no religious test of fitness to vote, because we have no established religion. The government of the United States *has* no religion, and in the light of current political events I think you will not dispute this fact. It is not *ir*-religious, but *non*-religious. Theists, Atheists, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, and Pagans, are equal before the constitution and at the ballot-box. During the Black Friday of Know-nothingism, twenty odd years ago, an attempt was made to institute a religious qualification for

suffrage, but it failed so signally that it will scarcely be repeated.

Still another cardinal principle of our democracy has been settled, namely, that no literary qualification for the ballot shall be demanded. This is settled by American usage. It may be regarded as our political common law. Some years ago Massachusetts adopted a reading and writing qualification, and I believe she still nominally retains it; but her example has not been followed. Reading and writing are mechanical operations. According to the late census tables we have in the United States over one million six hundred thousand males over twenty-one years old who can neither read the constitution nor write their names. They freely share with the educated classes in the exercise of political power, and no intelligent man anticipates their disfranchisement. We give these uneducated masses the ballot for three principal reasons. In the first place, we hold that the ballot is itself a schoolmaster, and consequently that one of the means of fitting men to use it is to put it into their hands. We believe, with Archbishop Whately, that "to wait before you bestow liberty or political rights till the recipients are fit to employ them aright, is to resolve not to go into the water till you can swim." We agree with Lord Macaulay, that "if men are to wait till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever." In the second place, we believe it is far less difficult to manage a great mass of unenlightened men by giving them a share in the government, a stake in its success, and an incentive to rise, than by imposing upon them its burdens while withholding their political rights, and thus tempting them to become domestic enemies by making them aliens in heart. In the third place, the denial of the ballot to our illiterate citizens would inaugurate class legislation, and all class rule is vicious. It would confide political power exclusively to those who are best able to take care of themselves without it, while the ignorant, who would especially need the ballot as their defense against a privileged class, would be helpless. We agree with Richard Cobden, that

one of the chief arguments in favor of the extension of the suffrage is that it promotes the extension of education, as it has done in England. Privilege always takes care of itself, and always stands in the path of the unprivileged.

These are the decided convictions of the great body of the American people, and I believe nothing is more morally certain than that they will stand by them. They do not disparage education. Their interest in the subject is constantly and increasingly manifested. Even the policy of compulsory education is rapidly growing in general favor. Their purpose is more and more evident to make universal enlightenment, as far as possible, go hand in hand with universal suffrage. They understand that the ultimate tendency of knowledge in any state or community is good, and that through its diffusion lies the only sure way out of comparative barbarism into a higher and higher civilization. But they regard as both unwise and impracticable the policy of requiring any specific educational test of fitness for the exercise of political power in the United States. In doing so I believe they have builded wiser than they knew. Time is vindicating them, and the best thought of the age sustains them. Herbert Spencer asks such questions as these: What connection is there between the ability to read, or the knowledge that certain marks on paper stand for certain sounds, and a higher sense of duty? How can a knowledge of penmanship increase the desire to do right? How can a knowledge of the multiplication table, or quickness in adding or dividing, restrain the desire to trespass on the rights of others? How can accuracy in spelling or parsing make the sentiment of justice stronger? He insists that the attempt to teach moral or political duties by the mere training of the intellect is an absurdity as great as would be the attempt to teach geometry by the study of Latin, or drawing by the study of music. Intellect has no conscience, and therefore its discipline will neither teach a man his duty to his country or to his neighbor. It can no more judge of right and wrong than a blind man can judge of colors. Do you doubt the soundness of

these views? Are they not almost daily justified by startling and multiplied facts? Who are the foremost rascals of our time? A goodly per cent. of them are educated men, including fraudulent bankrupts, embezzlers of public money, bank cashiers, the concoctors of thieving corporations, the makers of adulterated goods, the receivers and givers of bribes among the so-called higher classes, and sometimes governors of states, members of Congress, cabinet ministers, and eminent clergymen.

The rebel leaders of the South were educated men, who ransacked history for precedents for their infernal crusade against the rights of man; while nearly the entire literary class in England has been on the side of power in its conflict with the people. History tells us that Greece, in her decay, was crowded with rhetoricians and sophists, while her citizens were slaves; and that Rome, in her transition from a nation to an empire, was characterized by a wide intellectual culture. In the progress of political and economic science, in modern times, many of the men least fitted for the art of government and most obstinately opposed to all great reforms have been the graduates of universities. The lesson taught by such facts is that in dealing with moral and social problems we must study the relationship of conduct and feeling, and rely upon the education of the heart. This will point the way to the duties of citizenship as well as all other duties. "Talent," says Emerson, "uniformly sinks with character." "In work," says one of our first political writers, "rather than in a certain literary or scientific acquisition, is the evidence of the capacity for political power; the life of the workman, the fulfillment of human relationships in the family and community, the endeavor of men in the realities of life, is a deeper education." For the truth of this I appeal confidently to the testimony of your own experience and common sense. The man who loves his home and is true in the relations of family and neighborhood is entitled to the ballot, whether technically educated or not. "Whosoever," in the language of Milton, "has but sucked in this principle, that he was not

born for his prince, but for God and his country," has as sacred a right to share in its government as the best educated man in it ; and I would quite as willingly commit the public welfare to the keeping of such men as to those who have gone through the educational drilling so graphically described by Carlyle, as "working into the mental food of our children a yeast of frothy vocables, and littering the roots of their brains with etymological compost, words and not things, theoretical and not practical training."

Thus far, my friends, I think we stand together. We are all in favor of our democratic form of government, and we all agree that it must be carried on by a majority, through the agency of the ballot. We all agree that the right of suffrage does not depend upon property, or nativity, or race, or color, or religion, or any specific literary qualification. We have settled it that none of these mere accidents of humanity can be the basis of the right, and consequently that it must rest upon humanity itself. The right to the ballot, therefore, by which I mean the right to be represented in the organism which deals with your liberty, your property, and your life, is as natural and as inborn as the right to the breath of your nostrils. A responsible human being, innocent of crime, yielding his allegiance to the government, answerable to it in his person and property for disobedience, and yet denied any political right, is a slave. So thought Samuel Adams, James Otis, and the Fathers, and if it is not true, then nothing is true. "Taxation without representation is tyranny ;" that is to say, a man who is taxed and governed, with no voice in the taxing and governing power, is not and can not be free. Dr. Franklin says that "they who have no voice nor vote in the choosing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes." Will any American deny this? The essence of slavery is enforced obedience to irresponsible power, and therefore it can make no difference in principle whether that power is exercised by a single master or by society. As to the suffrage, I admit that the manner and circumstances of its exercise are

properly conventional, as, for example, whether the citizen shall vote under a registry law or without it, whether he shall vote *viva voce* or by ballot, whether he shall vote in his precinct, or without such restriction; but the right itself to be represented is a totally different matter, and is as natural as the right to liberty or life. If not, then there are no natural rights, since neither liberty nor life itself could be enjoyed save by the mere mercy or grace of the governing power. I am sure you will agree that the fundamental idea of democracy is the equality and sacredness of human rights, and the consent of the people as the only basis of government; but this idea is completely overthrown if any class of citizens can be deprived of their common and equal right with all others to be heard through their representatives. It is no answer to my position to say that the state always determines who shall participate in its powers, and that therefore the right to vote is necessarily conventional. It is undoubtedly true that the state, through the machinery we call government, does decide who shall be entrusted with its powers; but the very point I am arguing is the principle on which the state is bound to make its decision, where the people themselves are the rulers. A free government is one carried on by the free choice of the people, and it unavoidably follows that every citizen having the capacity to choose has the same perfect and inherent right of choice as every like citizen. The government, for example, may withhold the right of suffrage from infants, idiots and lunatics. The very principle of representative government demands this, since these persons are wanting in the power of choice, or self-determination. On kindred grounds, it may withhold the ballot from those who have committed high crimes, and have thus proved themselves lacking in the moral power of choosing. But with these unavoidable exceptions, which only prove the general principle I have been affirming, the state can not deny the right of representation to any of its citizens without espousing the maxims of despotism. To argue the question further would be an inexcusable affront to common sense.

And here, at length, are we brought directly to the question of woman's right to the ballot. We touch the simple, naked and sole issue to be tried. Having demonstrated that the right of representation rests upon personality, that is to say upon humanity itself, being the inherent right of the people to choose their rulers and manage their own affairs, it only remains to inquire whether woman is a part of humanity. Is she a human being? If so, then my argument is clinched, and nothing more need be said. If she is not, then the case must go against her. On this question of fact, I repeat, the whole controversy must turn, for if the opponents of woman's enfranchisement admit the affirmative, they admit away their whole case. I expect them to face this issue as becomes brave men. Twenty years ago, when the champions of slavery were driven to the wall by the humanitarian arguments and appeals of the abolitionists, their respect for logical consistency finally compelled them to deny that the negro belongs to the human species. They pronounced him a monkey, or an orang-outang, and thus made his humanity the single issue in the angry dispute about slavery. Their perfect courage was only equalled by their perfect contempt for common sense. Their absolute fidelity to the logic of an infernal enterprise was so charmingly intrepid that I think it commanded general admiration, when contrasted with the cowardly pettifogging by which the doughfaces sought to reconcile the crime of slaveholding with the rights of humanity. I commend the example of these heroic men to the enemies of woman's enfranchisement, and I trust their courage may prove equally heroic. I think they will be found ready, at all events, to face the only issue involved in the controversy, and either have the gallantry to surrender at discretion, or the matchless audacity to deny the humanity of the mothers who bore them. Taking the latter for granted, I must meet them on their own ground, and insist that woman *is* a part of the human family. This is my decided opinion. Indeed, I have always understood that fully one-half the human race is feminine. Woman stands related to us as wife, mother, sister

and daughter. She is a citizen by the unmistakable words of the constitution. She is a tax-payer, and as to certain positions, in some of the states, she is already allowed to vote and hold office. We are enlarging her sphere of employment, and increasing her compensation for her work. We are recognizing her equality with man by securing to her the same educational opportunities. We imprison her for crime and hang her for murder. We baptize her as a Christian, and send her abroad as a missionary. I suppose Christ died for her in the same sense in which he died for man. She is endowed with the same faculties and affections, is animated by the same hopes, shares with man his joys and sorrows, and strives with him for the same blessings. Indeed, the case seems to me so plain that until those who deny woman's humanity are more particularly heard from, it can hardly be worth while to argue the question further.

But perhaps, after all, they will admit it, and still insist that she shall not vote because of her sex. But in the name of justice and political decency what has sex to do with the question of moral and political right? If you say to woman, "You shall not vote because you are a woman," and she retorts, "You shall not vote because you are a man," is not the account balanced? You agree with me in disowning the principle of an aristocracy founded on property, or nativity, or race, or color, or religion, and yet you approve an aristocracy founded on sex, which is just as anti-republican and indefensible, and if possible still more hateful.

But you will say, perhaps, that you would not withhold the ballot from woman because of her sex, but her inferiority. I answer, that in mere muscle and general physical power she is unquestionably inferior, as a rule, to man; but I have not yet learned that our American democracy has instituted any test of mere bodily strength as a qualification for voting. Do we require a *man* to be a Samson before we allow him the ballot? On the contrary, the smallest and feeblest men have equal rights with the largest and stoutest. We sometimes carry to the polls cripples, and men in the last stages of in-

curable disease. Do you tell me that the inferiority you complain of is not physical, but intellectual? Let me, for the sake of the argument, admit this inferiority. Let me accept the declaration so often made that in the higher departments of science, philosophy, and art, woman is inferior to man, and that history has so made the record. What then? Is it a part of the gospel of democracy that none but great scientists, philosophers, and artists shall vote? I think I have seen a good many men vote who would have been excluded by any such rule. Why raise the question of intellectual inferiority, when we give the ballot to the whole mass of our male population above the level of idiots and lunatics? Besides, do you not see that the argument of inferiority is not an argument against, but in favor of, woman's enfranchisement? If she is really inferior to man in capacity, and consequently less fitted to take care of herself, does she not need the ballot all the more for her protection and help? Is not the law intended for the weak? And is not the ballot in the hands of man the gateway to opportunity and the defense of his rights? If woman is man's inferior, and is obliged all the days of her life to encounter the sharpened faculties of a superior order of beings who have thus far made her a slave or a dependent, it must be quite evident that this is the strongest possible argument for giving her a voice in the management of public affairs.

But, in answer to all this, or in evasion of it, I shall be told that woman is not *fit* for the ballot. Let me ask, what is fitness to vote? I repeat what I said years ago in arguing the question of negro suffrage, that fitness is a relative term. Nobody is perfectly fit to vote, because perfect fitness would require perfect knowledge and perfect virtue. A man would have to be a god, or an angel. The truth is, we are all more or less unfit for all our duties, whether civil, social, religious, or what not. The fitness to govern which must be our reliance, as I have already argued, is not scientific or literary. It is not the fitness of a select few, but of the many. It is aggregate fitness. During the late civil war, and in all our pre-

vious trials, our deliverance came through the inconspicuous, unheralded rank and file, "the common people," whose integrity of character, solid sense, and well-ordered homes have given the republic its place among the nations. In the light of this fact, who shall bar the door against the political rights of woman? Who of us can object to her fitness, after giving the ballot to ignorant and untrained masses of males, north and south, white and black? What possible test of fitness would exclude woman that would not disfranchise millions of our male voters?

The plea of unfitness seems still more preposterous if we keep in mind the ugly facts which our masculine voting has brought to the surface. Women, we are told, are unfit to vote. If enfranchised, they would vote on the wrong side. Undoubtedly they would sometimes do so. They would make mistakes; but could they not profit by them? And if a careful search were made, is it not barely possible that cases could be found in which *men* have voted on the wrong side? I think I have known such cases myself, and probably you can recall others. How stands the account? Have we, in fact, such a record as makes it decent for us to sit in judgment upon the fitness of woman for politics? Look at our Sanborn contracts, our Moiety system, and our custom-house thieving. Look at our eminent Christian statesmen auctioning their consciences to a great railway corporation. Look at the great salary theft of the last Congress. Look at our civil service to-day, as foul and feculent a system of huckstering and plunder as our thoroughly debauched party politics could make it. Look at our drunken libertines elevated to high places by male voting. Look at the open and wholesale pollution of the ballot, and the spectacle of bribery and perjury we have witnessed in so many states. Look at the frightful decay of political morality in every section of the land, and listen to the prayers of good men for a speedy resurrection of conscience as the only possible salvation of the country!

Or look at the *wisdom* which male suffrage has made

manifest in our parties and politicians. Take the tariff question. It is as unsettled as it was a half century ago. Each of the great parties is divided upon it, and neither can define its position. So of the question of railway transportation. Neither is competent to deal with it, and neither, as a party, has any defined position respecting it. The same is true of the finance question. As national parties they are internally divided, while no man can name any vital point on which they stand opposed. Some of the leaders of both are for hard money and a return to specie payments, while others scout this idea, demand more printed money, and refer to Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill as theorists and dreamers whose doctrines of political economy are not applicable to the United States. Take the slavery question. Male suffrage could not settle it, and we were obliged to try it by battle. The labor question succeeds it, and no party has yet appeared that seems at all able to grapple with it. On the temperance question our parties have tried their hand at legislation for more than a generation, but thus far the result is a muddle. The picture thus imperfectly sketched is the picture of our country under the full blaze of masculine wisdom and virtue; and I respectfully submit that it does not warrant the arraignment of woman as unfit to share in our politics. On the contrary, I think it shows the need of her helping hand and saving grace, unless we decide to jump out of our democratic frying pan into the fire of kingly rule, which we have resolved not to do.

But we are told of the dreadful consequences that will ensue if we give the ballot to woman. It will "upheave the whole social system," "destroy the family," inaugurate "free love," and "make Beecher-Tilton scandals the order of the day." This is the current style of argument, and by far the most effective one I find employed; and yet it is palpably no argument at all against woman's enfranchisement, but simply a prediction that certain consequences would follow the event. I meet it in the words of one of the world's greatest living thinkers, in speaking of "logical consequences." He

says: "In the course of my experience I have found that they are the scare-crows of fools, and the beacons of wise men," and that "The only question for any man to ask is this: Is this true, or is it false? No other question can possibly be taken into consideration till this one is settled." I have demonstrated woman's equal right with man to share in the government. I have shown that the question of woman's rights is the question of human rights, and consequently that if her right of representation is conventional merely, to be granted or denied at the pleasure of government, the very principle of popular liberty is superseded by the principle of absolutism. Is my argument valid? That is the question first of all to be disposed of, and I may decline to discuss any other till it is settled. Until the opponents of woman's enfranchisement face this question and show the fallacy of my argument, I must treat their "logical consequences" as the "scare-crows of fools." If, as I insist, woman has exactly the same right to a voice in the government as man, it is the duty of man to recognize that right, and the consequences have no more to do with the performance of this duty than with obedience to the commands of the decalogue. They can no more excuse that duty than they can excuse any other duty, whether enjoined by morals or religion. You might just as reasonably object to the Golden Rule that obedience to it would turn the world up-side down, or refuse to do right because the heavens will surely fall if you do, or decline to speak the truth and deal justly because it would "upheave the whole social system." Such arguments are as shallow as they are atheistical, and a good cause would disown them. They are, however, the staple of conservatism, which stupidly turns its back upon all the lessons of experience. When the repeal of the English corn laws was first proposed, national ruin was predicted as a certain result. When Clarkson began his agitation for the abolition of the slave trade, the same prophesy was made. When it was proposed to arm the negroes in the late Civil War, and employ them on the side of the government, it was said they would certainly fight

for their masters. It was always confidently predicted that the abolition of slavery would be followed by a general uprising of the negroes, who would lay waste the South, make a general irruption into the free states, put down the wages of our poor whites, and finally marry them.

None of these prophesies ever came true, and yet the enemies of progress have never found it out, and never will. They still "shiver and shrink at the sight of trial and hazard." They still believe in the omnipotence of evil, and forget that the very heavens are built upon justice. They still reject the faith which even a reputed Pagan proclaims, that "the great soul of the World is *just*," and that there is "one strong thing here below, the just thing, the true thing." They are still prophesying that ruin and disaster will follow in the footsteps of duty, and their children will doubtless take up the trade when they are ready to lay it down, while all history bears witness that loyalty to principle is safety, and truth the only sure lamp to our feet.

In the light of what I have said, it can scarcely be necessary to notice the hackneyed plea that women generally do not desire the ballot. I only remark, in the first place, that a very respectable minority does desire it, and that if the argument I have made is sound, the question of majorities and minorities can have nothing whatever to do with the issue. It is not a problem of mathematics, but a claim of right, and therefore the disclaimer of it by ninety-nine hundredths of the sex could not affect the right of the remainder.

In the next place, this minority includes many earnest and highly gifted women who have given the subject much thought, and whose declared reasons for their position have only been answered by "the gospel of ridicule." On the other hand, the position of the majority is that of indifference, rather than hostility, and results largely from inattention and lack of thought. The mass of the slaves of the South were so accustomed to their lot that they gave no sign of discontent; but Frederick Douglass and scores of others ran away from their masters, and denounced the whole system of op-

pression as an outrage upon humanity and a crime against God. The world has accepted their testimony, and rejected the negative evidence of the great majority, whose very contentedness with their condition was itself the strongest condemnation of their enslavement.

In the third place, this minority is rapidly growing. It is already quite as large as minorities usually are in the early stages of a reform. A great cause never musters a majority in its beginning, and does not need it. It has the truth on its side, and that never fails to prove all-sufficient. The cause of woman's enfranchisement is so woven into the logic of progress and the spirit of the age that its failure is impossible. It is coming, in the language of Colonel Higginson, as "a part of the succession of civilizations." It is coming as the final product and ripe fruit of democratic institutions. It is coming in obedience to the law which has made the progress of society and the elevation of woman go hand in hand in the past. It is coming through the principle of social evolution which has made the condition of woman constantly approach that of equality with man in the history of the world. It is coming in response to the spirit of humanity which centuries ago swept away the code which gave woman in marriage without her consent and made her the chattel slave of her husband, who could exercise over her the power of life and death; while that same spirit is now reforming and humanizing our laws respecting her personal and property rights, enlarging the sphere of her occupations, increasing her wages, and promoting her higher education. Its enemies may throw obstacles in its way, and distress themselves by the childish dread of consequences, but they will be as powerless to defeat it as to stay the tides of the sea.

EVOLUTION AND REFORM.

DELIVERED AT AN ANTI-SLAVERY REUNION IN GREENSBORO,
ON THE 14TH OF OCTOBER, 1875.

[This speech was also delivered before the literary societies of the Northwestern Christian University, on the 22d of February, 1876, and at Watkins, New York, in the latter part of August, 1878. In September following, it appeared as an article in the *North American Review*, under the title, "Is the Reformer Any Longer Needed?"]

Fellow-Citizens: The philosophy of evolution, as applied to the problems of the physical world, is rapidly winning the victory over all opposition. Resting upon the sure foundation of known facts and necessary inductions, it has little to fear from the assaults of mere declamation, or the unbelieving conservatism which sees only danger and disaster in courageously following the truth. But the attempt of some of the chief apostles of this philosophy to apply its teachings literally in the domain of morals and politics involves considerations of very grave moment to the cause of social progress. They tell us that society is not a manufacture, but a growth; and that civilization, therefore, is not an artificial thing, but a part of Nature—of a piece with the development of the embryo, or the unfolding of a flower. Manufacturing morals, we are told, is as unscientific as manufacturing worlds; while social progress is to be wrought out by gradual development, and not by spasms of philanthropy or sudden outbreaks of reform. It is not an accident, but a necessity, and therefore all special reforms are to be superseded by social evolution. The Clarksons and Wilberforces of a past generation must give place to the Spencers and Bagehots of the present, and thus usher in a new dispensation in

the history of the race. According to Herbert Spencer, no teaching or policy can advance the work of social development beyond a certain normal rate, while it is quite possible to perturb, to retard, or to disorder the process; and, by maintaining favorable conditions, there can not be more good done than by letting social progress go on unhindered, while an immensity of mischief may be done in the way of disturbing and distorting and repressing, by policies carried out in pursuit of erroneous conceptions. The growth of society is thus analogous to the growth of an animal, or a plant, proceeding in a predetermined order under the influence of causes which act spontaneously and in perfect harmony with all cosmical development.

A very high authority on moral and social questions, catching the spirit of these ideas, traces a great portion of existing evils to benevolent interferences for their removal. He asserts that in this world a large part of the business of the wise is to counteract the efforts of the good, and that those only can safely and serviceably encounter social evils who can both watch and in some measure imitate God's mode of dealing with them. He tells us that the coldest tempers are generally, in matters of philanthropy, the soundest thinkers and safest guides and administrators, and that a tender-hearted statesman is almost more to be dreaded than a despot or an adventurer; while, to be worthy and efficient coadjutors with God on the great arena of the world, we must be able to borrow some of the sublime, impassive calm with which, age after age, he has looked down upon the slow progress and lingering miseries of his children. The motto of the social evolutionist is, "Slow and sure;" and he exhorts us, as far as possible, to eliminate the time element from our reckoning of human progress, and imitate nature in her infinite patience in waiting so long for the physical world to grow into decent and comely shape. With him human endeavors for ameliorating the condition of humanity are, of course, hindrances rather than helps, and the reformer is to be regarded as representing a type of mind no longer needed,

and as destined soon to disappear under the law of the survival of the fittest. Like the mastodon, the dodo, and other creations of the past, he will become extinct, and we shall patiently and placidly look on while social evolution does the work which his ignorance and fanaticism so clumsily attempted in a ruder and less advanced stage of society.

This new gospel demands our attention. It makes its appeal in the name of science, and it has the support of great names. Its teaching is plausible, and it embodies a measure of truth. It is remarkably solacing to a certain order of minds, and we believe multitudes will be tempted to embrace it as a welcome scapegoat for their laziness or moral indifference. It arraigns all the great reforms of the world, and would substitute a sickly moral fatalism for those deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice which have glorified human nature and lighted the world on its way to higher truth. Let us briefly consider it.

The fallacies on which it rests are not difficult to discover. In the first place, it assumes the existence of an obviously false and impossible analogy. When we are exhorted to imitate God's mode of dealing with social evils, and to become coadjutors with him by borrowing his sublime patience, it may be well to remember that we are not gods, but human beings, very limited in our knowledge and circumscribed in our sphere of action. The folly of the suggestion that we should put ourselves in the place of the Creator, in order that we may have wise and comprehensive views of our duties to our fellow-creatures, is only equaled by its sublime effrontery. Whoever believes in a Supreme Intelligence must believe that he sees the end from the beginning. The universe is his expression and breath. All its parts and appointments are the fruit of his infinite wisdom, and are seen to work together for good. What is hidden and inscrutable to us must be to him as transparent as light, and in perfect accord with justice, mercy, and truth. To talk about the patience of the Deity, therefore, is to apply the vocabulary of mortals to a Being who infinitely surpasses our comprehension. Patience

is a human virtue, implying weakness and imperfection. It means enduring, suffering with meekness, sustaining pains and trials without murmuring or fretfulness, bearing trouble with equanimity. This can not be predicated of God, whose very attributes must make him impassive in surveying the work of his hands. And even this human virtue is only enjoined upon us in encountering evils which are unavoidable; for, if we have the power to remove them, our patience under their burden ceases to be a virtue, if it does not become a vice.

Equally irrational is the notion that we may become God-like by eliminating the element of time in dealing with the evils of society. We have no right to break away from those limitations which make us what we are, and we have no more power to do so than we have to add to our stature by taking thought. With our Creator, as we are told and believe, the universe is "an everlasting Now;" but with us the little fragment of time which rounds out our life is simply the gateway of duty and toil. It is our providential opportunity, into which we should crowd every beneficent activity which an unselfish devotion to truth and humanity can kindle. We can not, therefore, become coadjutors with our Maker by folding our hands and waiting upon evolution, or the cold logic of events, but by acting well our appointed part in the fleeting drama of life—by plunging into the strifes and struggles of our time, and wisely but fervently toiling for our kind. These strifes and struggles afford ample scope for our powers, and we have no right to shirk the task to which we are summoned. Evolution is God's method of operating in the natural world, and, in a qualified sense, in the moral; but it can perform no vicarious office for us as intelligent beings endowed with a conscience, who must work out our own salvation. It can not supersede the strivings and sacrifices of good men for the race. It can not cancel our social obligations by eloquent talk about gradual development and comprehensive views. It can not cure the ills of society by assuring us that progress is a necessity, and that, while we may

cripple and retard social development, we have no power to aid it. It can not strengthen the hands of struggling virtue, or increase our reverence for our Maker, by reminding us of his unruffled serenity in looking down upon the tardy progress and lingering miseries of his children. It can not bring reproach and derision upon the world's great reforms and reformers without a corresponding blight and paralysis of the world's faith in goodness. It can not reform society by proclaiming abstract theories of progress, while those who would smite social evils in their concrete form are branded as fanatics and men of "one idea." It can not save the world through the leadership of men who boast of their philosophic principles, and their patience under the troubles and sorrows of their fellow-creatures. It can not establish its doctrine of scientific fatalism without sapping the very foundation of morals. Every civilized community is scourged by some devouring evil, which invites the organized resistance of good men. Through their agency the work of social evolution goes forward, and they are without excuse if they fail to put forth their endeavors. The shortness of life and the feebleness of our powers make the time-element in our reckoning of progress all the more vital. They should render us not more but *less* patient in dealing with curable social ills. They should incite us to lavish our efforts in the service of humanity, instead of stingily withholding them, and waiting supinely for evolution to take up our task. They should teach us to capitalize our philanthropy to the utmost, and fund it freely in deeds of active beneficence. Any one of the reforms of our day is large enough to tax the best energies of our strongest men, and all of them must lag and languish if, instead of looking to partial and immediate results through our personal exertions, we commit the solution of social problems to the working of inevitable laws.

But I observe, in the next place, that the central idea of this new philosophy is fallacious. It is not contended that the forces which rule society naturally gravitate in the direction of evil, nor is it denied that their tendency, as in the

case of individual men, is toward improved conditions. If this were not true, there could be no such thing as a science of history, and the moral world would be the sport of chance. I accept Mr. Bagehot's general idea of a philosophy of progress, which he so skillfully labors to enforce and illustrate; but Mr. Bagehot himself asserts that "the progress of *man* requires the coöperation of *men* for its development." It is not true that the process of civilization is a part of nature, like the unfolding of a flower. It is not true that social progress goes on as a necessity, according to any invariable law. It is not true that laws and institutions *grow*, in the sense in which we speak of the growth of plants and animals. If these premises were valid, Mr. Spencer would undoubtedly be right in declaring that, while we can retard or disorder the process of social development, we can do nothing whatever to advance it. But the fact is that, while the process of development in the animal and vegetable kingdoms is achieved indirectly and unintentionally, social evolution is chiefly the result of efforts consciously put forth for the purpose. To a very large extent communities, like individuals, are the architects of their own fortunes. Evolution is ever at work; but whether it takes a forward or retrograde course must depend largely upon the voluntary action of the people, or of their recognized leaders, in adopting or rejecting particular laws or policies. Prof. Cairnes, in an article written a few years ago, combating the views of Mr. Spencer, proves from the highest critical and historical authority that the stationary condition of the race is the rule and the progressive the exception, and that the greater part of mankind has never shown the least desire that its civil institutions should be improved. He shows that on this ground, and not according to any theory of social evolution, we must account for the retrograde course of certain nations after they have reached an advanced stage of civilization; and he makes the apt quotation from Mr. Mill, that "political institutions are the work of men; owe their origin and existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer

morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, are aye growing while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency." And this reasoning is justified by historical facts which he adduces. Rome was incalculably indebted for her later pre-eminence to the fortunate and timely adoption of her early code of laws. Her decline and ruin resulted from the decay of her yeomanry and her vast landed estates. The paternal despotism of China carried her up to the civilization she has attained, but is a most formidable barrier to further progress. The absolute monarchy of the Jews produced different results, because they had a peculiar body of men called prophets, the patriots and guides of their time, who were able to withstand the power of kings and priests. Not upon any invariable law, therefore, working in the direction of good or evil, but upon human agency, must the fortunes of states greatly depend. The right does not always come uppermost in the concerns of this world. The truth is often put down by falsehood and force. In his famous essay on "Liberty," Mr. Mill says Christianity itself only became predominant because the persecutions of its enemies were occasional, and separated by long intervals of propagandism. Injustice is not an appointed necessity, but neither is justice strong enough to win in her ever-recurring conflict with the powers of evil without the help of faithful and heroic men. "We ought not to forget that there is an incessant and ever-flowing current toward the worse, consisting of all the follies, all the vices, all the negligences, indolences, and supinenesses of mankind, which is only controlled and kept from sweeping all before it by the exertions which some persons constantly, and others by fits, put forth in the direction of good and worthy objects." This confession of faith of John Stuart Mill, with which Prof. Cairnes enforces his argument, was the key-note of his life; and whoever thoroughly accepts it as the inspiration of his labors will be ready to work for humanity as if the fortunes of the world depended on his per-

sonal endeavors. The fortunes of the world, indeed, to a large extent, *have* depended upon the toils and struggles of just such men; while those who have looked on in indifference, or opposed all efforts at reform because they believed it wiser "to let social progress go on unhindered," have left the world little better than they found it, if they have not been positive obstructions to human welfare.

Who can look back upon the great reforms of the world, and pronounce them so many ill-fated struggles to better its condition which only deflected the path of progress from its true course? Who can gainsay the grand lesson of history so beautifully stated by Mr. Motley, that "the generation that plants is not the generation that gathers in the harvest, but all mankind at last inherit what is sown in the blood and tears of a few"? Who, that is not the slave of mere theories, would discrown the martyrs whose blood has been the seed of the church? Who would dishonor the apostles and prophets of free thought in every age who have blazed the way of progress for the race, and made our present civilization possible? Mr. Buckle affirms that Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" has contributed more to the happiness of man than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account. The age we live in is what we find it because of the labors and sacrifices of *all* the great souls of the past. If progress has been evolved, it has also quite as certainly been propagated. It is not simply the product of law, but the fruit of human toil and sacrifice, voluntarily embraced for the improvement and regeneration of mankind. Our churches, our educational institutions, our organized charities, our scientific associations, our various special reforms, and that marvelous instrumentality called the press, are all so many testimonies to the power of voluntary efforts purposely employed in the furtherance of human well-being, and so many practical refutations of the theory that social development is dwarfed and deformed by attempts to improve it.

But the new doctrine is not only fallacious, but necessarily demoralizing. This is implied in what I have already said, but it needs to be particularly emphasized. It unavoidably results from the principle that social development, while it may be hindered or deranged, can not be artificially bettered. Mr. Spencer says this doctrine "is calculated to have a *steadying* effect on thought and action." It can not fail to produce a paralyzing effect. He admits that sanguine reformers will feel that it takes away "much of the stimulus to exertion;" and he asks, "If large advances in human welfare can come only in the slow process of things, which will inevitably bring them, why should we trouble ourselves?" This staggering question he answers by saying that "on visionary hopes, rational criticisms have a depressing influence," but that "it is better to recognize the truth." The truth which he thus frankly counsels us to recognize is the fatalism of his theory of development, and the consequent helplessness of humanity to speed its social advancement. According to this doctrine the reformer is not simply a fanatic, but a social nuisance. He is a benevolent intermeddler with a process which may be marred, but can not be mended; and the business of wise and sober men is to counteract his mischief. The philanthropist must surrender his vocation, and his dreams of human amelioration, to men of cold tempers and comprehensive views. The patriot, who pictures to himself a possible future of renovated institutions and a regenerated state, and burns with the longing to realize his aspirations, must be put under the training of Science, while Evolution is to have free course and be glorified.

The effect of these teachings, if generally accepted, can not be doubtful. Unquestionably, the fanaticism so commonly found in alliance with reformatory movements, has wrought much mischief. No one will dispute this. Fanaticism is the epidemic of our times, whether it shows itself in special reforms, in politics, in religion, or in trade. It seems to be inseparable from human affairs, and especially all high endeavors. It certainly has its uses, nor is it easy to see

how the race could have advanced without it. Worldly prudence and calculation are not the highest virtues, nor the chief mainsprings of human progress. They are honored by the selfish and the time-serving quite as sincerely as by the worthier classes in society. The reformer often finds them the cousins-german of cowardice, and the most formidable foes of that disinterestedness which animates his labors. The philosopher, too, with his broad views and many-sided tendencies, will decline to follow him. He loves the truth, and sincerely dedicates himself to its service, but is not ready to bear witness to it by great personal sacrifices. He doubts as much as he believes, and has no taste for any kind of martyrdom. One of the foremost writers and thinkers of our time tells us that profound thought, if thoroughly honest and conscientious, is deplorably apt to sap the foundations and impair the strength of our moral as well as intellectual convictions. The thinkers of the world are not its 'saviors. "The tree of knowledge is not that of life." "Enthusiasm," says Emerson, "is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding." The truth is, that real social progress is always accomplished by imperfectly aspiring toward a perfect ideal; and in this work the faculty of imagination has the chief share. It has been well said that if you destroy this faculty the condition of man will become as stationary as that of the brutes. Without the fanaticism of self-sacrifice which the imagination kindles, our civilization would be hopelessly dwarfed and mutilated. The fanaticism of the early Christians was the soil in which their faith took root; and the simple and sublime doctrines of the new religion, which now bear witness to its truth, were floated down the centuries on the errors and misconceptions of its disciples. Without the impelling fanaticism of Luther and his collaborators, their battle against Rome would never have been fought. The founder of Quakerism paid little heed to the canons of worldly wisdom, while the fanaticism of John Woolman purged the Society of Friends of the guilt of slavery, and waked such a response

in other humane hearts, in the Old World and the New, that the way was thus opened for emancipation in the British West India Islands, and the ultimate abolition of slavery in the United States. It was the fanaticism of Daniel O'Connell which achieved Catholic emancipation, and made Ireland a nation. When he began his agitation nothing could have seemed more utterly and hopelessly impossible, according to all human calculation; but his soul was so burdened with the accumulated sorrows of his country, which his matchless eloquence set to music, that he became the liberator of Ireland by thus multiplying himself among his people. It was the fanaticism of reform which repealed the English Corn Laws, in opposition to the statesmanship, the public opinion, and the educated classes of the times. If Garrison and his associates had taken counsel of the wise and sober men of America, who could see only failure and disaster in the anti-slavery agitation, the world-famous crusade of the abolitionists would never have been heard of, and the Southern negro would have been turned over to the "slow and sure" account of social evolution, through which "the sum of all villainies" would have been planted in every Northern State. It was the fanaticism of our fathers a century ago which achieved American independence; for no unimpassioned judgment of their undertaking could have given strength to their hopes. The chances of success were in fact overwhelmingly against them. Of one thing only were they sure, and that was, that England had no right to bind them by laws in the making of which they were denied any share, and that they were ready, if need be, to offer their lives as hostages to liberty. Out of the fanaticism of Fourier, St. Simon and Robert Owen has come the organized struggle of labor which is now troubling the dreams of despots, compelling capital to respect it by its harsh machinery of strikes and trades unions, and at the same time opening the way for the just and saving principle of co-operation. Christianity itself, the great seed-plot of reform, is the farthest thing possible from a system of logic, nor "was it accomplished by prize-

essays, Bridgewater bequests, and a minimum of four thousand five hundred a year." To the Jews it was a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; and its doctrine of perfect self-renunciation fares little better with the philosophers and scientists of to-day.

Indeed, if reforms were to be left to thinkers and scholars, and the wise and prudent, they would never be undertaken at all. The grandest efforts of heroic virtue can only be inspired by that supreme devotion to a holy cause which amounts to a fascination, and nothing less than this can call forth the enduring admiration and perfect love of mankind. This truth is illustrated in the lives of all the world's great martyrs to liberty and high priests of reform. If no hazards are to be braved, nothing will be attempted. None of the great agitations of the world could have passed muster if they had been compelled in advance to go to trial on a cool calculation of the chances of success and the sacrifices involved. The reformer feels that if he would save his life he must be ready to lose it. He sees the particular cause he espouses with such vividness, from his mount of vision, and embraces it with such unreserved ardor, that its service is accepted as a divine command. The light which points his way casts all else into the shade. The fire within him consumes every doubt and fear which could beset the path of a cautious and considerate man. He accepts the philosophy embodied in Mr. Lincoln's motto of "one war at a time." If his mind were large enough to see all reforms in their just relationships, and coolly and impartially to estimate their real value and the difficulties of success, he would probably espouse none of them. The task would seem too large, and he would lack that intensity of conviction and concentration of zeal which alone could inspire the needed courage and self-forgetfulness. The very one-sidedness of reformers, their readiness to die for what they believe to be the truth, and that element of exaggeration which so often enters into their conceptions, thus become providential disguises, for which the world has reason to return thanks. Unquestion-

ably, prudence and common sense are qualities which can not be prized too highly in the ordinary concerns of life. Science and philosophy have also their sovereign value, and have rendered inestimable service in checking the excesses and extravagance of reform; but the theory which would substitute social evolution for individual and organized efforts to improve society, would take the poetry out of life and reduce humanity itself to a machine. It strikes a deadly blow at personal responsibility, and belittles human character, which is above all price. It lays its benumbing hand upon the divinest charities and sweetest humanities of the world, and pours contempt upon the sublimest displays of exalted virtue with which the history of the race has made us acquainted.

Nor is it any answer to the views we have presented to say that special reforms served their turn as a provisional necessity, before the principle of social evolution was discovered, but are now to be thrust aside as the outgrown garments of childhood. On the contrary, I believe there never was a time when signal efforts and sacrifices for human welfare were more urgently demanded than now. The social progress already achieved only points the way to new duties and wider fields of labor. The discussion and settlement of one question only reveals its relations to others, which logically follow. In the remote future a time may come, through the toils and struggles of humanity, when the work of reform will end in universal conformity to the moral law; but that millennial day is rather too far off to vex us with its interests. Our duty is with "the living present;" and who believes it safe to hand over the great problems of society to-day to the cold and relentless law of development? Look, for example, at our current politics. The issues which divide our great parties are as undiscoverable as they were in the year 1852. Neither of them dares face the real questions which most deeply concern the people, and upon which, alone, party organizations can be justified. Respecting the vital questions of finance and the tariff, each agrees that in par-

ticular states and congressional districts its leaders may proclaim such doctrines as will be most likely to secure local ascendancy, and thus to make its pretended "principles" the foot-ball of party success. Even their national platforms pipe the same music through different words. It has been aptly observed that half the Democrats are good Republicans, and half the Republicans are good Democrats. Their antagonisms are simply a memory and a habit, and yet party loyalty is intensified just as the uselessness of party machinery becomes more and more evident. Their heaven is power, and each is striving to reach it by despicable make-shifts and stale appeals to its traditions. We have reached one of those seasons of moral stagnation which follow revolutionary periods, and sometimes threaten the very existence of free government. By a sort of universal understanding, the word politics has become the synonym of "jockeyship." Its higher and real meaning is practically forgotten, if not openly laughed at. The old slavery question introduced conscience into our public affairs. It reached down to the very foundations of government, and touched the great springs of our national life. Heart and brain went forth in the glad service of a great cause, and the spirit of reform was in the air. Men of the most commonplace characters were so lifted up and ennobled by the struggle that the whole land seemed ablaze with the fires of a moral revolution. We believe the hour has struck for another revival, and that it should now be the mission of the reformer to rouse the popular conscience from its deadly slumber, and inspire the conduct of public affairs with the great moralities which dignify private life. He should resolve, with all his might, to divinize instead of diabolize public life, and that the word politics shall no longer stand for venality and pelf, but the application of great and enduring principles to the public well-being. He should insist that political knaves and traders shall be sent to the rear, and their places supplied by men who really believe in God, in humanity, and in rectitude. And, as the necessary preliminary to all this, he should forthwith declare

war to the death against the despotism of the caucus, and hail the independent voter as the anointed political Messiah on whom we are to believe.

But some one may ask me to be more specific, and to name some of the special reforms which yet demand attention. One of them presents itself in the financial problem. To the present generation, finance is a new issue in American politics. It is altogether unfamiliar to the customary thought of the people, because the course of our politics for more than a quarter of a century has steadily turned in other directions. The protracted and absorbing controversy respecting African slavery necessarily diverted attention from economic questions, while the war which finally swept slavery away left in its track a paper-money problem scarcely less fearful than that of the rebellion itself. Financial knowledge is now the demand of the hour, for, if financial quackery is allowed to take its place, national bankruptcy and irretrievable dishonor may be the result. There is but one way out of our dilemma, and we shall be obliged to pursue it, even should it involve as thorough an overhauling of the whole question as that through which the country was finally prepared to grapple with the slavery issue and to settle it forever. Why is the question of our currency now involved in so hopeless a muddle? Why are so many of our politicians, in dealing with it, so fearfully afflicted with mental vertigo? Why do they lead us into such a wilderness of metaphysics, and spread before us such a famine of ideas? How shall we explain their frequent somersaults, and their marvelous performances in "ground and lofty tumbling?" It is not that the question is an inscrutable one, but it has not been considered. Until quite recently it has not found its way into our politics at all, since the old issue respecting a national bank was settled. What we need is a national education in the elements of financial knowledge, and I should be glad to see this begin in our common schools. Indeed, some of our great party leaders and latter-day statesmen seem to need this knowledge quite as much as the rank and file of the peo-

ple. If it were possible, the horn-book of finance should be placed in their hands, and they should be taught, as speedily as possible, the definition of money ; that something can not be made out of nothing by an act of Congress ; that real money must be dug out of the earth, and can not be obtained by printing any denomination of it on paper ; that a dollar is a silver or gold coin of the value of one hundred cents, and not any fraction of this sum, nor a mere promise to pay a dollar, which can be discharged by another promise ; that a paper currency, irredeemable in gold or silver, has proved a curse to every country that has tried it, and that any scheme for relieving the indebtedness of individuals or nations without payment is a violation of the command "Thou shalt not steal." Undoubtedly, many questions in political economy as yet remain unsettled, but there are certain elementary principles of finance which are as well established as any facts of physical science ; and, if they had been well taught in our schools, the men who are now preying upon the popular ignorance and disturbing the peace of the country would have been more worthily employed.

The thorough reform of our civil service is another urgent demand of the times. It has often been pronounced "the best on the planet ;" but it is, in fact, a perfectly shameless system of official huckstering and political prostitution. It poisons the life-blood of the body politic. It places the power and patronage of the government at the disposal of trained political pickpockets, who make the very atmosphere mephitic with their familiar vices. It frames iniquity into law, and makes law the servant of iniquity. It stains the good name of our country at home and abroad. It is the root and source of the most startling bribery and corruption, breaking out in high places, and inundating the whole land with their desolating effects. It robs the people annually to the tune of millions and tens of millions, through its whisky rings, its Indian rings, its custom-house rings, its railroad rings, and other legalized machinery which it manipulates. It reduces rapacity to a science, and elevates roguery to the dignity of

an art. It has so polluted our politics and debauched the moral sense of our public servants that even so respectable a man as Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, openly defends it, and actually refers to the saturnalia of thieves who defied the country under the two administrations of General Grant as a proof of the honesty of his party. The sovereign remedy for all this is the destruction, root and branch, of the whole system of spoils and plunder; and this will require the bold surgery of reform. It calls for an insurrection of honest men against the disciplined party of Janizaries who have so long ruled them. Neither Congress nor the executive department of the government will take a single step until compelled to do so by public opinion. We can no more depend upon our parties and politicians to begin the work than we can trust the dram-shops of the country to organize against their traffic. If any man doubts this, we need only refer him to the spectacle of duplicity and demagogism which our servants in Washington have exhibited in dealing with this question during the past six or seven years, and to the general chuckle of delight which followed the final abandonment of all further attempts to reform administrative abuses; while the faithlessness of the present administration to its pledges in dealing with this issue and its slippery game of fast and loose have provoked the disgust and contempt of honest men of all parties. The remedy must come from the people, and the people must be rallied and organized against the hierarchy of rogues and malefactors who prey upon the nation and make political honesty a jest.

The labor question involves a reform of world-wide significance. The question of finance is simply a part of it. The abolition of negro slavery was a magnificent triumph of labor reform, lifting four million human beings from the condition of beasts of burden to the dignity of men. This system of chattelized humanity rested upon that false relation of arbitrary power upon the one side, and dependence and helplessness on the other, which is the life of every form of oppression. The right adjustment of the conflict between

capital and labor will emancipate all the races of men from all forms of slavery. It will consummate the work of which abolitionism was the beginning. This involves a complete revolution in our whole system of legislation and policy. The foundations of our civilization were laid in conquest and robbery, and these, under the names of feudalism and monarchy, have held the race in subjection. The remedy is radical reconstruction, and it involves the life of our institutions. "At the very commencement of society," says Mr. Thornton, in his valuable book on "Labor," "as soon as materials for its construction were brought together, its living constituents proceeded forthwith to arrange themselves in layers, the stronger, nimbler and cunninger climbing up on their brothers' shoulders, and occupying the higher places and leaving to those below only the office of upholding them in their elevation." He adds, "The upper myriads may cry peace, peace, but there will be no more peace for them, on the old terms, with the lower millions." And there ought to be none. When we talk about the rights of labor, we talk about the rights of man. When we say that a fair day's work is entitled to a fair day's wages, we declare a principle which, as Carlyle says, is as "indisputable as arithmetical multiplication tables," and which "must and will have itself fulfilled." We can no more escape it than we can escape gravitation. Our talk about democracy, and the sacredness of human rights, while capital has its foot on the neck of the laborer, is a sham and a cheat. It is the hollow dreariness of demagogism. The chief end of government is not the protection of property, but of man; and this truth must be practically illustrated in such laws as shall hold in check the power of concentrated capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery, and those giant corporations which too often control the makers and expounders of the laws, and are virtually endowed with life-offices and powers of hereditary succession. The task is a large one, and of course will require time, toil and patience. It presents the most fearful problem with which enlightened humanity has

yet been called on to deal. By the side of this labor question the old slavery issue dwindles into a trifle. It casts its portentous shadow across every civilized land, and is rallying and organizing multiplying millions of discontented and determined men, whose just demands can not safely be slighted. It foreshadows a conflict between the vandalism and madness of communism on the one hand, and the rapacity of capital on the other, which naturally tends to provoke and inspire it, and which, as the Duke of Argyll declares, "overrides even the love of life, and silences even the fear of death." The omens of a coming storm are quite as discernible as were those which preceded the deadly struggle which at last buried African slavery in its bloody grave. Shall we heed these omens, and by wise and timely precautions seek to avert the threatened calamity, or madly resign ourselves to the reckless and pitiless principle of evolution, and thus invite the lightning of retribution, which else might be conducted harmlessly to the earth?

The land question is the twin-brother of the labor question, and involves considerations equally momentous and far-reaching. "The earth is literally the leaf we feed on;" and, therefore, no question can more vitally affect humanity than the character of the laws which deal with it. This is most signally illustrated in England, whose agricultural laborers are among the most degraded human beings on earth. This is the ripe fruit of her system of land-tenures. "Time was," says the *Westminster Review*, "when, at the call of the country, the yeomen of England rose and fought and conquered her liberties. Their degenerate descendants would be more likely to fight as hirelings for any form of slavery and superstition—if, indeed, they could be got to fight at all." It is as true of England as of any country in Europe, that, "the whole energy, and knowledge, and resources of the land are barreled up in towns." Mr. Hoskyns, in his chapter on the land-laws of that country, says: "There is not a living animal connected with the farm, from the draught-team down to the sheep-dog, that is not better lodged and looked after

than the laborer and his family." He is a slave. His condition is exactly described by the definition of a slave, as given in the old codes of the Carolinas, namely, "one doomed to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits." Liberty implies opportunity, self-culture, the untrammelled development and use of the powers of a man; and all these are denied him. Land-monopoly, indeed, *is* slavery. A government which allows the land to become the patrimony of the few can not be free, for the simple reason that the land-holders of every country are its masters. The most stupendous system of organized robbery which scourges the world is that which strips the poor of their natural inheritance in the soil.

Are we told that this question does not concern us in the United States, since we have no laws of primogeniture and entail, and no great monopolies handed down to us as the fruit of feudal times? I answer, that, through our large grants to railway corporations, our system of Indian treaties, our swamp-land legislation, our yet-unforbidden curse of land speculation, and other forms of maladministration, we are laying the foundations of a system of serfdom almost as fearful as that which now afflicts England. In several states of our Union there are single farms of a half-million acres; and even in old Massachusetts, where liberty and local self-government had their birth in her policy of small estates, the large farms are rapidly swallowing up the small ones, while a crouching tenantry, toiling under absentee landlords, bears witness at once to the decline of agriculture and the decay of freedom. If our popular system of government is to be preserved, nothing is more certain than that our land policy must be radically reformed. And it will not reform itself. Evolution will not meet the danger, for evil and ruin are evolved, as well as good, when unchecked by human endeavors. The false steps we have taken must be reversed in the interest of justice and the rights of the people. We need such agitators and reformers as Cobden and Mill, and

such missionaries as Joseph Arch. What will our vaunted freedom be worth if we suffer the canker of great estates to eat away the life of our yeomanry? What refuge will be left for us against the unhealthy growth and fearful domination of our chief cities, if a great system of centralization in agriculture is to palsy the manhood of our "rural districts," and give us such a breed of cultivators as those of England? These questions demand an answer from every believer in democratic government. They take hold of our social well-being and our national life; for—

"A bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

The reformer is needed in dealing with still another question. We have only lately commemorated the nation's first centennial. We fitly honored the deeds of the famous men who declared that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and threw life, fortune, and honor into the defense of this principle. It was the key-note and ceaseless battle-cry of their grand struggle. The right of the people who paid the taxes to be heard on the question of voting them was accepted as a self-evident truth. "They who have no voice nor vote," said Dr. Franklin, "in the selecting of representatives, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes." This is as self-evident as any truth in the great Declaration. A free government is one resting upon the free choice of the people, and every person having the power of choosing has an inborn and equal right to be heard, in person or by his representative, in the management of those public interests which concern him in common with all other citizens. Idiots, lunatics, infants, and criminals who have forfeited their right, are necessarily precluded from any share in the exercise of political power; but no other exceptions can be made consistently with the rights of man. An intelligent human being, innocent of crime, yielding his obedience to the government, answerable to it in his person and property for disobedience, and yet

denied any political rights, is a slave. If this is not true, then nothing is true. But our fathers were not ready to apply this truth in its complete length and breadth. They did not perfectly keep step to the logic of their own avowed principles. They lived in the twilight of the political gospel they proclaimed, and scarcely dreamed of the high-noon of democracy which has since lighted up the political horizon. Accordingly, they withheld the ballot from the poor man on account of his poverty. This was done in all the states in the early years of the government. As a nation, we have long since outgrown this folly. The negro was denied any share in the exercise of political power on account of the color of his skin, or that American prejudice which had been evolved from the institution of slavery. But slavery has perished, and the principles of our fathers have found another application in the conversion of the negro into a citizen and a voter. We have now no qualification for the ballot founded on race, color, or property, or any educational requirement; and yet we have twenty million citizens in the United States who are compelled to pay their taxes and obey the laws, while they are denied any share whatever in the exercise of political power. This is done because of their sex, and is as hateful and anti-republican a discrimination as can well be conceived. An aristocracy founded on it is quite as odious and absurd as an aristocracy founded on color, or race, or any other mere accident of humanity. It can not be defended for a moment by any believer in democracy. In the name of justice and decency, what has sex to do with the question of moral or political right? But my purpose is not now to argue the question, but only to state it, and to rank it among the grand living issues yet to be tried by the people. How it will finally be decided is not a matter of the least doubt. Our exclusion of woman from politics will take its place among the curious and startling barbarisms of the past. It is true that as yet we are only midway on our journey to universal suffrage; but that journey will be completed, because any step backward will be as impossible as any

pause where we are. We are constantly enlarging the sphere of woman's occupations. We are reforming our laws respecting her personal and property rights. We are providing for her a higher education, and thus recognizing her claim to equal rights. We have already made her a citizen, and in some of the states, and as to certain positions, she is entitled to vote and to hold office. There is, and there can be, no abiding-place in her progress toward perfect political equality with man. When and how this goal shall be reached must largely depend upon the labors and sacrifices of those who would speed the work; for the toils and struggles of the abolitionists might just as wisely have been renounced, as to surrender the cause of woman's enfranchisement to the tender mercies of social evolution.

Time will only permit me to refer to one further task which invokes the helping hand of reform, and that is the total separation of our civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Our Protestant sects complain that the pope, as the vicegerent of God on earth, not only claims supreme authority over the consciences of men, but over all human governments, and thus assails civil liberty as well as religious. They say it was the Catholic Church which defeated Mr. Gladstone's Education Bill, and inspired the Franco-German War, while it is striving to prevent the unification of Germany, and blocking up the way of struggling liberalism in France and Spain. They affirm that this same power is waging war against our common schools, and endeavoring, by sapping and mining, to intrench itself in the United States; and that it believes our free institutions offer a better soil for the growth of its principles than the centralized governments of Europe, while plotting the overthrow of our liberty through its vast and well-drilled army of Jesuits. How shall we deal with this alleged raid upon civilization and progress? Social evolution will not meet the danger, for that has brought it to our doors, and seems to be constantly giving it strength. Shall we appeal to sectarian animosities, and array Protestantism against Catholicism in deadly strife? The thought of

such a struggle between a great centralized power, always acting as a unit, and warring sects which could never be effectively rallied under a common banner, is not to be entertained for a moment. The question is not so much one of sects, or religions, as of constitutional liberty, vitally affecting the rights of all men. The government of the United States is neither Protestant nor Catholic. It is not even Christian, Washington himself being our witness; nor is it Jewish, Mohammedan or pagan. The government rightfully has nothing to do with religion, and religion has nothing to do with the government. The state has no more right to teach religion than the church has to assume the functions of the state. Our only safe ground, therefore, is the total secularization of our politics. The "concubinage of church and state" must be utterly destroyed. On this principle all can stand, irrespective of religious faith. While the state is bound to protect all men in the unmolested enjoyment of their religious opinions, it must stand entirely aloof from any sort of espousal of any form of faith. This is our safeguard against ecclesiastical domination, whether Catholic or Protestant.

And this will require an amendment of the constitution of the United States. It declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and thus places the national government in its true position; but the individual states are left entirely free in dealing with this question. They may make the Catholic faith or that of any Protestant sect the state religion, and levy taxes for the support of it upon those who conscientiously disbelieve in its creed. The union of church and state, which our fathers repudiated in the national constitution, may thus be established in defiance of the rights of conscience, as was systematically done in all the colonies, save one, during the period of the Revolution and at the beginning of the government. Some of them required all officers of the state to be of the Protestant faith; and even at this day religious tests are prescribed in several of them as

conditions of holding office, by which the choice of fit men for the public service is foolishly restricted. In violation of the principles of our fathers, the church property of both Catholics and Protestants is exempted from taxation, thus indirectly compelling Jews, Mohammedans, theists, atheists and freethinkers to contribute to the support of a religion which they disbelieve, and violating the rights of conscience, which, to every reflecting man, are even more precious than the right to liberty or life. A constitutional amendment has recently been proposed in the Senate of the United States, which, if adopted, will recognize the Bible in our public schools by "divine right," and forever protect church property in its present unjust exemption; and this amendment lacked only a few votes of the two-thirds required to pass it. The growth of the ecclesiastical spirit is still further manifested by another proposed amendment, emanating from an organization called the "National Reform Association," providing for the "acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority." Should this be adopted, the union of church and state would be complete, and "appropriate legislation" for the disfranchisement and punishment of heretics would undoubtedly follow. The only true remedy for these threatened dangers is the absolute divorce of civil and ecclesiastical authority. There is no middle ground on which we can stand. "Our constitution must be changed to suit our practices, or our practices to suit our constitution." It must be on one side or the other, and the attempt to place it on both will prove as fruitless, and it may be as disastrous, as was the effort to make our government "half slave and half free." We oppose and denounce the assaults of the Catholic Church upon our common schools as a monstrous interference with purely secular affairs; but our own sense of consistency and self-respect should compel us forthwith to exclude the Bible from those schools, and thus deprive that hierarchy of a very convenient and weighty apology for its course. The policy

of the Catholic Church, so far as it makes itself the ally of ignorance and superstition, must be resolutely resisted; but that resistance can best be made by jealously maintaining civil liberty, and insisting upon a well-organized system of common schools and compulsory secular education. In thus standing by the equal religious rights of American citizens, we shall be invincible; for liberty and popular intelligence are the deadly enemies of every form of ecclesiastical usurpation, as they are the impregnable bulwarks of our democratic institutions. In seeking our purpose, through an amendment of the constitution, we cherish no hostility to state rights, but only an overmastering devotion to human rights. We cherish no hostility whatever to any form of religion, but would protect and defend all religions under equal laws. Nor do we fear sectarian wrangles and divisions as the result of the principles for which we contend. On the contrary, we confidently predict perpetual peace through the final removal of the chief causes of strife; and our grand aim can only fail through the criminal recreancy of the people themselves to the teachings of our fathers and the pregnant warnings of history.

And here I close my protest against the baleful heresy which has served me for my text. In confounding the distinction between physical and social evolution, it tends to confound the distinction between right and wrong. It threatens to dethrone conscience, and substitute development for duty. It exchanges liberty for necessity, and thus deals with humanity as a factor in mechanics. By committing all social questions to the working of inevitable laws, it disparages the value of human character, and trifles with human responsibility. It weakens the very foundations of virtue by belittling the motives which inspire it. It unduly exalts the intellect, and makes the follies and mistakes of good men an excuse for tearing down the sanctuary of the heart. Its ugly footprints are already visible on the other side of the Atlantic, in the halting steps of special reforms, and the growing indisposition of government to deal with great social

questions over which its jurisdiction is clear. This is true in a measure of our own country, while the moral felonies which blacken our politics and defile the name of religion have their root, to some extent, in the same soil. This deadly mildew of modern life, this dry-rot of moral unbelief which would wither the leaf and flower of virtue, must be arrested, if we would escape social stagnation and spiritual death. I speak earnestly, because I feel deeply, when I say that by all means we must keep alive our faith in virtue, in the preciousness of character, and in personal responsibility; for, without this faith, men will content themselves with coddling their own worldly comfort, and turning every good cause adrift, while we shall be left without God and without hope in the world.

THE GOSPEL OF REFORM.

DELIVERED IN THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE, INDIANAPOLIS, ON
THE 26TH OF AUGUST, 1876.

[This speech was delivered at the opening of the campaign for Tilden and Hendricks. Its circulation was phenomenal. The National Democratic Committee distributed two million copies in tract form, while this must have been more than duplicated by its publication in the leading and local newspapers in every section of the Union.]

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: It can scarcely be necessary for me to remark that I do not appear before you to-night as a partisan, but as an independent voter. I am a member of neither of the great organizations now struggling for the mastery; and while I am ready to take my stand in the pending national canvass, and to avow the reasons for my action, I prefer to retain my entire political independence. The perfectly faultless and straight-laced party man occupies a radically different position. He feels obliged to defend his party both as to what it has done in the past and what it may do in the future. He believes that outside of it no good thing can exist, and that inside of it all needed reforms must originate. The platform of his party is his confession of political faith, and whoever adds to it or takes from it is to be counted a heretic, who should be summarily and soundly anathematized. The discipline of his party is like that of an army or a military camp. If a member is found guilty of insubordination he must be shot as a deserter and branded as an enemy of society, if not a traitor to his country. This frightful tyranny over individual judgment and conscience is the root and source of the most startling vices and depravities which now afflict our politics and scourge society. It is, of course,

the deadly foe of all measures looking to the reformation of political abuses; for how can a man fearlessly advocate the truth with a halter about his neck? If his party is a deity to be worshiped, or a master to be served, with what propriety or decency can he unfurl the flag of reform? Every passing day confirms the truth of what I said four years ago, that a political party should be regarded simply as a political make-shift. It is an agency, now and then made necessary by some new turn in the wheel of our politics, and useful only so long as the occasion for it continues. It is not an institution, but a temporary combination of men inspired by a common political aim; and when that aim is accomplished, the combination should be dissolved. Having done its work, and being unfitted for new tasks, it becomes a stumbling-block in the path of progress, and ceases to be a party by degenerating into a faction.

The force of these observations is fitly illustrated in the political situation to-day. Here are two powerful national parties engaged in a fierce struggle for the ascendancy. They are grappling with each other as if the salvation of the republic awaited the result of the conflict; and yet the old strifes which at first marshaled them against each other, and for years kept alive their animosities, are all absolutely settled. Their platforms are only different words, set to the same music. Their antagonisms are inspired far less by any radical difference of opinions upon any vital principles than by old memories and traditionary hates which should be allowed to sleep, but which continue to stand in the way of our national well-being. Pending this embittered struggle for power, the cry for reform comes up from the people, wholly irrespective of party lines, and endeavors, as best it can, to voice itself in political action. How shall the work of reform go forward? These old parties were organized to deal with other and very different questions, which have been irrevocably disposed of; and, what the country now needs is a complete reconstruction of parties in response to the demand of the people for a purified politics, instead of forcing the new

wine of reform into old bottles which have served their purpose and have been defiled by some very questionable uses. Parties should be the servants of the people and the handmaids of progress, and not "lag superfluous," as obstructions to the general welfare. It is true that both of our two rival parties preach the gospel of reform; but they preach it and intend to practice it subject to party discipline, and thus unavoidably throw themselves in its way. Is the Republican party the fit and chosen instrument of reform? In the light of its record of profligacy and plunder for years past, it would be impossible to persuade honest Democrats to trust it. Is the Democratic party any more acceptable to honest Republicans? They point to its war record and its complicity with political corruption both prior and subsequent to the late civil war. This is our political dilemma, and these are the considerations which press upon intelligent, conscientious men to-day, as they did four years ago. They gave birth to the Liberal Republican party, and the combination thus formed for the overthrow of Grantism, which has usurped the control of the Republican organization. I labored for this combination with all my might, because I thought I saw in it the blessed prospect of a general party break-up, and the emancipation of the people from their old political task-masters. Owing chiefly to the monstrous prostitution of federal patronage to partisan purposes, the new movement was defeated at the polls. The Democrats, after having caught a glimpse of the promised land of independence, fainted by the way, and fell back into their old party intrenchments. The Liberals likewise became disheartened. Instead of reorganizing their forces and calling for recruits in order to a renewal of the fight, they suffered their army to disband. They preferred flank movements upon the enemy by detachments of our forces, to a general engagement of the whole after a thorough organization for the purpose. Instead of commanding their own fortunes by pushing forward their work with the courage and strong will of the early abolitionists, they adopted the policy of hovering along the lines of the old

parties, and making an occasional descent here and there upon one or the other of them, in the hope of thus speeding the work of reform. It has always seemed to me that this was a great mistake, seriously retarding the progress which a different policy would have secured.

I do not deny that much good has been done by the independent political action to which I have referred. We should acknowledge this with thankfulness. The lesson of the Cincinnati Convention of 1872, as a formidable rebellion against party devil-worship, has not been lost. The spirit of reform has forced its way into both parties, and compelled their respect. Its shaping hand is seen both in their platforms and in their nominations. In the national struggle this year, the men who abjure party discipline are strong enough to determine the result. No man occupies a position of so much importance and responsibility as the independent voter. But he finds the question of present duty singularly complicated by circumstances which the logic of political events has compelled him to consider. He would gladly have joined a new organization, wholly unshackled by the politics of the past, and able vigorously to prosecute the work of reform; but no such party is in the field. He is a member of none of the existing parties, and believes their machinery a hindrance rather than a help to the reformation of abuses; and yet he is obliged to co-operate with one of them or accept the distasteful alternative of temporary self-disfranchisement. Such is the predicament in which the political outsider finds himself to-day; and what he ought to do in the present canvass is the problem I propose to consider. Of course I shall deal with it as it presents itself to me, and not as an orthodox Republican who voted for Grant four years ago, and who has patiently carried the ugly burdens of the party ever since. What is the duty of an honest Republican who turned his back upon his party four years ago on account of its misdeeds? This is my question, and the answer to it naturally invites the consideration of these three further questions:

Was the Liberal Republican revolt of 1872 justified by facts?

If so, has the Republican party by its general good behavior and its honest zeal in the work of political purification during the past four years earned the respect and confidence of the people, which it had lost? If not, can Liberals consistently and honestly support Tilden and Hendricks?

In seeking the true answer to the first of these questions we are obliged to recall the facts and circumstance of the memorable struggle of four years ago. It should be remembered that the popular demand for reform was then almost as loud as it is now. Grant and Colfax had been elected in 1868 on a platform pledging the party to reform the corruptions of Andrew Johnson's administration; but the pledge had been shamefully belied. While the old party issues had been retreating into the past, the mercenary and trading element of the party had gradually found its way to the front, and completely appropriated the President. Naturally and necessarily the spirit of reform was evoked, and the rallying cry of Sumner, Trumbull, and the men who subsequently became conspicuous as leaders of the Liberal Republican movement, was "reform within the party." They did not dream of separating themselves from the grand old organization in the founding of which they had had so large a share, and under whose banner they had fought during the nation's great peril. Their attachment to it was not a matter of conviction merely, but it was a passion. Sumner, especially, believed it was to be "filled with a higher life" and "lifted to yet other efforts," which would make its continued existence a commanding necessity. All that these men asked was the expulsion of political corruption, and the restoration of the party to the purity which had signalized its early life. They demanded the reform of abuses in the New York and New Orleans custom houses; in the war and navy departments; and in the improvident and profligate management of the civil service generally. To this end they proposed that a thorough and impartial investigation should be made; but the very same party leaders who are preaching "reform within the party" in this canvass then stoutly denied that any reform

was needed. Morton, Conkling, and the men since so well known to the country as the "senatorial group," declared that the proposition to investigate implied party guilt and could only give aid to the Democrats. They branded as enemies of the Republican party the distinguished members of it who simply proposed to purify and save it. When the popular pressure and the fear of party detriment threatened by this opposition at last drove them from their indecent position, the committees appointed were packed in the interest of the Administration, and in contempt of parliamentary usage, while the reports finally submitted, as a matter of course, were shamefully spoiled by whitewash. What was to be done? The men who had hoisted the flag of reform were obliged to do one of two things: They must cower like slaves under the party lash, in the hands of men who treated their honest demands with contempt, and who undoubtedly represented the spirit and policy of the Administration; or they must take counsel of their own manhood and self-respect, and openly rebel against a party despotism that had become a national curse.

Let us look at the situation more particularly. The mischiefs of war had crept into the civil administration after the war was ended. The government had been compelled to deal with a strong hand, and a thorough schooling of the President and his party in the use of power had familiarized them with military ideas and habits, and drawn them toward loose and indefensible opinions respecting the powers of the general and state governments and the prerogatives of the executive. These considerations could not be overlooked by the men whose hearts were on fire with the desire for political reform. The constitution expressly declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved by it to the states respectively, or to the people;" but the theory upon which the President had conducted his administration was that all powers not conferred on the states by the constitution are reserved to the United States, thus com-

pletely overturning the doctrines of the fathers, and setting at defiance the very words of the constitution itself. This was Grantism and orthodox Republicanism four years ago, as it is to-day. The President not only trampled down the right of local self-government in repeated instances, but he set up his own will as law, even against the authority of Congress. In the San Domingo affair he deliberately usurped the war-making power which is vested in Congress by the constitution. On the pretense of helping the farmers in "moving their crops," he assumed powers which no despot on earth would dare exercise, in issuing millions of currency without warrant of law and on his own individual caprice. He appointed to civil places about him men in the military service, in violation of an express statute which he was sworn to execute. In disregard of law and of his oath of office, he quartered federal soldiers on the Cherokee neutral lands in Kansas to protect a railroad corporation in driving from their homes hundreds of settlers who claimed the lands occupied by them in good faith under the preëmption laws. Through a subordinate officer in New Orleans he seized a federal vessel and attempted by force to overawe the people of Louisiana in the interest of his renomination. These are a few examples only, selected from many, showing how the President carried the military and imperial spirit into his office, and set aside the laws which were as binding upon him as any other citizen, while the example of his disobedience was preëminently mischievous. In these acts he had the sympathy and support of a Republican Congress, as he had in the act to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and the enforcement acts, which embody provisions at war with every principle of municipal government, and can only be defended on the tyrant's plea that the central power can administer the affairs of a locality better than the people can do it themselves. "The end of good government," says De Tocqueville, "is to insure the welfare of a people, and not merely to establish order in the midst of its misery."

But the most ample and overwhelming vindication of the

Liberal movement is to be found in the management of the Civil Service. In the canvass of 1872, the friends of Gen. Grant insisted that he was the sincere friend, if not the champion, of civil service reform. With airs of triumph they pointed to the fact that he had already appointed an able civil service commission, with George William Curtis at its head, for the purpose of dealing with this vital question. This commission had made its report, showing that about \$100,000,000 of the public revenues are annually lost in the collection through the incompetence or corruption of government officials. The strong language of the President was quoted in which he told the country that "honesty and efficiency, not political activity, should be the tenure of office." The Philadelphia platform of the party was as pronounced as it could be in favor of lifting the whole machinery of the government out of the ruts of party, and thoroughly purifying it by placing it in the hands of honest and competent men, irrespective of politics. And yet in the face of all these brave manifestoes the President was seeking his own re-election through his well-organized army of eighty thousand office holders, not a man of whom was safe if known to be opposed to his re-election. The fact was perfectly notorious and undeniable that the tenure of office was not honesty and efficiency at all, but "political activity" for Grant. It is true that the civil service commission had framed a set of rules for the protection of honest officials from political interference, but these rules were suspended by the President just as often as it suited the convenience of the party leaders who had him in their keeping, and who treated the whole subject with contempt.

When Senator Conklin wanted a faithful public servant turned out in New York to make room for a political minion, the rules were suspended for the purpose. When Gen. Butler wanted a political tool in the place of an honest incumbent in Massachusetts, or Senator Morton wanted a similar favor in Indiana, the rules were suspended for their accommodation. When Gen. Logan wanted the collector at Chicago

turned adrift, because he would not join Orville Grant in his whisky frauds, and in order to make room for one of his political henchmen, the President was his humble servant. The postmaster at the city of Galveston, who, I believe, was a faithful officer, was dismissed to make room for a man who had been driven out of the House of Representatives for fraud. Tom Murphy, one of the partners in the Tammany Ring of thieves, covered all over with his rascalities as with a garment, and with neither brains nor knowledge enough to fit him for the duties of any civil office, was appointed collector of the port of the city of New York, one of the most lucrative and politically potential positions under the government, and Moses H. Grinnell, an honest and capable man, was sent into retirement as a further illustration of civil service reform. And when the popular pressure became so portentous as to compel Murphy to resign, the President "vindicated" him by a letter complimenting him on the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged the duties of his high office, while Leet and Stocking, who had been cheating public justice, were still plundering the merchants of New York, in spite of their protests and in defiance of public opinion. In 1872, the office of collector at New Orleans was held, as it is now, by brother-in-law Casey, who brought out his "Gatling guns" to aid him in packing a political convention for his party, and who was convicted of bribery and corruption by a congressional committee of his own political friends, who subsequently reported the facts to the President and demanded his removal, which demand was never complied with.

Civil service reform found an apt illustration in the performances of Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. As I remember the facts, he packed the legislature of that state by corrupt means with his tools, who in turn packed him into the United States Senate; but when the grand jury of that district indicted him for political corruption, and thus invited his attention to the hospitalities of the penitentiary, the President, wishing to "vindicate" his friend, removed the marshal and

district attorney through whose agency the indictments were supposed to have been found, and appointed a couple of Clayton's friends in their place, who *non proessed* the indictments, by which the distinguished senator was allowed to escape justice and to devote his "political activity" to the re-election of his patron and friend. Secretary Robeson took \$93,000 of your money from the treasury, and paid it on a false claim to a rascal named Secor, without authority of law, and was excused on the score of his "good intentions;" while Secretary Cox had been driven from the cabinet for refusing to prostitute his office to political purposes. Postmaster General Creswell tried with all his might to take from the treasury \$443,000, and pay it to Chorpenning on a fraudulent claim for carrying the mails in California. The President approved his conduct, and his "political activity" on the stump, for his re-election. The President espoused the San Domingo swindle, and personally assisted General Babcock, the negotiator and ringleader of the project, in lobbying for it in the Senate; and although the country with singular unanimity condemned it, and compelled its abandonment, Charles Sumner, for performing his simple duty in opposing it, was driven from his chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and Simon Cameron, who was turned out of Lincoln's cabinet during the war on account of his corrupt complicity with army contracts, and disgraced by a vote of the House of Representatives, who had had a national reputation as a scoundrel for nearly a quarter of a century, and was as ignorant of our foreign affairs as he was innocent of a conscience, was made Sumner's successor, while the distinguished senator from Massachusetts and the foremost public character in the nation, was still further degraded by the offer of a place at the tail of the Committee on Education and Labor, with Flannigan, of Texas, at its head! Civil service reform! Why, gentlemen, Carl Schurz told us four years ago that he had seen a foreign minister at Washington hunting the government as a man hunts for a lost child, or a horse strayed or stolen. It was not at home. It

was over at Long Branch, looking after the business of horse racing, or down in Carolina stumping for Grant, or out west with Delano in its fatherly concern for land grants and Indian affairs. If I am not mistaken, all the cabinet ministers, except Belknap, who was probably very busy with his post-traderships, were on the stump in 1872, electioneering for their chief, and to keep their bread buttered four years longer; while the President, spurning the example of Washington, Jefferson and Adams, had been heaping honors and emoluments upon his poor kin, and accepting presents of fine houses and tempting largesses in money from men unknown to fame, who were paid off in fat places.

Such is the delectable and highly flavored feast to which the Liberal Republicans of 1872 were invited; and when they turned away from it in sorrow and unutterable disgust, and asserted their independence, they were everywhere denounced by the leaders of Grantism as political apostates and rebels. Senator Morton branded Horace Greeley as a traitor, secretly in league with Confederate traitors of the South, and plotting his way into the White House for the ulterior purpose of undoing the work of the war, re-establishing slavery, and fastening upon the nation the rebel debt. And the political vultures who hounded Greeley to his grave pursued Sumner, and Trumbull, and their co-laborers, with the same hungry and unslumbering political venom and personal malice. In the many political contests in which I have been engaged, whether in the early times of the abolitionists or during the fierce passions excited by the civil war, I can recall nothing which exceeds the unmixed rancor and unbridled animosity that inspired the Republican leaders four years ago in their treatment of the men who rebelled against the party lash in order to save their own honor and self-respect. And yet they did not burn the bridges behind them. The way was left open for their reunion with their old party friends, whenever the party itself should turn its back upon the organized roguery which had captured it; and I am quite sure that ninety-nine hundredths of the Liberal Republicans

of the United States would to-day have been found battling in the ranks of Republicanism, if the party within the past four years had thrown overboard the renegade Democrats who had become its recognized leaders, and proved itself sincere in its demand for reform. Has this saving work been accomplished? This is the next question to be considered in the discussion upon which I have entered.

To ask this question is to answer it. But in the interest of explicitness and particularity let us give it our attention, and, in dealing with it, let us remember Senator Morton's declaration three or four years ago, that "Ours is the best civil service on the planet," and his assertion a few days since that, "All things considered, the present is the purest and best administration this country has ever had." What are the actual facts which supply the commentary upon these perfectly astounding statements? It can not be denied that soon after the last inauguration civil service reform became a more glaring political mockery than ever before. The enforcement of the rules framed by the commission was only an occasional event, while their suspension was the order of the day. Governor Holden, of North Carolina, who was impeached, convicted and rendered incapable of holding any office, was made postmaster at the capital of that state. Sharp, a brother-in-law of the President, was appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia, just as if no civil service rules had ever been heard of. Cramer, another brother-in-law, disgraced our diplomatic service as the representative of the government at Copenhagen. Brother-in-law Casey, who had taken on board a government vessel the Grant members of the Louisiana legislature to protect them from arrest and prevent a majority of the body from proceeding to business, because the political interests of the President demanded this lawlessness, and who stood before the country thatched with political corruption, was re-appointed and confirmed as collector of the port of New Orleans. Even George William Curtis, so long hoping against hope, and so faithfully clinging to the President through thick and thin, was at last

obliged to resign his position in disgust, and to declare that the appointments of the President showed "an utter abandonment of both the letter and spirit of the civil service regulations." About the same time, Peter Cooper wrote a most earnest and friendly letter to the President, begging him to rescue the city and state of New York from the custom house rogues who had so long disgraced the civil service and defied the people. But the President seemed entirely unconscious that anything was going amiss. At the bidding of Senator Morton he removed Captain Brouse from the pension agency of Indiana, a wounded soldier and a faithful officer, and appointed in his place Gen. Terrell, whose moral unfitness for the place is too well known to be characterized. When Congress abolished the government of the District of Columbia, in order to get rid of Boss Shepherd, who stood revealed as a disgraced public swindler, the President immediately appointed him one of the commissioners of the new District government.

When the safe burglary criminals were on trial the machinery of the district attorney's office was employed to cheat public justice; and the President, pending the trial, made a most remarkable demonstration upon the jury by inviting one of the defendants to join a company of distinguished guests in a feast at the White House. Grantism, pure and simple, finds no better illustration than in the case of Orville Grant. He asked his brother to let him know when anything under his control should transpire by which he (Orville) could make some money. The President thought it right to gratify him, and proceeded to designate certain post-traderships which he might control, not because the incumbents of the places were incompetent or unworthy, but that Orville should have the profits, either by levying blackmail upon them as the price of their retention, or by their removal, if they should refuse to be bled. The department of justice was disgraced by continuing in office Attorney-General Williams a year and a half after it had been proved that he had appropriated the public revenue to the private use of himself and his family;

and this same Attorney-General was afterwards appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The real working of "the best civil service on the planet" and "the purest and best administration this country has ever had" is made beautifully manifest in the conviction of the Secretary of War, on his own confession, of making merchandise of the post-traderships under his control, while the President, who had knowledge of his criminal acts four years ago, accepts his resignation with "regret," and with such surprising promptness as to prevent his legal conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors by the Senate. The President stood by Secretary Delano in his disgraceful performances involving the management of Indian affairs, till forced by public opinion to give him up, and then "vindicated" him by his customary farewell letter of approval.

By one of those accidents that have now and then checkered his administration, he appointed Bristow as his Secretary of the Treasury; and after the work of hunting down and bringing to justice the whisky thieves had been resolved upon by the new Secretary, and while the brave words, "Let no guilty man escape," were winning the plaudits of the people, and finding their way into the party platforms as the watchwords of reform, the President himself was drawing from the Secretary and his subordinates whatever information his high and trusted position could command relative to the prosecution of his friend Babcock, and placing it in the hands of his attorneys, for no other apparent purpose than that of securing his acquittal, and defeating the execution of the laws he was sworn to support. According to the sworn testimony of men of high character, he had no sooner discovered that Bristow was the enemy of thieves than he resolved upon his removal; and although his purpose was temporarily delayed, it was not defeated. He seems to have demanded the head of Bluford Wilson for kindred reasons. The decapitation of Yaryan was another sacrifice to men who deserved to be clad in prison stripes. Pratt had to walk the plank because he spoke a friendly word in behalf of Yaryan, and was believed

to be an honest man. Dyer was obliged to bite the dust for no reason known to the public, which will naturally infer that his sole offense was his refusal to prostitute his office to the use of the guilty. Henderson was stricken down for no other discoverable reason than that the courageous performance of his official duty threatened to involve the White House, or such idolized friends of the President as General Babcock. If Jewell was not dismissed from the cabinet because he was the friend of Bristow and his co-worker in reform, then his cause of dismissal is inscrutable. The appointment of Tyner as Jewell's successor naturally enters into the warp and woof of the same civil service fabric, he being the facile instrument of Senator Morton, the leader of the Indiana delegation in the Cincinnati convention in opposition to Bristow, and claiming also the glory of having secured the nomination of General Hayes. When the nation was groaning under an enormous burden of debt and taxation, and the representatives of the people voted themselves salaries they had never earned, and doubled the pay of the President, he personally lobbied for the measure in both houses of Congress, and promptly legalized the theft by his signature. He appointed a famous poker-player as Minister to England, and kept him there till public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic compelled his withdrawal, on account of his disgraceful connection with the Emma mine fraud. He withdrew the custody of government funds from the house of Barings, who I believe had held it for generations, and intrusted them to Clews & Habicht, who have since become bankrupt, as a reward for their partisan services, and in spite of warnings that this house was untrustworthy. He defended the Moiety system, by which the revenues of the country were farmed out to political scullions for the purpose of serving the fortunes of some of his favorites, while General Babcock, who has been justly branded by the press as a sneak-thief in the methods employed by him in securing his acquittal of a high crime, is still holding his position of

Chief of Engineers and Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds.

But surely I need not extend this itemized arraignment of Grantism any farther. Let me say, however, that by the term Grantism, I mean Republicanism under Grant, and in full coöperation with him. The party unanimously indorsed him four years ago, when all intelligent men knew him and his evil tendencies almost as well as they know them to-day. In all the state conventions of the party, north and south, east and west, through all these seven years and a half of misrule and profligacy, his administration has been unceasingly indorsed and lauded. Our state convention of last February declared that "the administration of General Grant commands our fullest confidence and approbation, and that we especially commend him for the example he will leave to his successors, of removing from office those of his own appointment whenever he has found them to be unfaithful; and of causing those who are proved dishonest to be so prosecuted that no guilty man should escape." As if to emphasize this, and to make its moral significance perfectly clear, the convention fulsomely eulogized Senator Morton, and I believe unanimously recommended his nomination for the Presidency. The Cincinnati convention brought down the record still later, and declared that "President Grant deserves the continued and hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his immense services in war and in peace." And General Hayes, a month later, says "the resolutions are in accord with my views." The manifest truth is that the President and his party are inseparable. Their union is unmistakably Siamese. The party clings to him as a dying man clings to life.

The Cincinnati indorsement of Grant was after the exposure of the whisky rings, and the acceptance of Belknap's resignation; after the trial of Babcock, and the shameful interference in his behalf; after the disgraceful conduct of Robeson and Delano and the disagreement of the President and Bristow. The party found nothing to condemn in the

later misdeeds of the administration, and remembered nothing amiss in its earlier record. It had no fault to find with the ostracism of Sumner and the appointment of Cramer and Casey and Packard ; with upsetting the government of Louisiana through a drunken and corrupt federal judge, and dispersing the legislature of the state with the bayonet ; with backing up Kellogg and Spencer, and putting Billings in the place of Durell ; with encouraging the operations of Jayne and Sanborn and allowing Orville Grant to make a living by the traffic in appointments ; and with greedily taking the increase of one hundred per cent. on the President's salary, and his lobbying for the bill allowing him to do so, while making his administration an asylum for his numerous and unsavory kindred. All this was meekly shouldered by the party at Cincinnati, which crouched like a spaniel at the feet of the master it had obsequiously served for seven years. The melancholy truth is, as so admirably stated by the New York *Tribune*, that "President Grant has dropped us by easy stages to these depths of shame. He has parenthesized in history eight years, which will be marked hereafter as the era of personal government, and the period of greed ; eight years of such official corruption and dishonesty, such selfishness and shamelessness, such low aims and base purposes, such grasping avarice and eager overreaching, such speculation in official information, such bribery and such barter and sale of office, and such degradation of all things which the nation has held to be high and holy and worthy an honest pride, that to-day the country hangs its head and holds its nose, and waits for this administration to pass." It lies wallowing in the ditch, the spectacle of nations, while Senator Morton, from his serene mount of vision, pronounces it the "best and purest the country has ever had."

But now, gentlemen, having shown by irresistible proofs that the Liberal movement of 1872 was justified by facts and called for by the times, and that the Republican party, instead of retracing its steps and recovering its lost estate has steadily gravitated farther and farther from its primal integ-

urity, it may still be argued that the nomination of Governor Hayes will cut the ugly thread of history from behind it, and launch it grandly on a new and blessed departure. Believing as I do, that the age of miracles has passed, I find myself compelled to reject this view. I am acquainted with Governor Hayes, and believe him to be honest and patriotic, and most gladly and cordially would I support him if any Republican could explain to me how his accidental selection at Cincinnati can make saints out of the distinguished sinners who are the recognized leaders and managers of the party now, as they were four years ago. If you place the hat of an honest man on the head of a rogue, will the roguery instantly depart? Every one has heard the story of Fortunatus. He had a wishing hat, which relieved him of the expense and labor of traveling. By placing this hat on his head and wishing himself at a given place he straightway found himself there. Who would not join in building a monument to the sorely needed genius who could manufacture a presidential hat that would enable Governor Hayes, by a simple wish, to change the nature of Morton, and Cameron, and Butler, and Clayton, and Boss Shepherd, and Babcock, and brother-in-law Casey, and the rest of the unbaptized crew who are taxing their wits and pouring out their money to secure his election, and will darken the air about the executive mansion on the 4th of March if he should succeed? Such a hat, I am free to confess, would make Governor Hayes a pretty respectable President, and he would be able to take up the question of reform and dispose of it with tolerable success. Unfortunately no such head-gear can be found, while the great leader of the party in Indiana, and the right-hand man of the administration, tells us the party has no need of it, and that the men who ask for reform are worse criminals than the thieves they wish to expose and punish.

Here is the ugly knot which Liberal Republicans and a good many other Republicans desire to see untied. Can you obtain the command of a piratical craft by simply changing the figure-head of the vessel? You must expel the pirates

and put an honest crew in possession. > This is the truth in a nutshell, and George William Curtis himself admits it. His cry is "reform within the party," which he is shouting along the lines as he did four years ago, as if utterly unmindful of the fact that under this battle-cry our civil service has become as foul and feculent a system of official huckstering and political prostitution as our thoroughly debauched party politics could make it. But he is not blind, like Senator Morton, to the need of reform, and he tells us in Harper's Weekly that the only hope of the party lies in the power to persuade the people that it is not hopelessly corrupt. He frankly confesses that reform is only possible by throwing overboard the Grant leaders and trained corruptionists who have brought the party into disgrace. In all soberness I ask, is this possible? Have the Republican masses, after their long and patient service under the party yoke, the courage and virtue to take their old leaders by the throat? Will the party chiefs I have named meekly and penitentially take the back seats, while honest and stainless men come to the front? The man who believes all this must have allowed his common sense to pack its baggage. The Grant leaders would reign in any conceivable political hell rather than serve in the heaven of honest government. In the manipulation of caucuses and conventions, they have long been masters. They are journeymen and experts in the work of politics as a trade. They have reduced plunder and pelf to a science and the greed of clutch to a fine art. Nothing can be more certain than that such a reform as would completely dislodge these leaders and put such men as Bristow and Adams in their places, would be, in fact, the creation of a new party. It would have to be preceded by a general disintegration, and it would be quite as absurd to consider it the same party which has ruled the country since Grant came into power as it would have been to treat the Republican party of 1856 as identical with the old Whig party, which has gone down to its dishonored grave. The idea, therefore, of making the Republican party the instrument of self-purification, is not only morally, but

logically absurd. A party once thoroughly corrupt, has lost the power to reform itself. Devils are not inclined to cast out devils, and could scarcely be trusted with the business if they should offer their services; and it is because I entertain these views and can not escape their force, that I sincerely desire to see the machinery of the Republican party battered into fragments, and the way thus opened for a reformation of parties on the living questions of the hour, unembarrassed by the memories of the past.

But let me not be misunderstood. I desire to meet the question I am considering in its complete length and breadth. I do not deny the exceptional power of one strong man, thoroughly in earnest and thoroughly armed with the courage of his opinions. A single, great-hearted, strong-willed character may control a mob or quell a mutiny. With a fertile brain, perfect courage, absolute devotion to duty, and a genius for the work of reform, he may scatter renovating ideas, redeem a state from misrule, and radically change the face of society. The country has seen what one man can do in the stamping out of the Tammany and Canal rings of New York. If a man no larger than General Grant can, in a few years, drag down into disgrace a grand and powerful party, a really great man, with rare force of character, passionately wedded to his work, and desperately resolved to submit to no defeat, might so inspire the people with his own spirit of courage and faith that a revolution in the administration of public affairs would be the result. It is folly and nonsense to pretend that Governor Hayes is such a man. Neither in Congress, nor as Governor of Ohio, nor in his military service, has he given the least evidence of such remarkable traits of character. In 1872, when the ferment of reform was threatening to rend the old parties, and so many Republicans were turning away from Grantism in disgust, Governor Hayes kept the quiet and even tenor of his ways, uttering no rebuke and giving no sign of discontent with the reigning order of things. During the past four years of maladministration and party corruption no word

has escaped his lips to show that he sympathized with the men who have demanded reform. If at any time he has discovered the demoralizing and downward tendencies of the administration, and felt the necessity of bravely withstanding them, he has never told the public of the fact. He has given the country no guarantee, save his letter of acceptance, either by word or deed, that he will manfully wrestle with the political rings that are laboring for his election. The country is without any proof at all that he possesses "the moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with abuses which have acquired the strength of established custom, and to this end firmly resist the pressure of his party friends." He has not in any way earned the "fear and hatred of thieves." The Boston *Advertiser*, one of the leading organs of Republicanism in New England, and now his warm supporter, said of him last year that "he is a man of fair ability, correct in his personal habits, honest, sound in the Republican faith, but without much force or independence." This is the exact truth.

Parke Goodwin is perfectly right in saying that he was nominated because it was believed "his neutrality of tint would harmonize the most pronounced colors." He was nominated by a convention containing a majority who favored Blaine, notwithstanding his remarkable record as a reformer, and who was only defeated by a blunder of his friends. His total strength in the convention, in the absence of combinations, was only 68 votes. Bristow, the only candidate who had an unmistakable record as a reformer, received only 126 votes out of the 756, while Governor Hayes was nominated at the instance of a political trader from Pennsylvania, who seldom blunders in his party movements. Gentlemen, I do not utter a conjecture, but express a perfectly evident fact, when I say that, if elected, he will be the instrument of his active and influential friends, and the servant of that mischievous party machinery against which he has never yet made any public protest. That I am right in this I stand ready to prove by the autocrat of the Republican party in

Indiana, whose testimony will be accepted as conclusive. "The administration of any President," says our distinguished senator, "will be in the main what the party which elected him makes it. If he breaks away from his party the chances are that he will be broken down. In a government of parties like ours, the President must have his friends. The men to whom he owes his election, who have defended him from assaults, to whom he must look for support in the future, will ordinarily control his actions, and he will do nothing offensive to them." This is the naked truth, from the highest Republican authority; and if it does not perfectly apply to Governor Hayes it can have no application whatever to any man who has ever been or ever will be President. Let me ask you—and I now address myself more especially to my old Republican friends—let me ask you if in your hearts you really believe Governor Hayes, if elected, will enforce the principles announced in his letter of acceptance? Do you believe he will turn Secretary Chandler adrift, the commander-in-chief of the Republican army in this canvass, because he is now spending his money, levying contributions upon his subordinates, and prostituting the whole power of his office in the interest of a Republican victory? Do you believe he will dismiss Secretary Cameron, who led the way in his nomination at Cincinnati, and whose active partisan service of Governor Hayes is a gross violation of his declared principles as to the use of the civil service? Will he do so decent and comely a thing as to dismiss James N. Tyner from the post-office department, placed there at the bidding of Senator Morton for the purpose of securing his official help in this canvass, which he is giving freely? Will he put back in the treasury Bristow, and Bluford Wilson, and Pratt, and Yaryan, and thus invite the hostility of General Grant and his powerful body of friends, and incur the wrath of the whole army of whisky thieves? Will he sweep out the legions of placemen who are now abusing the public service, and fill their places with men selected solely on the ground of their fitness, and with no reference whatever to politics? Will he

make it perfectly understood that senators and representatives shall no longer be consulted in the dispensation of federal patronage? To every one of these questions the senator gives the answer, No, and you all understand as well as I do that the orthodox Republicans of Indiana are not the men to differ with him in opinion.

And here, at length, I reach my final question involving the propriety and honesty of a vote for Tilden and Hendricks. It must be quite apparent that what I have said has considerably smoothed the way to the answer; for if the Republican party is so hopelessly demoralized that its reform is impossible, its destruction becomes a public duty; and whoever so regards it has a right to lay hold on the only weapon which can now be employed for the purpose with any hope of success. But I do not rest the case upon this point. I propose to deal with the question as an independent topic, and in approaching it I already imagine some of my Republican friends mentally asking the question which has already been propounded to me several times in words: How can an old anti-slavery man, who fought the Democrats so zealously in the early days of abolitionism, and poured out upon them your denunciations so remorselessly during the war: how can you reconcile it to yourself to support such men as Tilden and Hendricks? Well, gentlemen, I have understood in different ways, and for years believed it to be a fact, that the war is over. According to my almanac the last gun was fired about eleven and a half years ago, so that we are now well along in the twelfth year of peace. Senator Morton, in common with a number of his brethren, does not know this. I presume that he will go down to his grave in the full belief that the "boys in blue and the boys in gray" are still fighting. At all events he will hug the fond thought to his bosom that the people of the North and the people of the South ought to feel towards each other, now and hereafter, exactly as they did during the bloody conflict. With such men I have no controversy. They are given over to their madness, and it defies all remedies. But I ask all men who

love their country and are able to perform the operation of thinking, why the subject of our late war should be dragged into this canvass? It was a bloody and devastating conflict between citizens and states that had lived together in peace under a common flag, and whose union hereafter is their manifest destiny. Why should any patriotic man seek to keep alive its memories! Let them fade away into the receding past, and the old bond of union be renewed and cemented by the rivalries of a common brotherhood for the common weal. Our civil war has taken its place in the past. It has gone before the judgment seat of history, like the Mexican war, the war of 1812, or the war of independence; and there is no more propriety in discussing it in the coming campaign than there would be in overhauling the wars of the antediluvians. There is even less propriety, for we could talk about these ancient wars without the least danger of rekindling old animosities. When our civil war was upon us, and the questions which have since been so grandly settled on the side of the Union, hung in perilous dispute, I gave utterance to some strong words, which I have no desire to recall. If you can set back the clock of our politics and recreate the circumstances in which I was placed, I will reiterate them. I tried to breathe into the hearts of the people the spirit of war, and so to influence public opinion as to promote the triumph of our arms and the just settlement of the great issue then on trial. But why should I repeat my old war speeches in this canvass? Why should Senator Morton repeat his? How long are the political waters to be troubled by graceless demagogues who so love the honors and emoluments of office that they are willing to clutch at them at the expense of the nation's peace?

In like manner let me remind our Republican friends that the slavery question is settled. I am quite sure, in fact, that slavery has been finally abolished. I think quite a number of the Grant leaders have not found it out, but I bring them the glad tidings to-night. As long ago as 1863 Mr. Lincoln's proclamation and the confiscation laws of Congress gave the

institution a pretty deadly stab, and the thirteenth constitutional amendment sent it reeling into its bloody grave. By fundamental and irrevocable law, slavery is destroyed forever. The fourteenth amendment provides that the negro shall henceforth be a citizen of the United States, armed with the equal protection which the law gives to all. It declares that the public debt, including the pensions and bounties due for services in putting down the rebellion shall not be questioned. It further declares that neither the United States nor any state shall pay or assume any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion, or in payment for the loss or emancipation of any slave; and the fifteenth amendment arms these black millions with the ballot. These fundamental provisions go down to the bed-rock of the whole matter; for unless you can persuade two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of all the states to annul them, they will be as enduring as the republic. And as these amendments are now a part of the platforms of all political parties, the slavery question is an absolutely dead issue. The overshadowing, live issue of to-day is reform, and the duty which now devolves upon us is to select for the offices of President and Vice-President the men best fitted for the work. The records of the candidates on the questions of war and slavery are not half so important as the purification of the public service. We are not now living under the administration of Pierce or Buchanan, with the Dred Scott decision casting its baleful shadow over the northern states and territories, and the whole power of the federal government relentlessly employed in the enforcement of the fugitive slave law of 1850. A large majority of the men against whom the abolitionists waged war twenty-five years ago are in their graves. The Whig party is dead. Slavery has perished, and the Democrats occupy the same position respecting the new order of things as the Republicans and surviving abolitionists.

A distinguished public man of Ohio has told us that "war legislates." Our distinguished senator made the public confession a few years ago, that the "logic of events"

had converted him from a follower of Andrew Johnson to a disciple of Charles Sumner. He has never been the same man since, nor is the Democratic party the same party now, and inspired by the same spirit and aims, as in the evil days of the past, when the slave power of the South was the master alike of both the great parties of the country, and compelled their leaders to recognize the fact. In his late masterly speech in Congress, Mr. Lamar reminds our Republican leaders that "there has not been a single great measure in the constitutional history of England, not a single great reform, which, after its establishment by one party, was not, in the course of time, and a very short period, placed in the hands of the party originally opposed to it." Shall we stupidly shut our eyes to the logic of such facts? The devotion of the Democratic party to slavery in the past is no proof whatever that it can not be trusted with the questions relating to it that are now finally settled by the constitution. The Republican party in the early period of the war did not aim at the abolition of slavery, but was driven toward it step by step under the pressure of necessity. Its principles and policy were radically revolutionized by events, and, except in name, it became in fact a new party, with new purposes, and animated by a new spirit. On precisely the same principles the transformation of the Democratic party of the past is inevitable, and we can not possibly be mistaken in this conclusion. We know that the transformation is going on and has already made great progress, and that no party was ever strong enough to get away from the thralldom of unmanageable facts. The logic of war reshapes and reinspires parties, just as the logic of events has converted so many political sinners.

The folly of attempting to find a political scare-crow in the record of Tilden and Hendricks on the slavery question is amusingly illustrated in the late key-note speech of our senator. He charges that Governor Hendricks opposed the escape of slaves who came into our lines during the war. In the early period of the war Governor Morton occupied the

same position, and so did the administration of Mr. Lincoln, while our commanding generals frequently restored fugitives to their rebel masters. He says Governor Hendricks, in 1867, was opposed to allowing negroes to sit on juries and hold office. Governor Morton held the same opinions, and avowed them only two years before. He says Governor Hendricks opposed the arming of negroes as soldiers. Governor Morton at first agreed with him, and Caleb B. Smith, Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior, said it would be a disgrace to the nation. He says that Governor Hendricks made a speech in the constitutional convention of 1850 in favor of the 13th article, excluding negroes from the state. Governor Morton voted for that article, in common with the great body of the people of the state. He charges Tilden and Hendricks with favoring the peace resolution in the Chicago convention of 1864, which is successfully denied; but Governor Morton himself, a year afterwards, made so thoroughly sound a Democratic speech at Richmond, that the men he now styles "Confederate Democrats" published it as a campaign document by the hundred thousand for years following in several states of the Union. He says Governor Hendricks favored the fugitive slave law of 1850. So did the author of all the key-notes, for he was then a Democrat, and tried to raise a rebellion in the ranks of the party in the Old Burnt District because it supported me for Congress after I had voted against the fugitive slave act and the compromise measures of the Thirty-First Congress. I submit that the senator's proverbial fondness for raking up the ashes of the past should not have led him into the political graveyard of prominent Democrats. His own chosen line of argument not only shows that he himself is totally disqualified for office, but that nearly all the real leaders of Republicanism are in the same unhappy condition. General Grant himself was a pro-slavery Democrat, voting for Buchanan in 1860, and never becoming a Republican till his eyes were anointed by the offer of the Presidency, in two successive installments. General Butler has a record still less immacu-

late, having voted for Jeff Davis fifty-eight times in the famous Charleston convention. According to my recollection, Simon Cameron was never understood to be a very reliable abolitionist. Indeed, if no men are now to be trusted but those who can show a pure and undefiable abolition record for the past twenty-five years, our country is in a pretty bad way, for it would, in many cases, require a search warrant to find such men, even in the Republican party.

But will the South be safe under the administration of Tilden? Can the freedmen safely be committed to the guardianship of the old slave masters? I answer this question in the language of the ablest political journal in the United States, and a supporter of Governor Hayes: "Our own solemn belief is that the less said on this point on the Republican side the better; that the outrage argument serves and can serve the purpose of nobody in this canvass but the Republican knaves, and that the probabilities are that the South will be more peaceful under Tilden than under Hayes, and this for reasons which lie on the surface. Tilden is not a weak or foolish man. He will have no motive for tolerating disorders at the South, nor will his leading followers. On the contrary, they will perceive clearly the importance of tranquility in that region, to the stability of their hold on power in the North, while these disorders will actually constitute nearly the whole political capital of the Republican Conklings, Mortons, Chandlers, and Cornells, with whose support Hayes is, it seems, to be saddled." The truth of this is patent to every man's unbiased common sense. The great need of the South to-day is deliverance from the horde of thieves and demagogues who have been fastened like leeches upon the welfare of the people and backed in their misdeeds by the whole power of the administration. The Hamburg massacre and kindred displays of rapine and lawlessness admit of no defense, whatever the provocations may have been; but it is needless to deny that there have been provocations, and that there are two sides to the outrage controversy. Take the case of Alabama. The whole

federal patronage of the state and the use of the United States army were turned over to George E. Spencer, a thoroughly corrupt and unprincipled political adventurer, to enable him to retain his seat in the United States Senate. Thus equipped for his work, he and his friends bought legislators with federal appointments; sent marshals and revenue officers, accompanied by regular troops, to run off voters from the counties where the opposition to him was strongest; prostituted the courts by arresting Democratic members of the legislature in order to prevent a quorum; used the machinery of the custom house and revenue offices in breaking up the General Assembly and getting up two rival bodies, while the money to pay for these extraordinary performances was obtained by embezzlement from the postoffice at Mobile. In the light of these facts it is not surprising that the state is now overwhelmingly Democratic, while the gratifying fact greets us that order has gradually asserted itself throughout the state, as the power of the plunderers has declined. Look at the state of Mississippi. In Vicksburg the whites paid 99 per cent. of the taxes, and the negroes assessed and handled the money. As a consequence, the debt of the city, which, in 1869, was \$13,000, rose in five years to \$1,400,000, while the population was only eleven thousand, and more than half of the inhabitants were colored. A ring composed of carpet-bag adventurers and ignorant black men of the most corrupt character controlled the executive offices and courts, and grew rich by forgery and fraud. These rings were sustained by the whole power of the Republican administration at Washington. The state of South Carolina supplies us with facts equally startling. I can not go into the details, but they are known to the country. It is only necessary to say that after the state had been plundered and devastated by the black and white scoundrels who so long controlled her fortunes, and Governor Chamberlain had succeeded in inaugurating the work of reform, the representatives of the federal administration demonstrated their friendship for organized rascality and ruffianism by accusing Gov. Chamberlain

of leaning toward Democracy, and condemning him for refusing commissions to such political reprobates as Whipper and Moses. Can any man feel surprised that outrages should spring out of such a soil? Can men expect to sow the wind and not reap the whirlwind? No Christian or even civilized man will defend the deeds of lawlessness that disgrace so many states of the South, nor can he defend the political and moral outrages that have been their chief provocation. What is the remedy? Shall we madly seek it in a continuation of Grantism and the rule of such men as Casey, Packard, Durrel, Kellogg, Ames, Whipper and Moses? Can the election of another Republican President bring order and peace and honest government to the sorely tried people of the South, black or white? We have had a Republican President and a Republican congress for nearly eight years, and yet the chiefs of the party, who represent the South as in a perfectly deplorable condition, tell us that a continuance of the same party in power is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the people, and especially the colored race. President Grant himself tells us that "Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence, such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people," and Senator Morton's outrage committee, with Senator Boutwell at its head, declares in its late congressional report that the state, which last year was in a condition of peace, is now so given over to incurable anarchy after a ten years' trial of Republican reconstruction, that we may be obliged to remand it to territorial government! Gentlemen, could there possibly be a stronger argument in favor of a change of administration? Could any fact stand out more palpably on the background of the past than the absolute need of a new and wiser policy, and new and wiser men to administer it? The result of Republican rule, in fact, has been to array the two races of the South in deadly hostility, instead of making them friends and brethren. In the states containing the largest negro element and under Republican rule, violence and disorder have largely prevailed

since the close of the war ; while in the conservative and Democratic states order and peace have been the normal condition of the people. What we now want is a new dispensation, which shall blot out the color line in politics, soften and subdue the antagonism so long fostered by white demagogues, divide the colored vote between the parties of the South as the white vote is already divided, and thus make the people of the states lately in revolt, in deed and in heart, one people. All this, of course, must be the work of time ; but the agencies can be wisely set to work which will accomplish it, and thus perfectly solve the problem of a restored Union by completely removing all the causes of strife.

But the question is asked, " Is Governor Tilden a genuine reformer? Would he prove himself morally trustworthy in the high office to which he aspires? " The Republican leaders answer the question with a very indignant negative. They make the gravest of charges, both against his loyalty and his integrity, and they attempt to sustain them by very remarkable proofs. For example, they introduce the testimony of the *New York Times*, and other leading journals, which flatly give the lie to their current calumnies by their statements four or five years ago, when Governor Tilden was making his magnificent fight against Tammany. Do the Republican leaders believe they can convict him of the frightful crimes with which they charge him on the evidence of impeached witnesses? They also attempt to make out their case on the testimony of Democratic newspapers which abused Governor Tilden before his nomination, when he was likely to be in the way of their favorite candidate, while these same newspapers are now zealously supporting him, and thus practically confessing that they did not speak the truth in the fierce diatribes they had uttered previous to the St. Louis convention. General Harrison, the other day, in his Danville speech, showed his appreciation of the popular intelligence by parading this sort of evidence and expecting it to be believed by his audience. But let us refer very briefly to some of these charges. We are told by the Republican authorities that Governor Tilden

is a secessionist. General Harrison makes this charge, as he made it four years ago against Horace Greeley; and it is as false now as it was then. It is not only untrue, but I am sorry to believe that General Harrison knows it to be so. There is a difference of opinion among American statesmen now, as there was at the beginning of the government, on the question of state rights and federal supremacy. Governor Tilden, I believe, belongs to the Democratic or Jeffersonian school of statesmen, and of course rejects the constitutional theories of Hamilton and the federalists; but that he is a secessionist in the sense of disloyalty to the national flag, or that he recognizes the right of a state to go out of the Union at its own sweet will, with no power in the nation to hold it in its place, is a pure invention. This is not a matter of opinion, but of fact; for when the civil war came, Governor Tilden was actively on the side of the Union, doing an honorable part by his influence and money in sending men into the field, and exerting himself in holding in check the disloyal element in his own party, when it threatened an organized opposition to the prosecution of the war. He was also the friend and adviser of Lincoln. This is my commentary upon the beautiful mosaic of mingled metaphysics and pettifogging which General Harrison so artfully weaves together in the hope of showing the disloyalty of the Democratic candidate in this campaign.

Another charge is that Governor Tilden was the leading counsel for the credit mobilier, and gave his opinion in favor of the legality of the scheme. Governor Tilden is an eminent lawyer, and has had great experience in the management of railroad cases. It was not strange that the Union Pacific Railroad Company should take his counsel as to its legal right to create a fiscal agency composed of a portion of the members of the company, for the purpose of taking charge of the construction of the road. As a naked legal question, I think it is agreed among lawyers that the company had the right. I have not examined the evidence in the case recently, but if Governor Tilden gave that opinion as a lawyer,

I do not see that it convicts him of any high crime. If he advised the company that it had the right, through the machinery called the credit mobilier, to rob the treasury of millions, let the charge be squarely made, and let the proof be produced. The curious fact is that Republican politicians should allude to this question at all. With a single exception the representative men and eminent Christian statesmen who auctioned off their consciences to this great corporation were members of the Republican party. They gave no opinions as to the legality of the scheme, but they prostituted their political and official influence to the base greed of gain by personally joining in a gigantic fraud upon the national treasury. Of this fraud Governor Tilden is not guilty, and it seems to me that if the Republican leaders in this canvass had taken counsel of their prudence they would have studiously avoided any allusion to the transaction with which their party relations are so exceedingly delicate and tender.

I notice one further charge, namely, that Governor Tilden did not begin his war on the Tammany ring as soon as he should have done. We are told that he was too tardy and hesitating, and waited till the fight was pretty well under way, with an assured prospect of victory, before he entered upon his grand work. The proof of this charge is the perfectly worthless testimony to which I have already alluded. Like the charge last noted, it also comes from the leaders of a party which not only hesitates and falters in the prosecution of its own thieves, but throws around them its protection, and drives from power the men who demand their punishment. Governor Tilden, through his unexampled labors and matchless courage, sent to prison or into exile the municipal pirates of the most powerful organization of rogues and conspirators our country has known, Defying all opposition, and braving all dangers, he did it, and the pitiful whine is now heard that he was too slow in beginning the work. But the men who urge this plea are the defenders of an administration which still leaves General Babcock in the undisturbed possession of two important offices, while not a

man of these Republican leaders has the courage to denounce the action of the President in driving out of office Secretary Bristow and his associates who were so manfully engaged in the work of reform.

Gentlemen, I have little faith in a political organization whose leaders, like General Harrison, raise the cry of reform while there is not virtue enough in it to keep a single reformer in any important position, and who, while quoting scripture to prove that "offenses must needs come," coolly tell us that the motto of the party is, "Woe unto that man by whom the offense cometh." As for myself, regarding the question of reform as the overshadowing one in this canvass, I would have supported General Bristow if he had been nominated at Cincinnati. Aside from his remarkable fight against the whisky thieves, he was not very well known to the country at large; but this brief episode in his official life flashed forth such traits of manliness, intrepidity and evident devotion to the honor of the public service, that I would have been willing to trust him. Many thousands who are now rallying around the Democratic banner would have done likewise; but the facts which inspire my faith in Governor Tilden are ten-fold more assuring than those which have made General Bristow so honorably conspicuous. Carl Schurz, who is now zealously supporting Governor Hayes, admits that the election of Governor Tilden would be followed by the sweeping out of the corrupt officials and combinations which now dishonor the public service. Parke Godwin, who, in the qualities of intelligence and high integrity, is the peer of any man in the Republican party, and who has been intimately acquainted with Governor Tilden for nearly forty years, says he has never had the slightest occasion to suspect his absolute integrity of purpose and sincerity of conviction, and that in all the relations of private life he is purity itself. I accept the testimony of these witnesses, and reject the reckless and unsupported declarations of Senator Morton that Governor Tilden is a railroad wrecker, a rebel and a thief.

And now, in conclusion, let me remark that, in arraigning

the administration of General Grant and the leaders of the Republican party, I have intended no attack upon the honest and intelligent masses who still follow its flag, and still hope to redeem it from dishonor. In some other organization, and under other leaders, they will yet perform as honorable a service as they have already rendered in wisely solving the great problems of the past. Neither would I pluck a single laurel from the brow of the party in the days of its glory, when its great hosts were led by such men as Sumner, Seward, Greeley, Lincoln and Chase. I was with it and of it in all its grand achievements; and no man can be prouder than myself of its glorious record, and no man forsook it in 1872 with more sincere regret. But when I saw that its great work was done, that the marvellous energy it displayed during the war had been turned into the channels of corruption and plunder, with the startling results I have attempted to depict, and that the devil had safely intrenched himself in the works that had been built to bombard him, I parted from the friends of a lifetime, whose love was then turned into hate and scorn, and entered upon a fight for political reform which I am resolved to prosecute to the end.

THE FRAUD OF 1876.

DELIVERED AT INDIANAPOLIS ON THE 8TH OF JANUARY, 1877.

[Mr. Julian had spent a month in New Orleans as one of the men deputed to look after the counting of the Louisiana vote. He thoroughly overhauled the questions involved, and carefully kept his eye on the "visiting statesmen" on the other side, whose mission of evil he clearly exposes in connection with his analysis of the character and performances of the Louisiana "Returning Board."]

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens of Indiana: The remarkable political contest of the year just closed has been followed by very serious and unexpected complications. The condition of public affairs is well fitted to awaken general anxiety and alarm, and calls for the best thought and highest endeavor of every citizen. I believe no intelligent man can disguise from himself the fact that the crisis we have reached is profoundly solemnized by tokens of national danger; and I must not enter upon my appointed task to-day without confessing my inability to perform it, and my regret that it was not committed to abler hands. Most fervently do I wish that I could point the safe way through the dangers which cloud the political sky, and menace the peace of our country; but I must content myself with analyzing the particular subject with which I am to deal, and simply expressing, in conclusion, my individual convictions as to the duty of the hour.

Soon after the late Presidential election, when Democratic rejoicing was exchanged for the chilling apprehension of defeat and disaster through the action of the Louisiana returning board, the chairman of the National Democratic Committee requested sundry gentlemen of the Northern States to repair to the city of New Orleans in the interest of "peace,

and a fair and honest return" of the vote cast in that state. The President of the United States ordered the presence of an imposing military force "to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal boards of canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties." He declared, in this military order, that "should there be any ground of suspicion of a fraudulent count on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once," and that "no man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it, if counted in or placed there by fraud." He also appointed a number of prominent public characters and representative men in the party with which he is associated to visit the state of Louisiana, "to see that the board of canvassers make a fair count of the vote actually cast," and expressed the hope that "fair men of both parties" would attend to this duty. The returning board itself so far recognized the gravity of the situation and the wide-spread distrust of its integrity, that an official invitation was extended to the visitors from distant states of the Union to attend its sessions, while canvassing the returns and ascertaining the result of a Presidential election in Louisiana.

These are very remarkable proceedings. They have no precedent in the history of American politics, and they bear witness to the fearful decay of public virtue, and the alarming drift of public affairs toward abnormal and revolutionary methods. At whose door lies the just responsibility? Who is to blame for the atmosphere of suspicion which now covers the land, and the feeling of national peril which recalls so painfully the opening of the year 1861? The answer to these questions is not unknown to the people. The present government of the state of Louisiana was founded in flagrant usurpation and bare-faced fraud. It was conceived in the illegal order of a drunken and corrupt federal judge, and midwived by the political knaves and traders who controlled the national administration four years ago, as they control it to-day. While the people of Louisiana have been prostrate and helpless under the heel of federal tyranny, the returning

board has been the vile instrument of that tyranny in the furtherance of its baleful purposes, which it has sought to drape over under the forms of law. It is the creature of the same organized political rapacity which has trampled down law and insulted decency in the states of the South during the past eight years. Under the act creating this board, its members hold their places for life, with power to appoint their successors. There is no appeal from their decision, whatever it may be, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court of the state, and no accountability to the people for their acts. Although it is a tribunal of special and limited jurisdiction and its acts, whether ministerial or judicial, are to be construed strictly, and are absolutely void if not authorized by the law from which they derive all their power, yet, according to the authority cited, there is no redress against its rulings, however defiantly they may transcend its jurisdiction or trample justice under its feet. For any reason or for no reason at all, it may count in or count out the vote of any parish or precinct in the state, and thus arbitrarily determine the character of the government under which her people are to live, contrary to their choice, and the character of the national administration for four years, should it depend on the vote of the state. While the guilt of the board in an act so heaven daring would be multiplied by the millions whose voices it would stifle, these millions would be utterly without remedy, even in the congress of the nation, according to the leaders of the Republican party.

And who are the men constituting this autocratic if not omnipotent institution of the Republican party of Louisiana, concocted in the worst days of carpet-bag government, and for the most nefarious purposes? Two of them are white men and two colored. They are the same men who sat upon the board in 1874, and after the election in that year took the majority of votes away from one side and gave it to the other by "unjust, arbitrary and illegal action," as admitted by a Republican congressional committee, of which one William A. Wheeler was a member. They

are all members of the Republican party, and one of them holds a custom-house office under the spoils-hunting system of the present administration. J. Madison Wells, the president of the board, who was elected Governor of Louisiana under the reconstruction policy of President Johnson, was summarily ejected from that office in 1857 by General Sheridan, for violating an act of the legislature respecting the repair of her levees, and seeking to prostitute the funds of the state to partisan purposes. General Sheridan branded him as a "political trickster and a dishonored man," and charged him with "subterfuge and political chicanery." He declared that "his conduct had been as sinuous as the mark left in the dust by the movement of a snake," and that he had "not one friend who is an honest man." After a stay in New Orleans of over three weeks, and mingling freely with the people when not engaged in watching the action of the returning board, I have no hesitation in indorsing the statement of General Sheridan as true. Governor Wells is not only a journeyman and expert in rascality, through long years of training and experience, but he is a scoundrel aboriginally; and in saying this, I believe I simply give expression to the general sentiment of the state. Anderson, the other white man on the board, is not quite so vicious. The element of humanity is not so fatally left out of his composition. He is not so cold-blooded. If placed in command of a pirate ship he might falter in some emergency which his more intrepid and satanic companion on the board would enjoy as a luxury. But he is not wanting in the qualities which have made the returning board famous, for he is a thoroughly accomplished knave and swindler. He counts well, and is, in a word, the fit companion and associate in office of the president of the body. Cassanave, one of the colored members of the board, is an undertaker by occupation, and was a slaveholder before the war. He is a man of limited education and intelligence, and not at all qualified by capacity or training for the position he occupies. He is a very strong partisan, but is regarded as a kindly, well-

disposed sort of man, whose worst misfortune is that the thoroughly unprincipled men on the board use him as their tool. This must be regarded as certain, in the absence of any proof that he has ever opposed the confessed illegality and fraud of his associates. Kenner, the other colored man and junior member of the board, is a very small, light mulatto, quick and sprightly in his movements, but altogether unfitted by talents, education or experience, for so responsible a position. He is a gambler and grog-seller, a very low fellow, and a few years ago was kicked out of a saloon in New Orleans for stealing the money of his employer.

Gentlemen, these are the men who are to settle the issue of a Presidential election for the people of the United States in the centennial year of the republic. A Louisiana tribunal, hatched into life by huckstering politicians, shamefully unfit to pass upon the average questions cognizable in the court of a justice of the peace, and condemned by the decent men of all parties for its record of rascality and fraud, is to decide, as a finality, a question of the gravest magnitude to forty millions of people. Was it surprising, in such a crisis, that the chairman of the national Democratic committee should ask some of the chosen friends of Tilden and Hendricks to visit Louisiana in the interest of peace and a fair count of the vote of the state? Was it strange that a thrill of alarm was felt in every section of the Union, and that men spoke with bated breath of the situation? And was the general anxiety at all assuaged by the sending of troops to New Orleans? Did not the man who said "Let us have peace," destroy civil government in Louisiana by the bayonet? Two years later, when the same returning board cheated the people of the state out of the right to their own chosen rulers through a fair and valid election, did he not back up the outrage by the scandalous use of federal soldiers? Has not the man who said "Let no guilty man escape," systematically taken sides with usurpation and roguery in Louisiana? Did he *need* troops in New Orleans, if the returning board was resolved to act honestly? Or did he mean to use them in sus-

taining it in the repetition of its past offenses against justice and decency? The President, in his military order to General Sherman, said that "either party can afford to be disappointed in the result," but that "the country can not afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." Did he mean this? Or was he firing at honor and fair play from behind a masked battery? The crisis was critical. Danger seemed to be in the air. The hearts of the people were burdened with the problem of the hour, and all patriotic and sober men anxiously hoped for its peaceable solution.

What was to be done? Representative men of both political parties had reached the theater of trouble, and as the avowed missionaries of peace and fair dealing. The men who represented the Democratic side of the controversy, fully appreciating the seriousness of the situation, addressed a brief letter to Stanley Matthews, John Sherman, and other representative Republicans who had been deputed by the President, proposing a joint conference "in order that such influence as they possessed might be exerted in behalf of such a canvass of the votes, as by its fairness and impartiality should command the respect and acquiescence of the American people of all parties." I submit to all just and reasonable men that this was a fair and manly proposition. I am sure it was made in good faith, and that not a man who joined in it would have been willing to see Tilden and Hendricks counted in by fraud. We simply ask for a fair count, and the supervision of the canvass by a conference representing both sides of the disputed question. It might not have accomplished any valuable result, but in so threatening an aspect of public affairs the effort was certainly to be commended, and could not honorably be declined. What was the answer to our proposition by the deputies of the President and leaders of the Republican party? They say in the outset that they "know of no reason to doubt that a perfectly honest and just declaration of the results of the recent election in Louisiana by its lawfully constituted authorities will be

made." Gentlemen, would any of you have believed it morally possible for Stanley Matthews, John Sherman, and their Republican co-laborers in Louisiana to face the American people with a statement so shockingly incredible? And yet they were equal to the extraordinary task, and they are "all honorable men." I will not be so ungenerous and impolite as to call in question their veracity, but it can only be defended by an impeachment of their intelligence almost as disgraceful as lying. No reason to doubt that a perfectly honest and just declaration of the vote in Louisiana would be made by the famous returning board! Then they had mingled freely with the people of New Orleans without ever having heard of the notoriously bad character of three or four members of that board! They had never heard that William A. Wheeler, two years ago, pronounced it "a disgrace to civilization!" They had never heard that it was proved before a congressional committee of Republicans, about the same time, that the president of this board perjured himself in the testimony he gave respecting the election of 1874! They had never heard of the perfectly well-known fact that in that year this board illegally and unjustly took the majority of votes honestly and fairly given to the Democratic ticket, and counted them on the other side, as admitted by the congressional committee referred to, which was composed of the political friends of these surprisingly innocent and ignorant politicians, and of the members of the board itself! They had never heard that General Sheridan summarily turned the president of this board out of his gubernatorial office in 1867, on account of his shameless rascality and disregard of law! Who would have supposed that our country was afflicted with so rare an assemblage of political Rip Van Winkles as that which reported for duty in New Orleans under the lead of Sherman, Garfield and Kelly?

But these Republican patriots declined our proposal for a joint conference for the further reason that they were present as mere "witnesses, without power or legal influence" over the action of the board. They said they were "strangers,

without official functions," and that "it would be a manifest interference with state rights and local self-government for persons like ourselves, without official rights, to attempt to interfere with or control" the actions of such a tribunal. Angels and ministers of grace defend us! Will wonders never cease? John Sherman and his confederate Republicans preaching the gospel of state rights and local self-government in Louisiana! The chief apostles of federal usurpation and the Christianity of the bayonet striving to hide the villainies of a Republican returning board under the mantle of Thomas Jefferson! The sanctities of law invoked by the assassins of a state! Could anything be more sublimely impudent or more charmingly Satanic? These emissaries of the President knew that the men who proposed a joint conference were not such idiots as to suppose it would possess any official power over the legal functions of the board. When Senator Sherman pretended not to know this, the man was forgotten in the pettifogger. What we hoped from the presence and coöperative action of leading Republicans and Democrats was the exercise of such a *moral* influence over this suspected tribunal as would secure publicity, impartiality, and fairness in its methods of canvassing the votes and ascertaining the result. Our purpose was unmistakable, and it accorded perfectly with the declared wish of the President, that "representative and fair men of both parties" would visit Louisiana "to see that the board of canvassers make a fair count of the vote actually cast." The presence of these Republican leaders in New Orleans in response to the invitation of their chief, was a clear recognition of the very power which they afterwards disclaimed by styling themselves "strangers," with no right to "control or influence any of the officers of the board as to the manner in which they shall perform ministerial or political duties." Fellow citizens, can any of you divine what brought these gentlemen to New Orleans? They recoil from the very thought of exercising any influence, legal or moral, over the action of the board, or the method of its proceedings. They say they know of no reason to doubt

that it would make a perfectly honest and just declaration of the results of the election. And yet here were twenty-six "eminent citizens" and "Christian statesmen" simultaneously leaving their homes for Louisiana at the call of the President, and attending the sessions of the returning board in successive squads till its work was done. What is the meaning of all this? They say they went as "witnesses," but why go so far to witness a performance that would undoubtedly be conducted with perfect honesty and fairness? Why make a long journey for the mere purpose of becoming spectators of a proceeding over which they could exercise neither legal control nor moral influence? These provoking questions are rendered all the more so by the singular fact that this formidable body of "witnesses" which the President detailed for duty at New Orleans disobeyed their orders. The private citizens and strangers, whose innocent and useless mission was that of simple spectators of the doings of the board, failed even in that duty. They were in the courtroom in which the board sat while canvassing the returns and examining the papers, but with rare and very slight exceptions they gave no more attention to what was going on, and manifested no more interest in the proceedings than if the whole affair had related exclusively to the denizens of another planet. Their confidence in the board seemed to be so gushing and unreserved that they peacefully resigned themselves to their correspondence, their newspapers, and their cigars, while the presence of a formidable military force in this city to "see that the members of the board were unmolested in the performance of their duties," was probably felt as a superadded solace to their souls. They may have been "witnesses" to some of the acts of the board, but if so, it must have been at night, in some appointed gathering of the politically elect, into which no friend of Tilden and Hendricks could be admitted. Gentlemen, I desire to do injustice to no man. Unfounded suspicion is mean and cowardly; but in the light of the facts I have stated I again ask the question, why did this remarkable troupe of political partisans visit the

state of Louisiana? Did they go to see the orange groves and sugar mills of the state, or the jetties of the Mississippi? Was it a trip of mere pleasure, or private business, accidentally happening at the time the returning board was in session? Was the invitation of the President utterly without meaning? If their mission was political, do you believe they went as an embassy of peace, putting party under their feet in the overmastering desire to tranquilize the public mind and enforce justice and law in counting the votes of the state? Or did they go as the backers and accomplices of the returning board, in the conspiracy to count out the lawfully elected President of the United States, by wrenching from the people of Louisiana for the third time the precious right of self-government? Answer these questions for yourselves, after you have followed me in the further development of my subject.

The board entered upon its regular duties on the 20th of November. Was it legally constituted? The law creating it declares that it shall consist of five members, and that all the political parties of the state shall be represented. But there were but four members, and these all Republicans; and yet Senator Sherman, in the senate the other day, said "the board was legally constituted." What does he mean by so reckless a statement? It is not denied that the action of four members would be as legal as that of the whole, so far as numbers are concerned; but here is a positive requirement that all political parties shall be represented on the board. This is just as binding as the provision fixing the number of the body. A board consisting of two members could not act, because it would lack the numerical qualification prescribed by law, just as a board composed exclusively of members of one political party lacks the political qualification prescribed by the same law. The first duty of the board, therefore, without which I think it was powerless to perform any other, was to fill the vacancy, which the law expressly authorized and required it to do. The counsel for the Democratic candidates formally asked for the performance of this obvious and imperative duty, suggesting the name of a most worthy and well quali-

fied man for the position ; but the board refused. It defiantly trampled under foot the two-fold command of the law to fill the vacancy, and to supply the political element which was wanting. President Wells, "the plain man," who seems to be a great favorite of Senator Sherman, said the Democrats had lost their right to a member of the board by the resignation of Mr. Arroyo, which I think took place a year and a half ago. He further said that the board had failed to agree as to the appointment of the gentleman suggested, as if no other man could be found among the more than 80,000 Democrats and conservatives of the state. He made the further pitiful plea, that when this returning board was first created there was no such organization as the Democratic-conservative party in the state, as if that fact could furnish the slightest excuse for violating the law to-day. This miserable drivell, by the side of which the worst forms of pettifoggery become respectable, is paraded in the senate of the United States by Mr. Sherman as a vindication of the board ; while in a recent debate in the house of representatives, Mr. Hale, of Maine, sought to extricate Governor Wells from his despicable dilemma by saying that at its late session the board had offered the vacancy to as many as six Democrats, who successively declined it. This statement is absolutely untrue. Not a Democrat was offered the position, although the board was urged, morning after morning during its sessions, to fill it. Why did it refuse? For the perfectly manifest reason that a Democratic member would be an unmanageable obstacle to the work to be done. He would have a right to take part in the oral examination of witnesses. He would have a share in the work of canvassing the returns. He would have a right to be present in the secret conferences of the board, during its protracted public sessions. And he would be present at the final cooking of the returns by which the state was to be cheated, and would be the witness of the transaction.

These are exactly the reasons why the board stubbornly and brazenly refused to fill the vacancy ; and I believe no

man will deny it who is acquainted with its history, except the innocent and child-like Senator Sherman, and the guileless political babes who played their parts as "witnesses" so inoffensively at New Orleans. Gentlemen, the defense of such lawlessness by honorable men in either branch of Congress would be a melancholy fact, even if this board had been able to point to a record of unimpeachable good behavior in the past. But its character was bad, in the judgment of all political parties. It had thwarted the will of the people of Louisiana two years before, by making the ballot the foot-ball of knavery and fraud. Its integrity was suspected by intelligent men throughout the entire land, and its action in thus violating the principle that no man shall be a judge in his own case, was as shameless as would be that of a judge of one of your own courts who should claim the right to occupy the bench and charge the jury on the trial of an indictment against himself, after a former conviction for the same offense. Its audacity in clutching at party machinery and scouting the virtues of honesty, impartiality and fairness, while proceeding to decide the grave issues of a state and national election, is enough to provoke the laughter and amazement of devils. Senator Sherman defends it. He thinks Governor Wells "the peer of any man in the senate," and he sees nothing wrong in the further fact that the clerical force of the board was also packed with Republicans. He says there was no law requiring a political division of the clerks, and that Democrats, when they have the offices, do not divide with Republicans. But this is a very transparent dodge. The point here involved is not one of law, but decency. The returning board is covered with public suspicion. Its character is stained by fraud. If bent upon further rascalities it would, of course, want a body of faithful clerical scullions, skilled in the work of falsely and fraudulently canvassing and tabulating the votes, and all acting harmoniously in the service of their master. This, of course, would be seriously interfered with by the presence of Democrats, while no harm would be done if honor and fair play

were to be the governing principles. All this is as palpable as the moral blindness which hinders very distinguished and honorable gentlemen from seeing it.

But the board not only signalized the beginning of its work by openly violating the law affecting its organization and functions, but it still further affirmed the popular distrust of its integrity by excluding the public from its sessions. Judge Spofford, one of the counsel for the Democratic candidates, made a very earnest and eloquent appeal for publicity. He reminded the board that forty millions of people were watching its proceedings, and quoted the language of the President, that "should there be any grounds of suspicion of a fraudulent counting on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once." In the name of the American people he asked that no part of the work should "be done in a corner," and declared that there was "no call for privacy in applying the rules of arithmetic," or in performing "judicial duties." But the board refused to listen to this demand on the flimsy pretext that if it was surrounded by a multitude of people it would be disturbed and delayed in its proceedings. What the country wanted was not only an honest count of the vote, but that the proceedings should be conducted with such evident fairness as to make this unquestionable to the people of all parties. If at all possible, suspicion should have been entirely disarmed by invoking the full light of day upon a transaction so pregnant with interest, both to the state and the nation. But "men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil." The people of Louisiana were not allowed to witness the canvass of their own votes. The press reporters, representing the leading newspapers of the country, were excluded from the court room on their petition to be admitted. The supervisors of registration and elections who desired to witness the canvass of the votes were not allowed to be present, either in person or by their counsel. The Democratic candidates and their attorneys were also excluded, except on the hearing of contested cases, although their presence was exceedingly im-

portant during the entire proceedings, owing to their familiarity with the different parishes and voting precincts, and their ability to detect any indications of fraud on the opening of the returns, which the visiting committee present would necessarily fail to discover. The board, it is true, so far yielded to the pressure from without as to permit the presence of two political committees, with a reporter for each, but this was an exceedingly frail barrier against secret manipulation and fraud in the returns. These committees were composed of strangers from distant states, wholly unfamiliar with the practical roguery of Louisiana officials, while the exclusion of the general press reporters, the people of the state, the supervisors and registrars of elections, and the candidates for office, was wholly indefensible, and utterly irreconcilable with an honest purpose to serve the interests of truth. It perfectly accorded, however, with the action of the board in other respects. It had openly violated the law as to its organization. It had excluded from any share in its deliberations every element that would not yield unhesitating obedience to its base purposes. It had usurped the right to sit as final judge of its own flagitious acts. It had fully recorded its purpose to re-enact the foul game of 1874. It was entirely natural, therefore, that it should wrap itself in the mantle of darkness when entering upon the final chapters of its unhallowed conspiracy to cheat the people of the United States.

But let us follow the board in its work. The counsel for the Democratic candidates, at the outset, protested against the right of the board to canvass the electoral vote at all, but the protest was summarily overruled and no opportunity allowed for argument. With characteristic one-sidedness, the board ruled in favor of its own jurisdiction; and Senator Sherman, in his late letter to the President, declares that its action is "independent of state and national laws other than those of Louisiana," and "finally and substantially conclusive as to the votes cast and candidates elected." In support of this position he cites a decision of the Supreme

Court of Louisiana, well knowing at the time that Chief Justice Ludeling, who pronounced that decision, had been branded with "fraud and breach of trust" by the Supreme Court of the United States, in a case which brought his character in question. But conceding that there is no appeal from the decisions of this board, their finality certainly could not be admitted as to questions beyond its jurisdiction. It has no right to wander away from its appointed work, and pass upon questions not cognizable by it, under the law from which it derives its authority. Judge Trumbull and his associates, in their late Louisiana report, have conclusively shown that the law of 1872 creating this tribunal, and under which it acted, makes no provision as to the manner of appointing electors for President and Vice-President, while it seems to repeal all other laws on the subject of elections. They show that if the previous act of 1870 respecting the appointment of Presidential electors is repealed, there is no law of the state on the subject, and the board is consequently without authority to canvass the votes for such offices; but that if the act of 1870 is not repealed, the canvass of the votes for electors must be made by the Governor in the presence of the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General, a judge of the district in which the seat of government may be established, or any two of them, as required by that act. The public has been made acquainted with this argument, and I need not repeat it at length; and although Mr. Sherman refers to it as "an array of technicalities," its soundness has been indorsed by some of the ablest lawyers of the country, and has not been successfully impeached in any quarter.

But even if the board had the right to canvass the electoral vote, it clearly transcended its legal authority in throwing out votes on account of intimidation and violence. Its simple duty was to canvass and compile the returns and proclaim the result, unless the commissioners of election or the supervisors of registration imposed upon it a further duty by laying a legal foundation for it, as provided for in sections 26 and 43 of the state election law. That foundation must con-

sist of the affidavit of the supervisor of registration or commissioners of elections, supported by the affidavits of three or more citizens, setting forth the facts of any riot, tumult, acts of violence, intimidation, armed disturbance, bribery or corrupt influences which prevented or tended to prevent a fair, free and peaceable election, and showing the number of qualified electors deterred by such proceedings from voting or registering. This statement must be made out within 24 hours after the receipt of all the returns for the different polling places, and shall be forwarded in duplicate to the supervisor of registration of the parish. If this foundation is not laid, the board has no jurisdiction whatever except to count the votes returned. It has no right to entertain any outside protest. It has no right to attack the returns from any poll, ward or parish in the state, for any of the causes specified. If the decision of the board is final, it is because its proceedings have tracked the law, and are therefore backed by its authority. The board has no *ex officio* power to institute complaints against any poll. The special provisions of the law have an unmistakable meaning. Their purpose is that all the supervisors shall be engaged simultaneously in their several parishes in completing their returns and statements on the spot where the election was held, without communication with each other or with persons beyond the parish, and before they can obtain information of what has been done in other parishes, or any clear knowledge of the result. The design is to exclude from the consideration of the returning board all *ex post facto* complaints which might be trumped up at the last moment, for dishonest purposes. And this was the declared opinion of Messrs. Hoar, Wheeler and Frye, in their famous report of February, 1875, in which they say: "We are clearly of opinion that the returning board has no right to do anything except to canvass and compile the returns which were lawfully made to them by local officers, except in cases where they were accompanied by the certificates of the supervisor or commissioner provided in the third section." I believe no such foundation for the jur-

isdiction of the board, as the law requires, was laid in any parish of the state, and certainly not in any of the five which have been the chief theater of alleged intimidation and violence. The action of the board, therefore, in seeking to defeat the will of the people of Louisiana by disfranchising more than 13,000 Democratic voters, was not only a flagrant usurpation of authority, but a most unpardonable sin against "the habit of obedience to the forms of law," which the visiting committee of Republicans at New Orleans lately solemnly warned us "should be sedulously inculcated," and that "the resort to extra constitutional modes of redress for even actual grievances should be avoided and condemned as revolutionary, disorganizing, and tending to disorder and anarchy."

Gentlemen, the performances of the returning board during its recent sessions furnish still other illustrations of the perverse and malign spirit which has flavored the entire proceedings. Governor Wells, after being repeatedly and persistently urged to fill the vacancy on the board, indignantly denied that it had ever thought of refusing to fill it; but the vacancy never was filled, while the facts of the case clearly reveal a fixed determination not to fill it. The board played fast and loose in its rulings relative to *ex parte* affidavits. By a shifty and ambidextrous policy, it allowed many such affidavits to be received in the interest of the Republican candidates; but after assuring the counsel on the other side that counter affidavits would be admitted, on which assurance they went to the labor and expense of procuring them in large quantities, the board suddenly changed its mind, and the permission to use them was denied. The returns from many of the parishes were brought to the city in the pockets of different individuals, instead of being forwarded by mail, as required by law, and were received by the board without objection. In a number of cases they were carried around the city for days by the parties having them in charge; and when these parties, as sometimes happened, contumaciously refused to deliver them to the board, or held them back on

account of the non-payment of charges for their transmission, Governor Wells manifested not the slightest desire to get possession of the papers, said the board could not afford to pay the charges, and falsely declared that it possessed no power to compel their production. In answer to the suggestion that a supervisor, by wrongfully refusing to file his return, might deprive the people of their votes, Governor Wells responded, "We can't help that," and that "criminality of that kind should be brought before the courts." He promised to take up the consideration of East Baton Rouge parish on a specified day, and advised the counsel for the Democratic candidates to have their witnesses in readiness, which they did, and when the day came he took up the Eliza Pinkston case, in which they were surprised and entirely unprepared. He gave written and express permission to Governor Wickliffe to be present at the sessions of the board, and when he appeared on the following day Governor Wells notified him that the permission was withdrawn, and that he must retire. In several instances the sealed returns from distant parishes were clandestinely opened and the papers tampered with, after they had been received by the board, as was shown by inspecting the papers on the canvass of the returns. As an example, the returns from the parish of De Soto were received on the 18th of November, but on opening the papers on the 25th of the month, the affidavit of Mr. Ferguson, the supervisor, was found in the sealed package, dated on that day, having found its way there, of course, through the agency of some rascal who had broken the seal in order to doctor the case with *ex post facto* statements, and then re-sealed the package. This chapter in the record of the returning board was entirely forgotten by Senator Sherman in his splendid and picturesque biography of its members, which he embodied in his letter to the President transmitting the proofs of intimidation which the Republican committee had procured; but in justice to the board and its clerical force I must not fail to mention the original defense of this ugly specimen of Louisiana crookedness which was vol-

unteered by Mr. Stoughton, of New York, namely, that the dating of the affidavit on the 25th of the month, which had been enclosed and sealed up in the parish of De Soto some ten or twelve days before, was a "clerical error!" Mr. Stoughton was right. It *was* a "clerical error," and quite unfortunately for the state of Louisiana such "errors" have been entirely too common in the operations of her returning board and the tactics of her party leaders who have used it in keeping themselves in power. Indeed, "clerical errors" are not confined to Louisiana, but in other states the men who commit them are furnished with public lodging and employment in our penitentiaries, as an army of forgers and counterfeiters can bear witness. But dispensing with any further illustrations of returning board political morality, let me come directly to the subject of political outrages in Louisiana and the intimidation of voters.

In dealing with this subject I invite your attention to several considerations which meet us at the very threshold of any honest search after truth. Bear in mind, in the first place, that Louisiana has a Republican governor, and that under her anomalous constitution he is armed with powers almost as great as those of the last Napoleon. He appoints and removes the registrars of election and their assistants throughout the state, whose judgment is final as to the right of the citizen to vote, and who are generally non-residents of the parishes in which they are required to do his bidding as the unquestioning tools of party. He controls the appointment of the commissioners of election, who receive and revise the votes. In New Orleans, where the Democrats are in the majority, the control of elections is given to the metropolitan police, which is appointed by the governor, and may be used by him as a standing army in any part of the state. He appoints the tax collectors of the state, and in the city of New Orleans the assessors also. He appoints the state board of public works. When he deems it necessary, he may appoint an extraordinary force, a chief constable and as many deputies as he thinks necessary in any parish, with *ex officio*

power to make arrests. He can fill all vacancies in office throughout the state, including constables, justices of the peace and parish surveyors, and by the help of the legislature, which the returning board can elect, he can control the judiciary of the state. He has power to appoint and pay a special local police in every parish, and in such numbers as he pleases. He can send a brigade of metropolitan police into any part of the state at his own will, and has a steamer at his command to transport them. The judges appointed by him superintend the selection of juries—grand and petit. He controls the militia, while the United States marshal, who is a Republican, has the control of federal soldiers by orders from Washington, so that when Marshal Packard was chairman of the state Republican committee, every United States soldier in the state was bound to obey his orders.

Gentlemen, in the light of these remarkable facts, do you not see the intrinsic absurdity of the stories we hear about intimidation and violence? Is not their falsehood unmistakably confessed in the keen irony which they embody? Is the governor of Louisiana, armed with the powers of an autocrat, and backed by the whole power of the national administration, utterly incapable of maintaining order and securing a fair election through the officers of his own appointment? Are the officials of Louisiana, stimulated by their pampered appetite for plunder, unable to control the fat places which their multiplied opportunities bring within their easy reach? Such questions as these suggest their own obvious answer. The intimidation of voters on any large scale would be wholly impracticable under such a government, if its functionaries were at all disposed to do their duty. The perfectly manifest truth is, that the Republican party of Louisiana, through its career of corruption and misgovernment, has deservedly lost its ascendancy in the state, and confesses it by appealing to the saving grace of its returning board, which would have been wholly unnecessary if its administration of public affairs had been even moderately decent and respectable. For several years past the colored

voters of Louisiana have been deserting the Republican ranks and joining the opposition. Thousands of them voted the Democratic ticket in 1874, and thus secured for it a majority of nearly 3,000, in an election the fairness of which is not impeached by Senator Sherman and his associates; but why seek to account for these facts on the theory of Democratic intimidation, when they find so ready an explanation in the circumstances I have stated? Who does not see that the change in the colored vote would have been much greater in the absence of the potent official intimidation of the Republican party?

I ask your attention, gentlemen, to a kindred consideration. I have referred to the vast power of the government of Louisiana over the fortunes of her people, and indicated its bearing upon the question of intimidation. The manner in which that power has been employed bears still more directly upon that question. The colored people of the state labor under many disadvantages which their former enslavement has entailed upon them, but they are not so besotted with ignorance as to be insensible to the ordinary motives of prudence and self-interest. Bad laws tell upon their prosperity. Like other citizens, they are able to realize the blessings of good government, and to feel the mischiefs of political corruption and spoliation in the name of law. What has the Kellogg government of Louisiana, as we call it, done for the people of the state, white or black? Let me give you a few facts, some of which I gather from Mr. Chas. Nordhoff's book on "The Cotton States." The officers charged with the execution of the laws are not only inefficient but corrupt. Justice is not only denied, but openly sold. Judge Ludeling, who was branded with dishonor by the Supreme Court of the United States, as already mentioned, was made chief justice of the state by Governor Kellogg. In the Republican parish of Plaquemine, 33 persons were murdered from 1868 to 1875, 31 of whom were colored, and murdered by people of their own race, not one of whom has been hung. In the parish of Natchitoches, 41 murders occurred within the

same period, but not a man of the murderers paid the forfeit of his life, although the parish was all the time under Republican rule, with a corrupt judge, a thieving tax collector, and a police jury made up mainly of illiterate negroes. The murder of Henry Pinkston illustrates the same general fact. The case has been made very sensational by Republican politicians. The version of the affair given by Mrs. Pinkston startled the whole country. She was brought into the court room on a litter, as if in the last stages of life from the effects of her fearful wounds; and the committee of visiting Republicans evidently felt that here was a case which turned the political tables decidedly in their favor. But there was no evidence that the murder had any connection whatever with politics. Pinkston himself was a Democrat. Many of the statements of Mrs. Pinkston were conclusively shown to be false. She was shown to be herself a desperado, and scarcely more than half-witted. Her character for veracity, as well as in other respects, was proved to be as bad as possible. She had been indicted for murder. It turned out that she was able to walk about town on the day she was carried into court, and that the circumstances of her appearance there were part of a theatrical performance which was planned and enacted in the interest of the political cause it was designed to serve. But these are incidental observations. The fact is that Henry Pinkston's life was taken by violence, and that no effort whatever was made to find out the criminal. The coroner of the parish, a Republican, declined to hold an inquest over his body. The Governor offered no reward for the discovery and arrest of his murderer, and but for the effort that was made to connect the affair with politics it would probably have attracted no attention.

In a few parishes of the state there is a good deal of general lawlessness, like that which prevails in some of our western territories; but in neither of these parishes, nor in the state generally, is the punishment of crime enforced. The Governor rivals the President himself in the abuse of the pardoning power. The government, with well-nigh ab-

solute power at its command, connives at the open defiance of its authority, and thus makes itself a party to the multiplied acts of lawlessness and outrage which scourge the state. These acts very rarely grow out of any question affecting the relations of the white and colored races, but whatever their origin may be, the government is wholly without excuse in failing to employ against them the strong hand of power, and thus making itself a terror to the people instead of the protector of their rights and the avenger of their wrongs.

The failure of the civil authorities in other respects is equally inexcusable and shocking. The public schools of the state are converted into political engines, and largely given over to the management of demagogues. Unworthy, incompetent, and drunken characters are employed as teachers as the reward of political services. In many parishes the members of the legislature are members and officers of the school board, and the schools thus become a part of the regular machinery of politics. The business of the teachers is not to teach, but to talk up the man who appoints them. Only a little over one-fifth of the children of the state, between the ages of six and twenty-one, are enrolled in the public schools. In one parish the treasurer of the school board uses the funds for his private purposes, and pays the teacher in scrip. In two other parishes the treasurers abscond with a large amount of money. In another the school money is invested in private business and speculation. In the parish of St. James the school board burned their record on leaving the office. The administration of local school boards abounds in embezzlements, defalcations, incompetency and faithlessness, as shown by the reports of the state superintendent.

The financial policy of the government is equally vicious and profligate. In New Orleans the assessors receive five per cent. on their assessments. In the parishes of the state the collectors receive ten per cent. of their collections. The assessments are sometimes as high as one hundred, and even one hundred and fifty per cent. above the true valuation of

the property, and the assessor receives his fee on the entire amount, although the false valuation may afterwards be corrected. The rate of taxation is equally startling, being sometimes as high as seven or eight cents on the dollar. The effect of this shameful maladministration is greatly to depreciate the value of all property in the state and paralyze all branches of business and industry. It is simply the legalized robbery of the people. The love of plunder sometimes seeks to disguise itself in the form of indirect taxation. The legislature of the state has chartered a company with the exclusive right to sell lottery tickets in the state, on condition of its annual payment of \$40,000, and the act declares one of its objects to be "to raise a fund for educational and charitable purposes." On a million of capital it is said this company makes not less than \$750,000 clear profit yearly, and it has established policy shops and petty gambling dens at various points in New Orleans, and thus greatly demoralized the laboring classes. Another company was chartered in 1874, under the name of "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," whose object seems to have been the raising of a revenue by cattle stealing, and one of the most amusing chapters of Mr. Nordhoff's book is that in which he refers to the numerous chartered monopolies by which the people are fleeced under the false pretense of promoting their welfare. I can not dwell upon these matters further, nor have I the time to notice in detail the election laws of the state, and the use which has been made of their dishonest machinery. I have already dealt with the returning board, which I am sure has no honest defender in the country, unless I except Senator Sherman and his unsophisticated associates of the visiting Republican committee. I only remark that 5,200 false registrations were made in the city of New Orleans alone by the Republican officials in 1847, and I believe over 7,000 in the late election; that the legislature is sometimes largely composed of supervisors of registration who are chosen from parishes they never saw till they went there to superintend the election; and that in the election of 1874, in a case where

the Democratic ticket succeeded, the records were carried by the supervisor of the parish to New Orleans and concealed in a house of prostitution, one of whose inmates was sent to drive a bargain for their return. Gentlemen, is it strange that such facts as I have recited should drive colored voters out of the Republican party? Is it strange that thousands of them deserted it in 1874, and many thousands more in the late election? Is it not surprising, rather, that a general desertion, or even a stampede, has not occurred, leaving the two thousand white Republican voters of the state alone in their glory? Why talk about Democratic intimidation of the colored voter in the presence of the palpable facts of his situation? Why be amazed that he should follow the example of his brethren in Mississippi, or in the Democratic state of Georgia, in which they own more real estate, and pay taxes on more property than in any state under Republican rule? Why take it for granted that the Louisiana negro is too hopelessly stupid to leave his political associates in the pursuit of his own interests, when such Republicans as Wheeler, Hoar and Frye tell him "there has been great maladministration" in the state, that the "public funds have been wasted" and "public credit is impaired," while "taxation is heavy?"

Gentlemen, there is another consideration involved in this discussion which I must not fail to notice, namely, that intimidation is a game which two may play at. I do not pretend that the Democrats of Louisiana are wholly innocent of this political vice. Human nature is the same in both parties, and both have practiced it, in some form, in every state of the Union. After the war the white people of the states lately in rebellion manifested a spirit of intolerance and hate toward the people who had been their bondmen and were now suddenly lifted to citizenship and suffrage, and for some years this spirit made its record in deeds of frightful violence and crime. But a kindlier feeling has been gradually evoked, notwithstanding the efforts of demagogues and carpet-bag thieves to perpetuate the estrangement of the races.

Free labor is now generally conceded to be a success by the men who fought for slavery. They would not restore it if they had the power, nor take the ballot from the negro. Their old hostility to the Union has measurably perished with the institution which inspired it. They have suffered very severely from the ravages of war, and have endured with singular patience and long suffering the cruel inflictions of a state government which has been fastened upon their necks by fraud and supported by federal despotism. What they now ask is good government and a fair opportunity to rebuild their shattered fortunes. They are intensely anxious to rid themselves of the remorseless usurpation under which they have so long groaned; and in the scuffle for deliverance against a powerful and perfectly unscrupulous foe, it would be strange if they had not sometimes sought the votes of the colored people by the current methods of political warfare. But if they have practiced intimidation, the Republicans of Louisiana are not the men to upbraid them. The Kellogg government is itself an organized intimidation and standing menace of all honest men, while it has taken into its embrace the rogues and ruffians of the state. For years past the Republicans of Louisiana have practiced intimidation extensively and rigorously. The United States marshal for the state has used cavalry to intimidate Democrats. In his official capacity, and while at the same time chairman of the state Republican committee, he has on several occasions employed federal soldiers in the service of his party, just as the army and revenue officers were used in Alabama in securing the election of Spencer to the Senate of the United States. The white and colored testimony submitted to the returning board during its late sessions, and subsequently taken more fully by the congressional committees now in Louisiana, shows that the negroes themselves are among the most savage and ferocious intimidators in the state, and that the crimes and outrages inflicted on their colored brethren for daring to vote as they please are a full match for any of the kindred performances charged to the Democrats.

The more intelligent classes of them are powerfully impelled by the reasons already mentioned to break their party ranks; but in attempting to do so they are often obliged to risk their lives. The wives of colored men frequently threaten to leave them if they vote the Democratic ticket, and for doing so I believe this threat has sometimes been executed and a divorce demanded from the husband. Colored Democrats are turned out of church for the same cause; and a case has recently been reported in which the rite of baptism was denied to a colored man because he had left the Republican party. Mr. Nordhoff says that in parts of southern Louisiana the negroes are still summoned from the fields to political meetings by order of General Butler; and he mentioned a case where a candidate for a county office circulated a printed "general order," commanding all colored men to vote for him, and signed "U. S. Grant, President," which secured him the solid colored vote. In a political canvass in Louisiana the negroes are thoroughly indoctrined with the idea that they will be sold into slavery if the Democratic ticket should be elected, just as Senator Morton told the people of Indiana in the late canvass, that if Tilden should succeed slavery would certainly be re-established, the rebel debt saddled upon us, and the loyal debt repudiated. The Republican howl about intimidation, which is now sounding through the land, comes with an ill grace from the leaders of a party who demanded the votes of eighty thousand officeholders for Hayes and Wheeler on penalty of dismissal, and tested their fidelity to their masters by levying contributions upon their earnings. But still more utterly preposterous is the complaint of the Republican party of Louisiana about intimidation in that state. With such leaders as Kellogg, Warmoth, Packard, Casey and Pinchback, armed and equipped with the whole power of the state government, and reinforced by the army and navy with the entire patronage of the federal government superadded, the cry of Democratic intimidation is like the whine of a mailed giant for military protection against an unarmed boy.

But perhaps it will be said, after all, that I have not met the question in dispute. It may occur to some of you that I have dealt only in generalities, and while indicating the strong probabilities of the case, have not considered the specific issue to be tried in its relations to the evidence. I imagine some one saying: "You have been in Louisiana and witnessed the proceedings of the returning board in canvassing the vote. You have had access to the testimony on both sides, and have mingled with the people of both parties. Tell us, if you can, the truth about intimidation. You say that under the law of Louisiana the board had no right to investigate this question, since the proper foundation for the inquiry was not laid; but putting the law aside, let us know the *facts*. Undoubtedly there was intimidation on both sides, but does the evidence show such a preponderance of Democratic intimidation over that practiced by the Republicans as to justify the action of the board in its wholesale rejection of votes? If not, did it warrant any interference with the votes actually cast, as shown on the face of the returns?" Let me endeavor to respond to these questions:

No pretense is set up that the vote was not actually given. There is no charge of repeating, ballot stuffing or fraudulent returns. The sole complaint is intimidation, and for this cause alone the declared result of the election is to be reversed. This charge is made by the Republicans, and of course they are bound to prove it. They must establish it affirmatively by clear and conclusive proof. The right of representation is sacred, and it must not be taken away from hundreds and thousands of citizens on any ground of conjecture, or suspicion, or uncertain testimony. I have already pointed out the strong moral improbability of the truth of of this charge, drawn from the considerations I have presented. I have referred to the suspicion of its falsehood founded on the notoriously bad character of the institution which has adjudicated upon it, and which defrauded the people of Louisiana in 1874 by a false count. I have mentioned the fact, shown by the evidence, that the acts of personal

outrage and violence which have scourged the state during the past few years have seldom had any connection with politics or the relations of the races, and that the failure to suppress such lawlessness has not been the fault of the Democrats. The charge of intimidation is not proved by Senator Sherman's array of crimes and outrages, running back six or eight years, and having nothing whatever to do with the recent election. It is not proved by the increase of the Democratic majority in the recent election over that of two years before, since this change is much less than we have seen in various northern states in which no pretense of intimidation has been suggested. It is not proved, certainly, by the fact that the aggregate vote of Louisiana in the late election is over 12,000 larger than ever cast before, of which increase the Republican party is shown to have had its share. It is not proved by the fact already stated, which the evidence fully establishes, that intimidation was largely and very effectively practiced by the negroes of the state on their colored fellow-citizens. It is not proved by evidence tending to show that Louisiana is so given over to anarchy and barbarism as to be unfit for civil government, since we are now inquiring into the result of an election and the working of Republican machinery under the conditions actually existing, and which we believe can best be reformed by Republican remedies.

Where, then, is the testimony that can lift the charge of Democratic intimidation out of the ugly limbo of doubt and denial in which we find it, and compel us to accept it as true? Where is the uncontradicted evidence of trustworthy men that could have justified the returning board in converting a Democratic majority of 8,000 or 9,000 votes into a Republican majority of 4,000? Gentlemen, no such testimony can be found, because it has no existence. The mass of evidence transmitted to the President by Senator Sherman is by no means so formidable as its bulk might indicate. A part of it consists of *ex parte* affidavits, some of which we know to have been forged, while others embody the false statements

of negroes who can neither read nor write, and were the willing tools of their managers in swearing as they were instructed. Others are signed by a better class of colored men on a false representation of what the prepared papers contained. Many of these affidavits, and of the regular depositions also, show that they were drawn up in blank as to the name of the witness, of the parish, and other material facts, and the blanks afterwards filled in different ink and handwriting, indicating the manufacture of testimony by pre-arranged machinery. All of this evidence, of course, had gone through the returning board mill, and some of it had been corruptly tampered with, as in the case of the parish of De Soto; but to how great an extent no one knows but the guilty parties. As a further proof of the dishonesty of the returning board, and the bad character of this Republican evidence, I mention the fact that several of the candidates for state offices, who were fraudulently counted in at the late election, have felt obliged by their sense of honor and self-respect to decline the offices to which they were not lawfully elected. I do not deny that Mr. Sherman's huge budget of evidence makes a frightful showing of Democratic intimidation, violence and political murder, but it is not only badly tainted with well founded suspicion, as I have shown, but fatally contradicted by counter testimony. This is true of the evidence generally, but especially so as to what are called the five "bulldozing" parishes of the state. So far as Democratic intimidation is concerned, the elections in the majority if not in all these parishes were as fair and as peaceable as those in our own state on the same day, and the conspicuous and controlling fact respecting the attempt to prove the contrary is the dishonesty and perjury of the witnesses employed in the undertaking. I make this statement in the face of the evidence on both sides, and am confident it will be verified by the developments of the congressional committees now at work in the state. One fact, at all events, is absolutely certain, and that is that the Republican evidence, when confronted by that on the other side, signally fails to

justify the rejection of the vote of the parishes, while the very utmost that any reasonable Republican can possibly claim is the existence of a conflict in the evidence. Neither in these parishes nor in the state at large, either on the day of the election or during the period of registration, does the evidence show any such acts of intimidation or violence as to justify the havoc which was made of the vote of the state as shown on the face of the returns; and I have no hesitation in affirming that Hayes and Wheeler have no better right to the electoral vote of Ohio than have Tilden and Hendricks to that of Louisiana, as fairly shown by the legal returns which the leaders of the Republican party are now resolved to set aside by the foul methods of perjury and fraud.

Gentlemen, I have thus dealt with this Louisiana question somewhat fully and thoroughly because of its fearful magnitude and the grave consequences which wait upon its decision. If I am right in the views I have expressed and the conclusions I have reached, Louisiana has cast her vote for Tilden and Hendricks, and they are fairly and certainly elected. But in contemplation of law no election has taken place until "the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall *then* be counted." Who is to count these votes! Upon the answer to this question depends the issue of the most fearful struggle for the Presidency that has ever stirred the passions of the American people. It was a struggle altogether unexampled in the efforts put forth by powerful political organizations for victory, where defeat meant political death; and when, at last, the protracted and angry conflict was hushed by the ballots of the people, a feeling of relief was universal throughout the Union. Shall these ballots be smirched and dishonored by a conclave of political scoundrels in Louisiana? The presiding officer of the Senate, we are told, is to decide this question. He is to be the grand returning board of the nation, from whose decision there is no appeal. Mr. Chairman, he has no more right to count the votes and declare the

result than you have. On this subject we are fortunately not left to grope in the dark. According to an unbroken chain of precedents, beginning with the election of Washington and reaching down to the present time, the counting of the electoral vote is to be done by Congress, or under its authority and direction. Universal acquiescence in this uninterrupted usage has made it our common law. The President of the Senate is authorized to preserve order, and to vote in case of a division; but he has no right whatever to canvass or count the vote for President, nor has any such right ever been claimed by any presiding officer of that body at any time or under any circumstances. On the contrary, the two houses of Congress have always claimed and exercised it, either directly or by committees and tellers appointed for the purpose. The twenty-second joint rule, which was adopted in 1865 by a Republican Congress, and under which three Presidents have been elected, was an express recognition of this principle, which has the recorded approval of nearly all the leading men of both political parties during the past year. But now, after the meaning of the constitution has thus been settled and stereotyped by the uniform usage of more than eighty years, and a conformity to this usage will no longer serve the behests of the party in power, its leaders suddenly face upon the record they have made in the Senate within the past nine or ten months, and propose to save their political fortunes by the revolutionary exploit I have mentioned.

While Grantism, stretched on its bed of death, is gasping out its prayer for deliverance from the judgment to come, the political mercenaries who have served at its altar for the past eight years now assume the office of physician, and are anxious to save the life of their patient by nostrums of deadly poison to the constitution. Shall we allow this to be done? Are we to sit quietly by while the republic is Mexicanized by the senatorial junto of malignants who have so long kept themselves in the front by making the late war the harlot of their ambition? Shall we patiently submit to an act of open

lawlessness, and seek our relief in its moral effect upon the people in sweeping the Republican party out of power four years hence? If we cravenly tolerate this rape of American liberty to-day, shall we have the manhood in 1880 to confront the kindred outrages it would certainly provoke? Why wait four years for a remedy, when we hold it in our own hands now, through the Congress of the United States? Why talk about an appeal to the ballot for the redress of our wrongs hereafter, if we allow it to become a cheat and a lie to-day? Shall the people's will, constitutionally expressed, be defeated and defied by an organized crusade against the very principles of republican government? These questions can neither be postponed nor evaded. The crisis compels us to ponder them, in seeking an honorable way out of the dreadful dilemma in which the country is placed. Not in submission to flagrant acts of tyranny, but in resistance, must we expect our deliverance. Senator Morton and his fellow-conspirators tell us that the President of the Senate will count the electoral vote and declare the result, and that, if need be, it will be enforced by the army and navy. This is simply a threat of revolution. Are we ready to avow our willingness to acquiesce in it for the sake of peace, and thus invite the very mischief we deplore by offering it impunity? No friend of Tilden and Hendricks dreams of physical resistance to the inauguration of Governor Hayes, should he be declared duly elected by the Senate and House of Representatives. The vital question before the country is not which of two men shall be President, but whether the man who has been elected shall be deprived of his office by fraud or force. It is because we advocate peace, and recoil from the thought of civil strife, that we demand obedience to the constitution and American fair play in the settlement of the momentous issue which now so fearfully divides the country. We plead for peace, and the calamities of war can only overtake us through the madness which shall set the constitution and laws at defiance. It is for the sake of peace that we would warn these plotters of treason that their enterprise will

be resisted if they undertake it, and that the solemn duty of the people to maintain the constitutional rights of the government will make resistance inevitable, unless they are ready to put on the livery of slaves.

We make our appeal to public opinion, which Daniel Webster pronounced "the mightiest power on earth," and we invoke that power in the work of curbing the evil genius of the men whose unbridled ambition has palsied their reason and devoured their love of country. I do not believe the scourge of war is in store for us, but it can only be certainly averted by the people themselves, pronouncing their convictions and purposes with such unmistakable earnestness and emphasis prior to the day of counting the electoral vote as shall foreshadow certain disaster to any revolutionary movement. By argument, by persuasion, by persistent appeals to the judgment of all sober and patriotic men of whatever party, and by popular assemblies throughout the country of earnest and determined men, such as we see here to-day, I believe a public conscience may be created that will drive the Republican leaders from their purpose. In this work of popular agitation every citizen should share. The seriousness of the crisis demands his voice on the side of law and in the interest of peace. "I like a clamor," said Edmund Burke, "where there is an abuse. The fire bell at night disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed." Let the people speak, for they hold in their hands the might of the republic, and their sovereignty can not be invaded without their consent. A century ago our fathers took up arms in defense of their right to a voice in the government which dealt with their liberty, their property and their lives. We assert the same right now when we ask that the will of the people be registered as the supreme law, and that whoever may defy it by overt acts shall receive the same treatment which the nation awarded to the men who appealed from the ballot to the bayonet in 1861. Let them be warned in season by every lover of regulated liberty that millions of men will be found

ready to offer their lives as hostages to the sacredness of the ballot, as the palladium of our liberty. "Whosoever hath the gift of tongues, let him use it; whosoever can wield the pen of a ready writer, let him dip it in the ink-horn; whosoever hath a sword, let him gird it on, for the crisis demands our highest exertions, physical and moral."

THE ISSUES OF 1880.

CHARACTER OF THE CANDIDATES.

DELIVERED IN THE WIGWAM, AT INDIANAPOLIS, ON THE 24TH
OF AUGUST.

[The thoroughness and fairness with which this speech dealt with the issues of the canvass made it peculiarly valuable and effective as a campaign document.]

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: In entering upon the canvass for Tilden and Hendricks four years ago, I expressly reserved my entire political independence. In doing so I was not inconsistent with my previous record as a politician. Through the influence of early associations I began my political life a Whig, casting my first Presidential ballot for General Harrison, and my second for Henry Clay. In 1848, however, after I had become convinced that my party was radically wrong in its tariff and land policy, and when I found it sacrificing its character and conscience on the altar of slavery, I severed my connection with it, and during the seven or eight years following was an active and zealous member of the old Free Soil party. But in 1856 I was quite ready to join another organization, committed to the same articles of anti-slavery faith, and better fitted to carry forward the grand enterprise in which I had enlisted. I was a Republican of Republicans, and if I sometimes differed with my party associates it was because I espoused the logic of the party creed before they were ready to accept it. During the late war, especially, I was a most thoroughgoing party man, for the obvious reason that in a crisis involving the nation's life I could best serve the great cause by losing myself in the

masses with whom I acted. But when the war ended and the great national curse which made the existence of the Republican party a necessity had perished forever, and when, as I said four years ago, the marvellous energy displayed by it during the conflict had been hopelessly turned into the channels of pelf and plunder, I joined the Liberal Republicans in marching out of it, under the banner of independence and reform.

I refer to these personal matters in no spirit of vain boasting, but simply in illustration of the duty of every man to be faithful to himself, even against the pleadings of prudence and peace. Nor do I wish to be understood as condemning political parties. They are a necessity. They are an essential part of the machinery through which the vigilance of the people is able to preserve their liberties. The great danger of our times is that excess of party spirit against which Washington so solemnly warned his countrymen in his farewell address, and which now seriously threatens the suppression of individual thought and action. The path of political independence is by no means an inviting one. It offers the fewest possible temptations to selfish ambition. Independent voters are generally obliged to make themselves of no reputation. They can parade no grand procession of followers. They are allowed none of the triumphs of victory, and rewarded by none of the spoils of office. They are obliged to face the general hostility and scorn which the smallness of their numbers and frequent potency of their action naturally provoke. Senator Conkling styles them "Jayhawkers," "Guerrillas," and "Tramps." They are sometimes called "Deputy Democrats," "malcontents," and "impracticables" who "vote in the air;" but they often prove to be the true conservative force in our politics and the real leaven of reform.

Undoubtedly they are liable to make mistakes. Their lack of organization is certainly attended by serious disadvantages. Their usefulness was greatly compromised by their leaders in the spring of 1876 in their famous New York

conference, in which they laid down the precise conditions on which they declared they would co-operate with the other parties, and then made haste to join one of them after those conditions had been openly spurned. They betrayed vacillation and weakness at the critical moment which called for straightforwardness and courage; but their power in our politics is unquestionable, and their persistent determination to exercise it is one of the signs of the times. Independent voters defeated Clay in 1844 and General Cass in 1848. They destroyed the old Whig party, and formed a new organization, composed of Abolitionists, "Conscience Whigs," and bolting Democrats. The Republican party itself was a bolt. It was principally made up of "jayhawkers" and "tramps," who broke away from their Democratic and Whig keepers, and made common cause with the old Free-Soilers in withstanding the further exactions of slavery; and the existence of the great historic party would have been impossible if the old Whigs who formed the great body of it had been as fatally smitten with party devil-worship as are the Republicans to-day. Independent voters in 1860 rent the Democratic party in twain, and made Abraham Lincoln President. In 1872 the Republicans carried the state of New York by a majority of 50,000 votes; but in 1874 the Democrats triumphed by the same majority, thus showing that the state was not divided into two parties, but three, inasmuch as the potency of the party battle-cry was dependent upon outside help. So in the party divisions of to day there is a third element, not under the drill of either, which holds the balance of power, and illustrates the noteworthy fact that in free governments minorities often rule. The independent voters held the balance of power in the nation, and wielded it four years ago, as they probably will in the canvass of this year. As the make-weight in party divisions they are frequently able to create the majority they desire, and this invests their action with a commanding importance. They played their part in the late Chicago convention in defeating the third-term conspiracy, and preserving the great unwrit-

ten law of the republic from violation. The fear of extensive bolting in the strong Republican states, should Grant be nominated, was in the air, and doubtless restrained many delegates who would else have fallen into the Grant column under the whip and spur of Conkling, Cameron and Logan. You all remember how the nation held its breath while the fearful issue hung in doubt; and when, at last, the question was settled, and the lightning flashed the glad tidings over the continent and kindled in millions of hearts an answering thrill of gratitude to God for the deliverance of the nation from a great peril, I rejoiced that, for eight years, by tongue and pen, I had contributed my small quota toward the grand work, and that its final triumph was largely due to the "guerillas" with whom I had co-operated.

But let us consider the issues of the pending canvass. What are they? The platforms of the two parties give us little help in answering this question. They are as nearly identical as those of four years ago. If there was any party issue then it related to the question of finance; but both parties declared in favor of specie payments, as they do now, and while the Democrats demanded the repeal of the resumption act, the Republicans voted down a resolution in favor of carrying it into execution. In the last Congress Republicans and Democrats united in the effort to repeal it, and they were jointly entitled to the honor of defeating that effort. The financial question has since been complicated by the silver agitation; but the silver bill received the overwhelming support of both parties, while the Republicans now totally ignore the question, and its vital connection with the continuance of our paper currency at par. As to the constantly boasted achievement of resumption, the simple truth is that it has not come through legislation, but as the natural result of favoring conditions, just as the gratifying reduction of our national indebtedness has been made easy and almost inevitable by our marvellous resources. I am glad to see in the platforms a well-defined issue respecting our tariff policy; for sooner or later our stupid and vicious tariff laws must be

thoroughly overhauled and reformed ; but no intelligent man of either party feels that the contest of this year is to turn upon that question. Nor is any issue tendered on the subject of civil service reform, Chinese immigration, or the reservation of the public domain to actual settlers ; while in the matter of maintaining the purity of the ballot and the principles of political morality, both parties are wanting. The complexion of our politics, in fact, is peculiar. We have outlived the era in which clearly-defined questions of policy formed the pivots upon which the action of parties turned, and justified their existence as the means through which they sought the adoption of their cherished views by the government. In a political dispensation so anomalous the army of independent voters should be largely reinforced ; but since one of these parties will certainly rule the country for the next four years, the question submitted to the popular judgment is a general one, involving simply the choice to be made between them, and the personal qualities of their standard-bearers. How should the sincere friends of administrative reform and the purification of our debased politics cast their ballots ?

The answer to this question necessarily invites a comparison of these parties ; but the task is not altogether free from difficulties. One of them has been in power nearly twenty years, and has thus supplied us with very ample means of forming an opinion ; while the other has been out of power nearly the whole of this period, and has necessarily left us with a comparatively meager data of judgment. Senator Hoar, in his opening speech at the Chicago convention, told us that the parties which confronted each other in 1860 confront each other now, “ unchanged in purpose, in temper and in character.” If this is true, the question is greatly simplified, and can be readily decided. But the assertion is an affront to common sense and a reckless defiance of facts, and if he believes it he is pitifully infatuated by party blindness. The attitude of these parties twenty years ago, at all events,

has no necessary connection with the question of their fitness for civil administration to-day. The Democratic party was then divided on two rival candidates for the Presidency, and after the election of Lincoln a very formidable division of it appealed from the ballot to the bayonet as its last and desperate method of preserving the ascendancy of slavery. The result was the overthrow of secession, the extirpation of slavery, the enfranchisement of the negro and the reconstruction of the government. The resistless force of events completely changed the political horizon; and now, in the new heavens and the new earth which we witness, we find the Democratic party, north and south, east and west, united as one man under the banner of one of the foremost heroes in the war for the Union. It is not the Democratic party of 1860, but the Democratic party of 1880, inevitably molded and instructed by great historic events; and we are to judge it in the light of to-day and the interest of the people of all sections in national unity and peace. We have no right to reproach it for an administrative record which it has had no opportunity to make, nor to condemn it on Mr. Hoar's ingenious theory of constructive guilt and imputed depravity. The same reasoning applies to the Republican party. Twenty years ago it disavowed any right or purpose to interfere with slavery in the states. It denounced John Brown's raid into Virginia as "the gravest of crimes." At the beginning of the war it was willing, for the sake of peace, to abide by the Dred Scott decision and the enforcement of the fugitive slave act. If I have not forgotten, it was ready to surrender the principle of Congressional prohibition of slavery in all our national territories. It even favored an amendment to the constitution making slavery perpetual in the states of the south. For nearly two years after the war began it did its best to save the Union and save slavery with it, and after the war was over it offered to make a complete surrender of the freedmen to their old masters on the single condition that they should not be counted in the basis of representation. The fit-

ness of the party to administer the government now is not to be judged by these facts, nor is it by any means established by its grand achievements in crushing the rebellion and abolishing slavery, in which it had the powerful and indispensable co-operation of the Democrats. We are now in the sunshine of peace, and must be mainly guided in our judgment by the facts which make up the civil administration of the government since the close of the war and the settlement of the questions it involved. What claim has the Republican party to a longer lease of power, founded on the record it has made during the past dozen years? This is the question which now concerns us, and in seeking an answer to it let us remember that it is the future, and not the distant past, which chiefly interests us, and that the reformation of great political abuses has become the vital issue and pressing demand of the time.

In its national convention of 1868 the Republican party adopted the following resolutions as a part of its platform :

“The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy ; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for reform.”

These were timely words. The responsibility laid at the door of the President was exaggerated, but the hand of reform was urgently invoked by the situation. All the great industries of the country demanded a thorough reorganization. Our tariff legislation called for a thorough revision. Our finances invited a prompt and complete overhauling. Our civil service was becoming a shameless system of political prostitution. Roguery and plunder, born of the multiplied temptations which the war furnished, had stealthily crept into the management of public affairs, and claimed immunity from the right of search. What the country needed was not a stricter enforcement of party discipline, not military methods and the fostering of sectional bitterness and hate, but oblivion of the past, both North and South, and an earnest, intelligent,

and catholic endeavor to grapple with the problems of practical administration.

But what did the leaders of the party do? After the freedom and enfranchisement of the negro had been established by constitutional amendments in which all parties acquiesced, they seemed utterly incapable of realizing the fact. They were not willing, for a single moment, to relax their hold upon the party machinery. The animosities engendered by the war were to be nursed and coddled as the appointed means of party unity, while the party itself was regarded as a permanent establishment, like the Christian religion, divinely appointed and necessary to salvation. It was not to be maintained for the legitimate purpose of embodying certain doctrines and policies in legislation, but chiefly on the score of its general blessedness, and its immense usefulness in holding in check a purely santanic opposition. This view was openly avowed by some of its great champions, who declared, as they do to-day, that the party is no more responsible for the corruptions and defalcations of its leaders than the church for the individual sins of its priests and prelates. Of course, the continued existence of such an organization was indispensable, not only to the welfare, but the life of the Republic, against which the "rebels" were still plotting, while it was strangely taken for granted that its disruption would immediately be followed by the translation of the honest men who belonged to it to another and better world, instead of leaving them among us to serve the country under some other banner and a better leadership. This concubinage of politics and theology was a very tempting contrivance, since it would place the administration of the government in the hands of the Republicans forever. It is true that the corrupt and venal elements of society would inevitably gravitate into such a party through its prolonged hold on power, and finally form a perfect hierarchy of knaves and reprobates, while the good men in its ranks would be obliged to keep their places, instead of joining the other side or becoming the nucleus of a new party; but this would be less dreadful than the ruin of

the country in the hands of an organization hopelessly disloyal and depraved.

The management of public affairs during General Grant's first term was in accord with this new theory of politics. The mercenary and trading element of the party naturally came to the front, and became a regular purgatory of political uncleanness. I need not recite the story of its shameful performances. You know it by heart. The people will not soon forget the exploits of Tom Murphy in the New York custom house, and the plundering of New York merchants by Leet and Stocking; the sanctioned rascalities of Casey in New Orleans; the executive assumption of the war-making power in the affair of San Domingo; the violation of the President's oath of office in the appointment to civil places of men in the military service; the official corruption of Orville Grant, Powell Clayton, General Babcock, Boss Sheppard and kindred spirits, who shared the smiles of the President; the party expulsion of Charles Sumner from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the installation of Simon Cameron in his stead; the action of the famous "senatorial group" in denouncing every proposition looking to the reform of administrative abuses, and branding as enemies of the Republican party the distinguished members of it who demanded such reform; and the open and systematic repudiation of all attempts to purify the civil service, while falsely pretending to espouse them. All this has become a part of the history of the government, and forms the first half of that "moral interregnum" in our politics which is best indicated by the word "Grantism," and fairly entitles it to a place in our growing dictionary of Americanisms. Indeed, so flagrantly did the prophets of this new dispensation belie all their professions, that nearly a year before the end of General Grant's first term, the chief founders and preëminent representatives of the party were obliged to desert it as the only means of preserving their honor and self-respect.

But the men who had so marvellously succeeded to the leadership of the party which signalized its early life by its

championship of the rights of man, had now only entered upon the threshold of their career. Nothing daunted by their record, and holding fast their theory that the existence of the party was absolutely necessary to save the country from rebel ascendancy, these body-guards of the President entrenched themselves behind its early achievements and previous good character while plotting his nomination and election for a second term. He was re-nominated as their standard-bearer by the national convention of 1872, which incorporated into its platform the following resolution :

“Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions.”

On this platform General Grant was nominated unanimously. Notwithstanding the revolting record he had made, he was chosen by 286 electoral votes, and a popular majority of nearly three-quarters of a million, carrying thirty-one of the thirty-seven states, while Horace Greeley, for refusing to follow his party and earnestly seeking the reform of great abuses which had found shelter under the strife of sections, was branded as a traitor, and hunted to his grave by political assassins. But what was the record of the party during Grant's second term? In comparison with it his first administration was next to immaculate. I hope you have not forgotten the Republican “Rogues' Gallery” which I painted four years ago. You will remember that the civil service rules, which had been framed during his first term, now became a more glaring political mockery than ever before. You have not forgotten his disgusting prostitution of the civil service in connection with his brother-in-law Casey; the prompt appointment of Sheppard as one of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, after its government had been abolished in order to get rid of him; his sympathy with the safe-burglary criminals, and official aid to his brother Orville

in making merchandise of post-traderships ; the disgrace of the Department of Justice by Attorney-General Williams, which was followed by his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States ; the crime of Secretary Belknap, and the unsavory performances of Secretary Delano ; the President's hostility to Secretary Bristow and his subordinates for their efforts to hunt down whisky-thieves, and his undisguised sympathy for General Babcock and other criminals ; his personal lobbying in both houses of Congress for the passage of the salary theft ; his defense of the moiety system, by which the revenues of the country were farmed out to his favorites ; his friendship for the horde of thieves and demagogues who had fastened themselves like leeches upon the people of the South, and were backed by the whole power of the administration ; and the entire system of carpet-bag spoliation and bayonet rule under which that section was given over to lawlessness and crime. I need not pursue these recitals, and would gladly draw a veil over the sickening picture, if the lessons of political wrong-doing could safely be slighted. In fact, the spectacle of our public affairs became so revolting under this dynasty of huckstering politics and personal government, of groveling purposes and ravenous greed, of bribery and nepotism and shamelessness, that before the middle of Grant's second term all the great Republican states of the North were lost to the party, while leading Republicans began to agitate the question of remanding the states of the South to territorial rule on account of their disordered condition. In 1868 the Senate contained a Republican majority of fifty-four members, and the House of Representatives 104 ; but at the end of General Grant's second term the majority in the Senate had dwindled from fifty-four to seventeen, while in the House the majority of 104 had been wiped out to give place to a Democratic majority of seventy-seven. These were the inevitable fruits of Grantism, for its career had been inaugurated in its overwhelming ascendancy, and with the amplest possible opportunities to demonstrate its capacity to govern the country. While they

completely vindicated the greatly maligned Liberal Republicans of 1872, they summoned to the bar of history the party whose fatal blunder then brought disgrace upon the nation and a stain upon Republican institutions throughout the world.

But let us still further continue our survey of the Republican party in the clear perspective of its history. Notwithstanding the perfectly defiant repudiation of its professions, the party faced the country in its national convention of 1876 with the following declaration, embodying its confession of faith on the subject of reform:

“Senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.”

On this platform Governor Hayes was nominated, and he emphasized it in his letter of acceptance, in his inaugural address, and in his famous civil service order, which followed a few months later. By these documents he unequivocally pledged himself that senators and representatives should not dictate appointments, and that they were no longer to be made merely as rewards for partisan services; that no officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions or election campaigns; that no assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed, and that this rule was applicable to every department of the civil service. Here were promises and pledges quite as sweeping as those which had been invariably trampled under foot for eight years. How were they carried out by the party under its new leader? Some of you may remember the prophecy

I made four years ago, and my quotation from Senator Morton, that "in a government of parties, like ours, the President must have his friends," and that "the administration of any President will be, in the main, what the party which elected him makes it." That this would prove true in the case of Mr. Hayes was rendered certain during the canvass. Morton, Conkling, Blaine, Cameron and Chandler assumed exactly the same leadership as if a politician of their school had been nominated. The administration of General Grant, which had brought the party to the verge of ruin, was indorsed by the national convention which nominated his successor. The managers of the canvass studiously avoided all reference to civil service reform and the letter of acceptance of their candidate, while their conduct constantly assumed that his administration, should he be elected, would be a continuation of that of General Grant. The canvass, in fact, was merely a renewal of the struggle between the policy of hate and the policy of reconciliation which had so long divided the people, and under cover of which the Republican leaders were still determined to maintain their hold on power. Governor Hayes himself serenely looked on, and if he did not expressly sanction this mode of conducting the canvass, he certainly could not have been ignorant of the issue on which the battle was being waged and the methods employed to secure the victory. His election, in short, was the unquestionable triumph of the "machine politicians," and they had a perfect right to claim it as logically redounding to their glory and advantage.

It was not a matter of the least surprise, therefore, that the civil service policy of the new President proved to be a perfect travesty of the party platform and his own declarations. Indeed, the very beginning of his administration was signalized by acts of the most shameless recreancy to his pledges. For several months following the election the result was in doubt. It depended upon the votes of Florida and Louisiana, and these were to be counted by state officials of exceedingly bad repute. M. L. Stearns was governor of Florida at the

time, and, contrary to law, withheld from the Tilden electors the certificates to which the returns entitled them, and gave certificates to the Hayes electors, who had not received a majority of the votes of the state. Stearns was defeated for governor at the same election in which Hayes was held to have carried the state, and was subsequently appointed one of the Hot Springs commissioners, with a compensation of \$10 per day. McLinn was one of the state canvassers, without whose arbitrary acts in throwing out Democratic votes Florida would have been counted for Tilden. He was rewarded by the office of Justice of the Supreme Court of New Mexico, at a salary of \$3,000 per annum. Dr. Cowgill, another member of the board of canvassers, received an appointment in the treasury department, which, for some reason, he declined, while L. G. Dennis, chairman of the Republican committee of Alachua county; Richard H. Black and Thomas H. Vance, who acted as inspector and clerk at the election in that county; Joseph Barnes, inspector of elections in Leon county; James Bell, of Jefferson county, and J. W. Howell, a slippery employé in the office of the clerk of Baker county, all received official recognition for diversified acts of rascality and fraud connected with the election. These were remarkable illustrations of the rule which made "honesty, fidelity and capacity," and not partisan service, the test of fitness for office. Nor were the visiting statesmen from the North, who gave their attention to the Florida count, overlooked. Governor Noyes was appointed Minister to France; General Lew Wallace was made Governor of New Mexico, and John A. Kasson, Minister to Austria.

The facts as to Louisiana are still worse. Without the vote of this state Hayes could not be counted in, and the count devolved upon a returning board of precious political cherubs, of which J. Madison Wells was president. Their work was done with infernal fidelity to the Republican party, and gave further occasion for the display of civil service reform. Until recently Mr. Wells held the office of surveyor of the port of New Orleans, at a salary of \$3,500 per annum.

One of his sons, whom Mr. Hayes recently nominated for the position held by his father, occupied the place of special deputy surveyor at New Orleans, at a salary of \$2,500 per annum. Another son holds the position of inspector at New Orleans, while a son-in-law is a clerk in the custom house. Thomas C. Anderson, another member of the returning board, is special deputy collector at New Orleans, at a salary of \$3,000 per annum, and his son, his father-in-law and his brother-in-law, all hold important places under the government. Louis M. Kenner, a colored member of the returning board, is deputy naval officer at New Orleans, on a salary of \$2,500 per annum, while two of his brothers hold subordinate positions. Casanave, the remaining member of the board, strange as it may seem, has never been rewarded with an office, though his brother holds the position of United States storekeeper at New Orleans. But, in justice to the administration, it should be stated that after a heavy judgment had been rendered against him for counsel fees he had agreed to pay for his defense against an indictment for fraudulent conduct as a member of the returning board, and when, after an execution had been levied upon his property for the satisfaction of the judgment, he came to Washington and appealed to the President and his cabinet for financial relief, very touchingly reminding them of the services he had rendered in counting the vote of his state, and their obligations to befriend him, the required amount was contributed, and Casanave sent home with an unburdened mind. I need not say that the honors and emoluments heaped upon these men, through whose official action the administration mounted to power, would have been an insult to political decency and a vile caricature of civil service reform if there had been even a well-founded suspicion as to their integrity. I must add that Governor Packard was finally rewarded for his disgraceful career in Louisiana by the best consulate in Europe, and Mr. Stoughton made Minister to Russia, as a reward, undoubtedly, for his services in carrying the state for the President in defiance of "clerical errors;" while the ringleader

of the gang of visiting statesmen who went to New Orleans "in the interest of a fair count" was made secretary of the United States treasury.

But the civil service of the new administration has supplied still further illustrations. Mr. Filley, a politician and intriguer of bad repute, was reappointed postmaster at St. Louis. General Babcock continued to bask in the sunshine of executive approval. The office of consul general at Frankfort-on-the-Main was treated as a personal perquisite of the President by bestowing it upon his private secretary. A Kentucky lawyer and partisan was made judge of the Supreme Court of the United States for timely services rendered in the Cincinnati convention in securing the nomination of his chief, and afterward in settling the dispute in Louisiana. The offer of the English mission to the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress was a palpable disregard of civil service reform as the President himself had defined it, and so was the offer of the German mission to the delegation from Illinois. He has allowed his first assistant postmaster general to send out blanks through the mails to members of Congress, to be filled by them with the names of such persons as they may see fit to recommend for office, just as if he had made no public pledge that this practice should be discontinued. I give him credit for the removal of Mr. Arthur from the New York custom house, for the excellent reason that he had made it "a center of partisan political management," and that it was necessary "in order that the office may be honestly administered." These reasons were reinforced by Secretary Sherman, who said to the collector that "gross abuses of administration have continued and increased during your incumbency;" that "persons have been regularly paid by you who have rendered little or no service;" that "the expenses of your office have increased while its receipts have diminished," and that "bribes, or gratuities in the shape of bribes, have been received by your subordinates in several branches of the custom house, and you have in no case supported the effort to correct these abuses."

But notwithstanding these grave charges the removal of

Mr. Arthur was only made after great and inexcusable delay, and was then accompanied by the offer to him of the Paris consulate, being an evident maneuver of the President to keep on both sides of the civil service question. I must also give the President due credit for removing Mr. Cornell from the office of surveyor, on account of his defiance of the civil service order. He did this in the face of Senator Conkling's denunciation of the administration, and his insolent remark that "reform is the last refuge of a scoundrel." But when Mr. Cornell, at Conkling's dictation, was nominated for Governor of New York last year, and was known to be in alliance with the Tammany wing of the Democratic party, Mr. Sherman entered the canvass and earnestly advocated his election; so did Secretary Evarts, while the President himself caused a statement to be made in the newspapers that if he were in New York he would cordially give Mr. Cornell his support. During this canvass Mr. Sherman wrote to Appraiser Dutcher: "I cordially approve of your taking part in the Cornell and Hoskins campaign, and will do all in my power to favor their election. I have no objection to the government employ  s making contributions to the fund." So pitiful a game of fast and loose is more detestable than the absence of any pretense of principle or consistency, and forcibly illustrates the omnipotent moral feebleness of this administration. Every feature of the civil service order of three years ago; every phase and similitude of the reform is openly disregarded, and everywhere treated with contempt. So completely, in fact, has the civil service become the mere foot-ball of scheming party managers, and fashioned itself into the old warp and woof of Grantism, that in the late Chicago convention the Committee on Resolutions, halting before the accusing party record, repeatedly voted down the proposition to allude in any way to the subject. When the convention afterward was compelled to deal with it on its introduction by a Massachusetts delegate, the resolution offered, according to George William Curtis, "was paired into the utmost possible harmlessness," and then practically blotted

out by the nomination of a man for the second place on the ticket whose management of the New York custom house had been the beau ideal of the spoils system, and an insult to the administration which afterward crouched at his feet in atonement for the only decided spasm of virtue which had exercised its conscience. If anything was wanting to round out and beautify these closing acts of the convention, it was the keen irony embodied in the hungry and wolfish inquiry of the patriot Flannegan, of Texas: "What are we here for if not for office and patronage?" And if any political fact could be made absolutely certain, it is, that civil service reform, after a life of great travail and sorrow, was at last in its grave; while you all know that General Garfield himself, in his letter of acceptance, has preached its funeral and written its epitaph.

This, gentlemen, is the record of the Republican party since the close of the war and the settlement of the questions it involved. This is the sum total of its promised achievements in the work of "reform within the party;" and it shows how entirely safe Secretary Schurz is in predicting that the millenium will not follow the election of the Republican ticket. I have spread out before you its reiterated professions and promises, and the unfailing violation of them which has followed as the night the day; and I ask any fair-minded Republican to give me a single reason, or even a respectable pretext, for believing that the long delayed work will be accomplished. It violated its pledges made in 1868. It proved equally false to those made in 1872. It has defiantly mocked its plighted promises in 1876, which still kept alive the hope of many Republicans; and now, as the climax of its unrebuked recreancy, it even musters the courage to disavow the stock professions which have so long masked its real character. If any honest man is still inclined to trust it, I point him to these danger signals all along its pathway, beckoning him to beware. By its fruits it must be judged, and if so it will be nailed to the pillory by an overwhelming popular verdict. The Republican leaders understand this

perfectly; and hence, at the very threshold of this canvass we find them resorting to the old game which they played so skillfully in 1872 and 1876. They are asking us to excuse or condone their multiplied acts of misgovernment for the last twelve years, on the score of what the party did during the war; and they insist, with their old-time vehemence, upon the total depravity of the Democratic party and the exhaustless saving grace of their own. The key-note of the canvass was struck by the Republican candidate for Governor in his opening speech at Indianapolis. He gave us to understand that should General Hancock be elected, Utah, with her polygamy, would be admitted as a state, and thus give the party two senators; that the Indian territory would be carved into another state, with two more senators; that Texas would be divided into five states, and thus give the party eight additional senators; that the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States would be duplicated, and three-fourths of them selected from the South; that then the reconstruction acts and constitutional amendments would all be pronounced unconstitutional and void; and finally, that we should be saddled with the rebel debt and rebel pensions, and be compelled to pay the value of the slaves unconstitutionally set free, who, of course, would all be put back into slavery.

This brilliant unfurling of the "bloody shirt" at the opening of the canvass, by a gentleman of Mr. Porter's coolness and proverbial moderation, seems a little remarkable, and suggests the suspicion that his picture of Democratic diabolism may have been painted with a pencil bequeathed by the late Senator Morton. Mr. Porter says this is "no fancy sketch, no picture of the imagination, but a sober danger, which may, before we know it, become an appalling one." If he really believes this, his friends should provide him with a guardian or a responsible committee to take charge of his person and estate, instead of trying to make him Governor. If he does not believe it, but is simply seeking a party advantage by a base appeal to popular ignorance, he is a dema-

gogue of very considerable promise, and should be rebuked by the people according to his deserts. But this is the Republican argument, and Mr. Porter is only one of the many leaders who are giving it voice. When Secretary Sherman was in Maine he told his audiences that "questions of money, labor, and property sank into insignificance" in the presence of the great sectional issue. Senator Hoar, as we have seen, treats the Democratic party to-day, united under a famous Union General, as imbued with the same treasonable purpose and spirit which animated the revolt against the government in 1861. Even Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, lends himself to the same madness. These ideas will shape and inspire the Republican canvass in every section of the Union. The Republican leaders are the everlasting saviors of the country. Since the rebellion was suppressed it has been constantly nearing the gates of death, and especially at every Presidential election. The war has now been over more than fifteen years, and yet the "Rebels" have so fair a prospect of capturing the government that the effort to save it must not be balked in the slightest degree by any inquiries into the management of public affairs since the close of the conflict. One-half the people of the United States are so infinitely wicked that at all hazards they must be kept out of power. This is the Republican issue. This view of the situation, it is true, greatly belittles the boasted achievements of the party in saving the Union and garnering the fruits of the victory. It also excites a doubt as to whether a nation thus fearfully beset with deadly perils and constantly on the ragged edge of destruction, is worth the trouble and vexation of preserving it, except to the ravenous crew who live by plunder; but these considerations probably never occur to the men whose days and nights are completely absorbed by their efforts to save their country from the dreadful pitfalls of its enemies.

Gentlemen, I have no motive and no wish to withhold from the Republican party its fairly-earned honors in the work of suppressing the rebellion. I was with it and of it

during the great crisis of its life, and am perfectly willing to crown it with all the glory it earned ; but does it logically follow that because, under the lead of Lincoln, Seward, Chase and Sumner, it played a grand part in crushing out a rebellion which began nearly twenty years ago, that, therefore, the Republican party of to-day should be intrusted with the national administration? There can be but one possible answer to this question. We are now in the enjoyment of peace, and interested in the concerns of peace. More than the half of an entire generation has passed away since the close of the struggle, and it has no more business in this canvass than our war with Mexico. What the country wants to-day is an honest and capable management of public affairs ; and the claim of the contending parties upon our suffrages should be judged solely in reference to this consideration. As regards that portion of the Democratic party which undertook the work of national dismemberment in 1861 in defense of negro slavery, I am quite as ready to condemn it as I am to applaud the conduct of the men who confronted it at the time. Its action provoked my unmeasured abhorrence, and my emphatic expression of it has never been withdrawn ; but when the Democratic party now asks me to consider its claim to my confidence, am I to brand it as a party of rebels because a fraction of it embarked in a treasonable conspiracy nearly a generation ago? As reasonable men, loving our country and seeking its welfare with unbiased minds, it is our duty to consider what is best in the light of existing and irreversible facts, and, above all things, not to make shipwreck of our common sense at the bidding of party leaders.

For myself, instead of seeking pretexts for prolonging the old quarrel between sections, I am anxious, above all things, to avoid them. Instead of lying in wait for some unguarded expression or rash utterance, or studiously provoking it, I am ready to welcome with gladness and thanksgiving every token of reconciliation. I plead for this spirit, because just so long as parties are marshalled against each other on the baleful memories of the war, the issue of sectionalism will be the

stalking-horse of every form of political abuse, and no remedy for our political disorders will be possible. The first and indispensable step in the pathway of reform is the rearrangement of parties on questions wholly disconnected with the settled issues of the past. The "Solid North" and "Solid South," for which reckless demagogues are now laboring, would be a national calamity. Both should be divided; and questions of practical administration are not wanting on which such divisions are invited, involving, of necessity, the division of the colored vote, and thus clearing the way for the end of sectional agitation by diverting attention from its cause. I quarrel with the Republican party to-day because its machinery is kept in working order by unholy appeals to passions and animosities that need nothing so much as forgetfulness. It lives upon the consuming fires of sectional hate, and makes crimination and recrimination respecting dead issues the fuel of our politics. If anything could drive the people of the South into the madness of treason it would be the policy of the Republican leaders in perpetually branding them with it, and arraigning them in the language and spirit of 1861. How can a quarrel ever come to an end if the parties to it, after a formal settlement, make it their constant business to taunt each other with their mutual accusations? If the ashes of the past are to be constantly stirred, and our parties rallied on the memories of the war to-day, who can predict the time when a real union of the sections will be possible? If the North and the South are to be dealt with as two hostile camps, who can expect emigration to flow into the states which else would invite it, and thus work out their redemption through an intelligent and homogeneous population?

Gentlemen, let me deal fairly with this question. It undoubtedly has its difficulties. Its just settlement demands statesmanship, not passion. The people of the South are the product of their political and social antecedents. They have behind them a history radically different from that of the people of the North, and the impress of that history can only be effaced by cultivated patience and good-will in both sec-

tions. In dealing with so vital and delicate a problem we are obliged to accept the inevitable conditions of progress, and have no right to upbraid whole communities with the great facts which have made them what they are. Without the intervention of a miracle the unlikeness of the two sections can only disappear gradually, and under friendly conditions. It could scarcely be expected that the people of the South can all now feel precisely the same attachment for the Union they fought to destroy which is felt by the people who fought to save it. They can not help remembering their sufferings and sacrifices in the struggle and hallowing the memory of their slain. They are a different people, with a different historic record, and imbued with correspondingly different ideas; and these differences should be dealt with in a friendly and tolerant spirit, instead of being eagerly laid hold of as the occasion for strife. Our Republican leaders endeavor to awaken sectional animosity by their inventory of the "Confederate Brigadiers" in Congress who are now sharing in the government they fought to destroy. But these dangerous characters are there by the express legislative permission of the Republican party, which made haste to remove their disabilities and hurried the seceded states back into their constitutional relations to the Union. They were thus armed with the power to manage their own affairs without being called to account by the states of the North; and nobody had any right to expect that in choosing men to serve them in Congress they would select perfect representatives of Northern opinion. Nobody had any right to suppose that the essential facts of the situation could be changed except by the healing hand of time and the duty of men on both sides to smooth the way as fast as possible to a general and genuine reconciliation. It has been well said by a very able English writer on political and social questions that "generations change. The son is not like his father; the grandson is still less like his grandfather. They do not feel the same feelings, or think the same thoughts, or lead the same life. You can no more expect different generations to have exactly the

same political opinions, to obey exactly the same laws, to love exactly the same institutions, than you can expect them to wear identical clothes, own identical furniture, or have identical manners." The states of the South may safely be left to the operation of these obvious principles, while every patriotic man of the North should gladly accept them as the prophecy and pledge of a reunited republic. These states must be redeemed, if redeemed at all, through the working of moral and social forces. It must be done through the ordinary agencies of civilization, and not by the methods of barbarism, and in the very nature of things it can not be done in a day. If I am mistaken, and we are to accept the Republican view of the people as thoroughly given over to the work of treason and the re-enslavement of their colored population, then the Union is virtually dismembered already, and the Republican party confesses the utter failure of its scheme of reconstruction. The government, by constitutional methods, of a great and united section of the republic which defies the national authority, is impossible, and the folly of attempting it should be abandoned at once. These "rebel districts" not only need "troops at the polls," but troops everywhere, and should be summarily turned over as outlying provinces to the tutelage of a standing army.

Now, gentlemen, if I am right in these views, as I feel quite sure I am—if the facts which make up my premises are impregnable and my deductions valid—the chief task upon which I set out is accomplished. The best and only possible way to inaugurate political reform is to drive the Republican party from power, and place the government in new hands. By no other means can the era of sectional estrangement be closed and the orderly and healthy administration of affairs be re-established. This conclusion is not at all affected by the conduct of the Democratic party years ago, in its relations to slavery and the war, nor by its record since. It has not been charged with the administration of national affairs for many years, with the slight exception of its recent ascendancy in Congress, during which the power of the lobby

has been broken, the political and social atmosphere of Washington greatly improved, and the annual expenditures of the government greatly reduced. But I do not rest the case upon these facts. The Democratic party is not innocent of very grave political mistakes and offenses. This has been especially true in particular states and districts during the dispensation of plunder and misgovernment which marked the two administrations of General Grant. During the years of sectional bitterness unavoidably resulting from the war, and needlessly aggravated by demagogues, the Democratic party had a very trying experience, and often sadly failed in meeting the obligations of patriotism and statesmanship. I am not here to defend it where its conduct is not defensible. I do not disguise the fact that should it now regain power it will have on its hands a work of exceeding difficulty. I do not believe in the power of any party to work miracles, but it is the only instrument through which the government can now be rescued from the depraved dynasty which controls it, and which, as I have shown, has completely lost the power of self-recovery. We can not afford to postpone the work of saving the country till a perfect party shall offer to undertake it; and it is always wiser to run the hazard of possible or even probable evils than voluntarily to accept those which are certain. Twenty years of power would demoralize a party of angels. It would convert them into a governing class, with interests wholly apart from those of the people, and the complete overhauling of their misdeeds would only be possible through a new party, stimulated in its work by a political victory, and having complete control of their records.

In following out the line of argument in my opening statements, let me now briefly refer to the personal character of the candidates. Of General Hancock I need say but little. It is the singular good fortune of his country and of himself that he does not need to be defended. In private life he is above reproach. His honor is unsullied. There is no stain of bribery or official greed upon his garments. His

loyalty to the Union has been tried by fire, and demonstrated by acts which will make his name as imperishable as the history of his country. His subordination of the military to the civil power, while holding an important command, is a guarantee that, if elected, the arbitrary methods which have brought shame upon the government under Republican rule will cease, and that statesmanship, and not mere brute-force, will guide the conduct of public affairs; while there is no reason whatever for believing that he will imitate the conduct of General Grant by surrounding himself with political bummers and knaves. He is a clean man, and if political reform should not be thoroughly accomplished under his administration it will at least be made possible by breaking up the organized machinery which now stands in its way, and assuaging the bitterness of sectional strife.

As regards the Republican candidate, I know him pretty well, having served with him in the House of Representatives eight years. Our personal as well as political relations were at all times friendly, and I have no disposition whatever to do him any injustice. He is a man of brains, and less inclined to party narrowness and intolerance, and more catholic in his tendencies than the other conspicuous Republican leaders. The natural bent of his character is toward integrity, and he is not without excellent personal qualities; but in his long career he has never shown himself able to rise above his party. In times of real trial he is wanting in moral nerve. During the dismal political eclipse which I have called Grantism, he gave no sign of revolt or discontent, but meekly held his peace. He is known to be in sympathy with our great railway corporations, and fully with his party in its strong leaning toward centralization. I understand him to be a free trader in his convictions and a member of the Cobden Club; but I believe he has always accommodated himself to the wishes of the tariff monopolists of the country, and I have no doubt will be equally subservient in future. Nearly two years ago, when sectionalism seemed to be on the wane, he declared that "the man who attempts to get up a political

excitement in this country on the old sectional issues will find himself without a party and without support ; " but this was a sporadic utterance in the face of his uniform course since the war as a stalwart, in vigorously flourishing the bloody shirt. At the bidding of his party he has been faithless to his own expressed views on the use of the army at elections and the employment of deputy marshals. In his letter of acceptance he makes a very feeble effort to place himself on the side of civil service reform, while in substance he condemns the order of President Hayes to his subordinates, vindicates congressional interference with appointments and thus begins the battle for reform by a surrender. His role in the Chicago convention as a peace-maker aptly illustrates his natural disposition, and his unfitness for any independent, aggressive movement. If his intellect were inspired by profound moral convictions and a strong will, his friends might plausibly claim that he could lift his party to a higher level ; but he is merely its expression and breath. His nomination was an accident, and has no moral significance whatever. He would have supported General Grant if he had been nominated, notwithstanding his record of eight years and the mischiefs threatened by the precedent of a third term, just as he stood ready to work and shout for Blaine, with his stock-jobbing performances. Probably four-fifths of the national convention favored one or the other of these two candidates, whose overthrow was accomplished by outside influences which the convention was unwilling to defy. General Garfield profited by the embittered rivalries of the other candidates, and all that can be claimed in his behalf is that he represents the average political morality of the party whose record I have attempted to depict, and whose national convention, with only two dissenting voices, pledged itself before the nomination to support any man who might be selected.

But the character of General Garfield is involved in certain particular charges, to which I propose to refer. Among these I shall briefly allude to the retroactive salary act, the De Golyer pavement swindle, and the Credit Mobilier devel-

opments. In dealing with these it may be well to remember that every one of them has a Republican pedigree, and therefore, when complaint is made about throwing "campaign mud," I refer the account for settlement to the Republican leaders and journalists who made these charges years ago, and are now so ready to brand them as Democratic lies. They dumped this "mud" on the door-steps of their candidate, and it is their business to cart it away if they can. Let me say further, that I wish to deal only in facts. I shall indulge in no denunciation, no personal abuse, and no extravagant assertions as to General Garfield's criminality. If his early accusers and present champions had shown more candor and less partisan bias in dealing with his conduct, I should have felt less disposition to arraign it. If, instead of attempting to prove his character stainless, they had been willing, like the *Springfield Republican*, to admit his weakness, and refer his conduct to the corrupt atmosphere of the period in which he yielded to temptation, and the charitable judgment of the public, there would have been less motive and less inclination to overhaul the facts and sift the evidence. The people have a right to know the truth respecting the character of a candidate for the highest office within their gift, and if it can not pass their scrutiny unscathed, no amount of whitewash should be allowed to conceal the fact.

The material facts connected with the retroactive salary bill may be very briefly stated. On the last day of the forty-second Congress, this measure appropriated nearly two million dollars to pay the members of that Congress for salaries they had never earned. It was regarded by the people as a naked legislative theft. General Garfield was chairman of the Committee of Conference having charge of the appropriation bill containing the retroactive provision, and as such, engineered its passage and voted for it. It is true, that he had previously and repeatedly voted against the salary increase as a separate proposition, but this does not relieve him of the responsibility of finally voting for and urging its pas-

sage. It is also true that he attempted to justify his action on the plea that if the appropriation bill failed, an extra session of Congress would be necessary. But this was a pretense, and not a justification. If the measure had failed through his opposition, there was time enough for another Committee of Conference, and a further effort to save the treasury. If, however, he clearly saw, or could have seen, that an extra session of Congress would be the result, it did not justify him in so flagrant a game of robbery. He should have washed his hands of it, and scouted the Jesuitical principle which invited him to pick the nation's pocket to avoid a greater evil. That General Garfield was really in sympathy with the measure is shown by his false pretense that it was not a robbery or a theft at all, but justified by legislative precedents, and by the fact that he allowed the salary to stand to his credit, and of course meant to retain it. Six or seven weeks afterwards, it is true, he covered it into the treasury, and thereby confessed his guilt. But this was in the midst of a popular indignation which had spread like fire throughout the Union, and a few days after a Republican convention at Warren, in Trumbull county, in his congressional district, had censured him for his action respecting this measure, and requested him to resign. He only dropped his swag when he found the police were on his tracks. These are the simple facts bearing upon his connection with this transaction, and the people will decide whether they do not signally fail to relieve him of his conspicuous responsibility for this memorable legislative outrage.

The De Golyer pavement matter is connected with the scheme of street improvements in Washington, inaugurated by the board of public works in 1872. In response to bids which were invited by the board, De Golyer & Co. applied for a large contract for laying their patent wooden pavement, which was rejected by the board of engineers. They thereupon determined to raise a large fund through which to influence the action of the board in their favor, and the evidence

taken before two congressional investigating committees shows that sundry influential parties in Washington were enlisted in the work, including R. C. Parsons, then Marshal of the Supreme Court, who was to receive a large fee for his services, contingent upon an appropriation by Congress. Out of this fee Mr. Parsons agreed to pay General Garfield \$5,000 for professional services before the board, in behalf of the application of De Golyer & Co., for a contract. If General Garfield was at that time known to the public as a lawyer, it is quite certain that he had won no celebrity. The question to be decided involved the character and comparative value of many patents, both wooden and concrete, and could scarcely be considered a judicial one at all. There was no case in court, because nobody had been sued. It was a matter for experts and not for lawyers, and it was not to be tried by a judicial tribunal. General Garfield never appeared before the board, and never filed any written argument. If he prepared one, as he declares he did, it strangely failed to find its way to the tribunal it was intended to influence. He once spoke to Governor Shepard on the subject in behalf of his clients, and received \$5,000 for serving them. I think he must have known that his opinion of wooden pavements was not worth this sum. That he received it for his factitious influence as a member of Congress and chairman of the committee on appropriations, is as perfectly manifest as any fact can be, short of a mathematical demonstration. If, as he declares, he did not himself know it, nor suspect it, it is a psychological phenomenon which may well awaken doubt as to that mental soundness which is the special boast of his friends. General Garfield and his champions are endeavoring to whiten his record by asserting that the money to pay for these street improvements did not come from the national treasury, but from the resources of the District, and had already been provided by the District government, so that the only question involved was the kind of pavement which should be used. If this were true, his official position would have been less influential in his employment, and he would be at least partially

exonerated. But the truth is that behind the District government and its revenues stood Congress, the ultimate responsible authority for appropriations, and that large appropriations for the De Golyer pavements were afterwards reported by General Garfield's committee, and passed. That his official position and influence constituted the motive of his employment is shown by the fact that after he had been secured, his employers made their boast that they had now the influence of the man who held "the purse-strings of the United States," and was "the strongest man in Congress;" and on this ground it has since been judicially determined that the contract procured by such methods was against public policy and void. I commend these pregnant considerations to General Garfield's over-zealous friends, whose efforts in wrestling with unmanageable facts promise to become an interesting campaign study.

Respecting General Garfield's transactions with Oakes Ames, his champions make the same extravagant claim of complete vindication as in the charges I have noticed. They decline to make any excuses on the score of weakness or ignorance, but attempt to defend him absolutely. Oakes Ames testified before the Poland committee that he agreed to take ten shares of the Credit Mobilier stock, and that he (Ames) paid him a dividend of \$329. The committee, a majority of which was composed of Republicans, unanimously found these facts to be true. Undoubtedly they believed him, as the public did with scarcely a dissenting voice. But, although several excellent reputations were destroyed or badly damaged by the evidence of Ames before the committee, yet now, under the impelling pressure of a Presidential election, and when he has been seven years in his grave, it is insisted that his statements respecting General Garfield are wholly untrustworthy. The report of this committee is assailed by leading newspapers, which strongly condemned its culpable moderation at the time of its publication in not including sundry other members of Congress (General Garfield among them) in the same condemnation it pronounced

upon Ames and Brooks. Among these newspapers was *Harper's Weekly*. Indeed, it was then very generally regarded by the public as a whitewashing report, and this view had strong confirmation in the fact that the members of the committee were General Garfield's daily associates, and a majority of them his personal and political friends, who would spare him as far as possible. And yet *Harper's Weekly* now says: "The authors of the report may have thought it necessary to show their impartiality by sacrificing some of their own party friends." This suggestion is as stupid as it is dishonorable to the members of that committee, and shows to what desperate straits an uncommonly decent newspaper may be driven by the exigencies of a political campaign. This journal also says: "The whole case, as far as Mr. Garfield is concerned, is a question of veracity between him and Oakes Ames," and it has no hesitation in completely discrediting the evidence of the latter, although the friendly tone of his statements respecting Mr. Garfield clearly indicate the disposition to spare him, and although this committee had unanimously reached an opposite conclusion, after hearing all the evidence, weighing the character of the witnesses who came before them, the manner in which they testified, and all the circumstances of the case. The *Nation* falls into the same vein, although at first it spoke of the conduct of General Garfield in this affair as having, "at the time, a very unfortunate appearance," and said, "he undoubtedly bore himself badly when the uproar began, and he discovered what a very serious view the public took of Ames' dealings with congressmen." It now strongly accentuates the bad memory of Mr. Ames, indulges in several charitable suppositions as to the conduct and motives of General Garfield, and tenderly weighs the charges against him in the light of his good character, about which, it should remember, that opinions are very greatly divided.

These organs likewise overlook certain circumstantial statements made by Mr. Ames before the committee, on the 29th of January, which, in fairness, should have been no-

ticed in their review of the transaction. He then testified to the effect that General Garfield, in interviews after the investigation had begun, did not pretend that any money had been loaned him; that he admitted that \$2,400 were due him in stock and bonds; that he said this affair would be very injurious to him, and was a cruel thing; that he was in very great distress, and hardly knew what he did say; and that he said he wanted to say as little about the affair as he could, and get off as easily as possible. These statements related to recent conversations, and can not be got rid of on the plea of the bad memory of Mr. Ames. They wear the appearance of truth; and if they were false, they deserved a point-blank contradiction by Mr. Garfield on his oath before the committee. But he never made that contradiction. He failed to confront Mr. Ames as a witness respecting these statements, and subject himself to the wholesome test of truth afforded by a cross-examination, but contented himself with an *ex parte* printed statement of his defense several months later and after Ames had died. These facts do not favor the theory of his conscious innocence. I will not brand him as guilty, but the very utmost that can be claimed in his behalf is that his wrong-doing is "not proven." He is entitled to the benefit of all reasonable doubts, and to a fair and impartial hearing on the appeal now taken to the public from the finding of the Poland committee; but the public will remember that this appeal is asked seven years after his conviction, and in the midst of a national canvass in which the fate of his party is involved in his vindication, and it will not fail to weigh the evidence accordingly. I freely give him credit for his ingenious and elaborate defense of himself in response to the popular clamor in the spring of 1873, but the truth is, after all, that he stands before the nation under the shadow of suspicion. That shadow can not be removed by calling Judge Poland, General Banks and Judge McCrary as witnesses to impeach their own record. It can not be removed by the opinion of Senator Thurman that his guilt is not demonstrated by the evidence. It can not be removed by the

friendly letter of Judge Black, expressing the strong assurance of General Garfield's ignorance of the criminal purposes of Oakes Ames, but leaving unnoticed the conflict between his sworn statement and that of General Garfield respecting his agreement to take ten shares of stock. Nor can it be removed by the alleged action of his immediate constituents in condoning his errors. They have not condoned them. In 1872 his Congressional majority was 10,944; but in 1874 it was reduced to 2,526, while in his last election, when the memory of this transaction had considerably faded out of the public mind, his majority was still 4,594 less than his full party strength.

But I must pass now, in conclusion, to other and still graver charges. General Garfield was one of the "visiting statesmen" who repaired to New Orleans soon after the last Presidential election, in response to the invitation of President Grant, for the ostensible purpose of securing "a fair count" of the vote of Louisiana. The President ordered to the state an imposing military force to preserve the peace, and see that the returning board of the state was unmolested in the performance of its duty; but as he had already destroyed civil government there by the bayonet the necessity for this military order was not apparent, unless some new outrage was contemplated. The situation was critical, and a feeling of uncertainty and alarm prevailed throughout the country. The chairman of the Democratic National Committee invited several representative public men, of both political parties, to visit New Orleans in the interest of peace and the furtherance of the faithful performance of its duty by the returning board; and on their arrival in the city they proposed to Senator Sherman, General Garfield, and their Republican associates, a joint conference and friendly co-operation with a view to a just and satisfactory settlement of the threatening controversy. But this proposition was summarily rejected, on the pretext that these representative Republicans had no legal authority to interfere with the vote of the state, or the action of its officers in canvassing it. To this it was replied

that no such authority had been thought of, and that the proposed conference contemplated only such moral influence as it might be able to exert. In response to this, the Republicans disavowed any authority or wish to interfere with the returning board, even to that extent, and thereby left the public completely in the fog as to the meaning of their mission. There could, however, be but one explanation, since a single earnest word on their part in the interest of fair play would almost certainly have been heeded, while their personal presence and refusal to act showed that they sympathized with the determination of the board to count the state for the Republicans at all events, and were present for the purpose of abetting that object. The known character of the board confirms this view. It was the creature and instrument of a state government founded in flagrant usurpation and fraud. Although the law creating it required that its members should belong to different parties, they were all Republicans, and two of them officers in the custom house at New Orleans. The law also required the board to be composed of five members, but there were only four, and they utterly refused to fill the vacancy. The entire clerical force of the board was also composed of Republicans, who would, of course, be the ready instruments of their employers. Its members were the same men who sat upon it in 1874, and after the election of that year took the majority of votes from one side and gave it to the other, by "unjust, arbitrary and illegal acts," as reported by a Republican congressional committee. The president of the board had branded himself as a perjurer in the testimony he had given respecting the state election of that year, and had disgraced himself by his political rascality and disregard of law while holding his gubernatorial office in 1867. The other members of the board were his fit associates, and it had been characterized by Hon. William A. Wheeler as "a disgrace to civilization," and was covered with universal suspicion. And yet General Garfield and his Republican confederates, in rejecting the proposition for a joint conference, declared that they had no reason to

doubt that a perfectly honest and just declaration of the results of the election in Louisiana would be made by this tribunal! That this declaration was a deliberate and conscious falsehood must be accepted as certain, unless we can defend these distinguished statesmen by attributing to them a density of ignorance respecting well-known events as disgraceful to them as lying.

That General Garfield had lent himself to the returning board in its conspiracy to cheat the people of the United States is still more fully confirmed by its action while canvassing the votes. It refused to fill the vacancy in its body and supply the wanting political element. It wrapped itself in the mantle of darkness by excluding from its sessions the public, the general press reporters, the supervisors and registrars of elections, and the candidates for office and their attorneys. In a number of instances the sealed returns from distant parishes were clandestinely opened, and the papers tampered with after they had been received by the board. All these facts were known to General Garfield. It was simply impossible to attend its daily sessions and scrutinize its action without realizing that forgery, perjury, and fraud, were liberally woven into its work. On the alleged ground of intimidation it flagrantly violated the law from which it derived its authority, by throwing out the ballots of 7,000 or 8,000 legally qualified voters, in order to secure a Republican victory. This action was founded solely on this ground, there being no charge of repeating, ballot-stuffing, or fraudulent returns; and inasmuch as the board could take no action in any way on the subject of intimidation, without a strict compliance with the detailed and circumstantial provisions of the state election law, and as the fact is undenied and undeniable that no such compliance was made, the board had no jurisdiction whatever except to count the votes returned. Its action in counting them for Hayes and Wheeler was therefore an utter defiance of the laws of the state, a flagrant outrage upon justice and decency, and a hideous mockery of representative government. This, gentlemen, is my indict-

ment against General Garfield. He was an accomplice in the crime of cheating the people of the United States by placing in the Presidential chair a man who was never elected, and by this act of treason against free institutions has forfeited his right to the suffrages of the American people.

But this is not all. After the Louisiana fraud had been consummated, and the apprehension of civil war led to the proposal of an electoral commission to settle the disputed question, General Garfield opposed the measure for two remarkable reasons. He denied the necessity for any such tribunal, on the ground that the Vice-President had the right to count the vote and declare the result. It is true that this right had been denied by nearly all the leading men of the country, of whatever party, and that, according to an unbroken line of precedents, beginning with the election of Washington and reaching down to the year 1876, the counting of the electoral vote is rightfully done by Congress, or under its authority and direction. But General Garfield knew that the Vice-President was ready to assume the disputed authority, and that the President, with the army and navy, was ready to back him; while he saw that the plan of an electoral commission might, possibly, save the Presidency to Governor Tilden. His party had the military behind it, and he knew how that power would be employed. But he also strenuously opposed the particular features of the electoral plan. His principal ground of opposition was that it would enable the commission to go behind the returns and sift the real facts in dispute. This was altogether natural, for it is now known through official documents that as a "visiting statesman" he had taken a leading part in manipulating the returns in Louisiana, and smoothing the way for a favorable decision by its returning board. In a speech in the House of Representatives on the 25th of January, 1877, he declared that the electoral bill "grasps all the power and holds states and electors as toys in its hand. It assumes the right of Congress to go down into the colleges and inquire into all the acts and facts connected with their work. It assumes

the right of Congress to go down into the states, to review the act of every officer, to open every ballot-box, and to pass judgment upon every ballot cast by 7,000,000 Americans."

This was General Garfield's opinion as a member of Congress as to the powers conferred upon the commission; but, after the passage of the bill, he became a member of this tribunal. He had assisted in doctoring the returns and preparing the case which was to settle the rights of "seven millions of Americans;" but he saw no impropriety in becoming himself a member of this great national returning board, and as such he took the following oath: "I, James A. Garfield, do solemnly swear that I will impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the commission, of which I am a member, and a true judgment give thereon, agreeably to the constitution and the laws, so help me God." But how did he discharge his duty under this oath? In every instance he voted to conceal and suppress the very facts which, on his own showing, he was solemnly bound to aid in uncovering. He knew all the facts to which I have referred relative to the frauds and violations of law in Louisiana. He knew that its returning board had openly and defiantly trampled under foot the law creating it, and from which it derived its authority to count the vote of the state; and that its action in counting it for Hayes and Wheeler was therefore utterly null and void. He knew that the commission, without violating the rights of the state, without going "down into the colleges" and inquiring "into all of the acts and facts connected with their work," but simply by ascertaining whether the election laws of Louisiana had been complied with, would be warranted in rejecting the action of the board and awarding the state to Tilden and Hendricks. But he had joined his party associates in the foregone conclusion that the Democratic party must be defeated at all hazards, and it was too late to call a halt in the devilish march of events through which forty-five millions of people were to be deprived of the right to choose their chief functionaries. The stupendous national juggle must be performed, and he

was ready to act his part. The voice of the republic had to be strangled, and he nerved himself for the work ; and it can not be denied that in accomplishing it he achieved a perfect triumph over his conscience and his country. He was, however, only the faithful servant of his master. He was a part of the long-used machinery which had allowed nothing to stand in its way. The theft of the Presidency was simply the leaf and flower of that party idolatry which has been pronounced a more soul-destroying evil in our republic than the worship of idols in a heathen land. It was the inevitable fruitage of long years of organized political corruption and prosperous maladministration ; and nothing could be more perfectly natural than the effort of his party to crown General Garfield with the great office which he aided in snatching from its rightful claimant four years ago, while nothing could more absolutely demonstrate its unfitness to govern the country and the duty of the people to sentence it to death.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND REFORM.

DELIVERED AT INDIANAPOLIS, ON THE 28TH OF AUGUST, 1884.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: The time was when our party platforms had a recognized value, and formed a part of the political education of the people. Without evasion or clap-trap, they embodied, in clear and compendious statements, what was believed to be the essential truth in politics, as a basis of political action and a guide in the administration of public affairs. Certain propositions were directly affirmed on the one side, and as directly denied on the other, and after the election the country understood what had been decided.

All this has been changed since the close of the late war and the reconstruction of the government. In the year 1872 the Democratic and Republican platforms were substantially identical, and the controversy turned upon the personality of the candidates and the supposed spirit and tendencies of the opposing forces. This was true again in 1876, when the platforms were fitly described as different words set to the same music. It was true in 1880, and history again repeats itself in 1884. I do not deny that on the tariff question our great parties are generally understood to be radically opposed; but their disagreement is set forth with such marvellous carefulness and elaboration in their platforms that the issue practically drops out of the canvass in the effort to define it.

And yet, during all these years, the most vital problems have demanded attention, and the cry of reform has been constantly sounded, and in louder and louder tones. The

reform of our systems of tariff and taxation has been steadily pressing its way to the front as an imperative necessity. So has the reform of the civil service. A very radical reform of our land policy has long been needed, including the rescue of every department of the government from its shameful thralldom to great corporations, and the reassertion of the rights of the people through the emancipation of the public domain. Above all, the country has needed such a regeneration of our politics as would inspire the conduct of public affairs once more with the great moralities that sanctify private life, and expel from the public service the armies of rogues and mercenaries that have been mobilized and made ravenous under a long lease of power.

But how shall this work of reform be accomplished? Shall we commit it to the Republican party? Is there any ground even for hope in that direction? That party has been in power, with slight exceptions, for nearly the fourth of a century, and you know the result. I do not deny that in its early days it was a party of reform. It drew its life from that idea. Its claim to be a party of great moral ideas was not without foundation. Its creed was the sacredness of human rights and the natural equality of men. It blazoned its principles upon its banner, and noble and heroic men rallied under it, and were ready, if need be, to die for their convictions, while the Republican masses were lifted up and ennobled by the struggle. Under the lead of Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Sumner, Greeley, and their associates, it won for itself a crown of imperishable glory; but the issue which now most deeply concerns the people relates to its record after its great work had been accomplished, and the government had resumed the regular and normal administration of affairs. The question, it has been well observed, is not what the party has done, but what it will do; not what it was, but what it is.

As long ago as 1868 the Republican party pledged itself in its platform to reform the corruptions that had then crept into the national administration. This was its first demand

for "reform within the party," but it went about the work after so strange a fashion that a year before the close of General Grant's administration the chief founders and early leaders of the party were obliged to desert it in order to save themselves from insufferable shame and self-reproach. Corruption and greed were the order of the day, and the men who demanded reform were hunted down as the enemies of Republicanism. But in defiance of this record General Grant was unanimously re-nominated in 1872, on a platform reiterating the demand for reform, and he was reëlected by 286 electoral votes, carrying thirty-one of the thirty-seven states, and a popular majority of nearly three-quarters of a million. And what was the result of this second effort at reform? His first administration, as you will remember, was made almost white by the transcendant and over-arching blackness of his second. The political buccaneers who surrounded him soon after his first election were very formidably reinforced, and now held him completely in their power, while all the decencies of politics took their flight, and the government of the United States became the spectacle of nations. Before the President reached the middle of his second term all the great Republican states of the North were lost to the party, and at the end of the term the Republican majority in the Senate had dwindled from fifty-four to seventeen, while in the House the majority of one hundred and four had been wiped out to give place to a Democratic majority of seventy-seven. During all these years the Republican party had in its service both houses of Congress, the army and navy, the federal judiciary, and the unlimited employment of the appointing power; yet the southern states were in so fearfully disordered a condition that the question of remanding them to territorial rule was seriously debated by prominent Republican leaders, as it is to-day.

But in the canvass of 1876 the "grand old party" had the unblushing audacity to reassert its demand for reform. With the whole power of the government at its command it had utterly failed in the business; but its false pretenses had

proved so profitable that it took fresh courage in its work and displayed a genuine enthusiasm in entering upon new and larger tasks. Its triumph over its own conscience seemed to be absolute, and its devotion to evil a fascination. It was in vain to reason with a party thus devil-bent upon its methods. It was in vain to argue that a party once thoroughly corrupt has lost the power of self-recovery, and that devils do not cast out devils, and could not be trusted if they were to undertake the business. The Republicans, it was insisted, were at all events not so bad as the Democrats, who must be kept out of power at any cost and to the last extremity. The people, however, had now grown weary of windy promises and longed for a change of administration. They really hungered for reform, but they meant reform in fact—in the concrete—and not the merely abstract and disembodied virtue which had so long been the staple of the Republican leaders. Tilden and Hendricks accordingly received a majority of the electoral votes, and an overwhelming majority of the people.

The Republican leaders, however, from their mount of vision, discovered a way of escape, and made haste in following it. They saw that by subsidizing the state officials of Louisiana and Florida, who had in hand the work of tabulating and counting the votes of those states, Hayes and Wheeler could be counted in, and Tilden and Hendricks counted out. It was a deliberate and well-planned conspiracy to cheat the people of the United States out of their right to choose their highest functionaries, and it worked like a charm. It was accomplished by the bribery, forgery and perjury of the scoundrels who had been hired to play their part by the recognized leaders of Republicanism, who well knew that Tilden and Hendricks had carried the states referred to, and were duly elected; while every one of these officials was subsequently rewarded by lucrative positions under the administration which had been helped into power by his crimes. It is needless to go into details, but such is the record of the party which was then howling for reform,

and for "a free ballot and a fair count." The sense of justice, however, still burns in the hearts of the people, and it is some consolation to know that every passing year foreshadows, with renewed clearness and certainty, the damnation of history which awaits the party leaders who betrayed their country for the sake of power and plunder.

The Hayes administration, of course, made its first appearance tricked in the robes of reform. For a little while it seemed to have a spasm of virtue, if not saintliness. In some of its features sporadic symptoms of reform continued for some time to reveal themselves, and there was a show of decency and a pompous modesty in parading it, which beguiled a good many honest people. The President himself, early in his term, fell completely into the hands of the same type of men who had made the two administrations of General Grant such a stain upon republican institutions. In a word, the work of reform had so completely miscarried under this administration that when the Republican national convention of 1880 met in Chicago, it made no allusion to it in the first draft of its platform, and only mustered the courage to incorporate an unmeaning resolution on the subject on motion of a Massachusetts delegate. The campaign was vigorously prosecuted on both sides, but the patronage of the government, which under Republican rule had become an organized machine for interfering with the freedom of elections, placed the Democrats at a great disadvantage. The Star-route thieves were then in their glory, and furnished very large supplies for campaign purposes. "Money in elections" had never before been so plentifully and potently employed. Dorsey, who then occupied a position similar to that of Elkins in the present canvass, was as active and sleepless in his work as he was thoroughly corrupt. He sent sufficient money to Indiana to turn that state over to the Republicans; and after the election a great dinner was given him in New York, at which leading merchants, lawyers, journalists, political magnates, literary men and doctors of divinity united in doing him honor as "the Napoleon who

had carried Indiana," and in side-splitting laughter at the humiliation of the Democrats. All this is worth remembering as an illustration of the progress and triumph of "reform within the party." It also exemplifies the blessedness of "a free ballot." I remember the time when the word election meant choice, and implied freedom of the will. A vote was understood as the honest expression of the wishes of the voter. It was believed that republican institutions rest upon the people's will, and that if the ballot is a counterfeit, the government becomes a huge imposture and an organized lie. I had read in one of Lord Macaulay's letters to his constituents "that the man who surrenders his vote to caresses or importunities forgets his duty as much as if he sold it for a bank note." The people had been taught that a false vote, like the crime of regicide in a monarchy, is the murder of the sovereign, and that a still greater guilt attaches to the rich rascal who buys the vote of the poor man, who may sell it under the pressure of want, or, perhaps, to relieve the pangs of hunger. And yet the chief priests and rulers of latter-day Republicanism hold a jubilee in honor of the political reprobate who, as secretary of the Republican national committee, smothered the voice of a great commonwealth with the money committed to his charge for the purposes of the campaign.

The story of reform in the Republican party since the inauguration of General Garfield is soon told. His assassination connected itself with a wrangle in the party over an appointment which was an open violation of the principle of civil service reform as it had been proclaimed in successive national conventions. He had not committed himself to those principles in his letter of acceptance, and under President Arthur the condition of affairs became so sickening and intolerable, that in 1882 Grover Cleveland carried the state of New York by a majority of nearly 200,000 votes. This phenomenal triumph was followed or preceded by Democratic victories in Ohio, California, Colorado, Nevada, Kansas, Michigan, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

It was a political revolution, and 1882 sent greeting to 1872 that the Liberal Republicans of that year were at last vindicated. The New York Independents, who had so long hoped against hope, now confessed that "reform within the party" was "as a tale that is told," and that the complete overthrow of the party itself was the only remedy. It was almost enough to make Sumner and Greeley turn over in their graves. The Republican leaders saw the handwriting on the wall. They had been suddenly and unexpectedly brought to their reckoning, and finally compelled to go to trial on the sincerity of their professions; and for the first time set about the work of reform by practical methods and with apparent earnestness. But it was a death-bed repentance. They foresaw the approaching end of their power, and quite naturally favored such regulations affecting appointments to office as would leave them a share of the spoils under a Democratic succession. I take great pleasure in according to them due credit for what they then did and have since done under compulsion, and with the voluntary co-operation of Democrats, but as the final upshot and sum total of twenty odd years of uncontrolled power it constitutes an exceedingly slender capital on which to set up business in the work of reform.

Such, rapidly sketched, is the record of the Republican party for the past sixteen years. But it now reappears as the champion of reform. With an effrontery which has been the natural product of prosperous imposture, it struts before the country on a platform of promises which completely outstrip all its past performances. It pledges itself to "correct the inequalities of the tariff;" but why has it not made this correction long years ago? Has anybody hindered it? It favors "a re-adjustment of the tariff on wool;" but why has not this re-adjustment been made? It has played fast and loose with the question, and confesses its inability to deal with it. It undertakes to say precisely what sort of a tariff system the country needs; but whose fault is it that such a system has not been provided? It renews its demand for the

reform of the civil service ; but how does it happen that this reform has not long since been accomplished? For sixteen years the party has been prating about the civil service, with the power all the while in its own hands to reform it. Why are we still fed on promises, and the law against political assessment set at defiance in this campaign? It says the public lands "should be reserved for small holdings by actual settlers," and condemns "the acquisition of large tracts by corporations or individuals ;" but the irony of these declarations is transparent, for the Republican party is responsible for the grant of more than 200,000,000 acres of the public domain to railway corporations, being an area equal to that of the thirteen original states, and making impossible hundreds of thousands of "small holdings by actual settlers." It "demands of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with the acts of incorporation ;" but Congress, during long years of Republican ascendancy, has neglected and refused to perform this duty, and to-day at least 100,000,000 acres of the public lands are held back from settlement and tillage by the landless poor by corporations that have not complied with the conditions prescribed by Congress. It calls upon Congress to "remove the burdens on American shipping ;" but it imposed these burdens and continues them, and has nobody to blame but itself. It demands the enforcement of the eight-hour law. This amazing declaration will certainly attract the attention of the workingmen ; but they will remember that the party has never enforced the law, and so confesses by its demand. It declares that "the perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, and an honest count, and correct returns." It is sufficient to say of this declaration that it comes from the party whose returning board performances in 1876, and charming exploits under Dorsey in 1880, have done so much to make rascality sublime. In short, this last creed of the party constitutes the record of its failures and a catalogue of its transgressions,

while as a burlesque upon the men who framed it, it is a masterpiece.

But in reply to such considerations as these, we are frequently reminded that the Democratic party is as bad as the Republican, if not very much worse, and the question is asked, "How can you hope for reform by a change of administration? Granting the faults of Republicanism, what is to be gained by going over to the enemy?" To this I reply that the Republican party, like the plaintiff in an action of ejectment, must succeed on the strength of its own title, and not on the alleged weakness of that of his adversary. The argument of "You're another" is not legitimate. I am not now talking about the question of slavery and the war, which received ample attention when they were in order, but the administration of affairs since those questions were settled. During nearly the whole of this period the Republican party has been in power, and it must be judged by its acts, while the Democratic party has had no such opportunity to make its record, and can not be condemned on the principle of imputed guilt. But no party, I repeat, has a right to succeed on a platform made up merely of the wickedness of its rival, and no reform is possible through any such perversion of moral principles. The Republican party, pluming itself on its early record, and growing more and more hungry for power with each victory, has at last assumed its own existence as of divine appointment. It is no longer a party merely, but an institution. Its own misdeeds are to be condoned on the ground that the country will be ruined if the Democratic party should succeed, and therefore no bolting must be allowed under any circumstances. If Republicans should go over to the other side, or become the nucleus of a new party, it would be fatal to discipline, and thus threaten the ruin of the country by opening the way for a Democratic victory. I had occasion, four years ago, to refer to this concubinage of politics and theology, through which the Republican party has so long ruled the country, and which still blocks the way of reform. We should remember that conse-

quences are often the scarecrows of fools and the arguments of knaves. The very first step toward reform is to drive from power the party that has completely demonstrated its unfitness to rule, and thus to make possible the renovation of our politics under new leaders and healthier conditions. Without this starting point reform is as impossible as would be the making of a journey without taking the first step. This is the logic of politics, as illustrated by facts. Mr. Calkins, the Republican candidate for governor of Indiana, tells us that his party must continue to govern the country till a better one shall make its appearance. Of course he and his associates will claim the right to decide when a better party has appeared, so that the worse may get out of the way; but as bad parties never confess their sins, and never yield up power until they are compelled to do so, his theory of politics would keep the Republican party in power forever.

The first and indispensable condition to the creation of a better party is the disruption of old ones, through which their better elements may be set free and recombined. I was a member of the old Whig party when the Free-soil bolt of 1848 occurred, and I well remember how the leaders of that party remonstrated with their bolters. We were told that the Whig party was certainly better than the Democratic, and that our desertion from the old banner would only strengthen the hands of the enemy and defeat the end we had in view. But the bolt proceeded, and the result was the formation of the Republican party. It was a bolt. It never could have existed if the philosophy of Mr. Calkins had been accepted, and the two old parties would have continued their race, neck and neck, in a nominal strife over dead issues and a real struggle for the spoils. My old Republican friends are simply repeating the folly of the Whigs of 1848, while the Independent Republicans in this canvass are following in the footsteps of the bolters of that time. I rejoice in the spectacle of this new revolt against party despotism, and only regret that it did not come sooner. But it will accomplish its mission, as did its predecessor of 1848. The old

Whig party perished, not merely because the issues on which it was organized had been settled, but because its conscience left it, and drew after it an element without which the organization was doomed to wither and rot. These Independents have adopted the true method. They have simply followed the example of Fox and Wesley in a different field of reform; for these grand men did not commit the folly of trying to purify the corrupt hierarchies of their time by remaining within them, but waged their war from without, and thus laid the foundation for great historic movements by rallying to their standards the true men of all denominations and creeds.

Let me now refer briefly to the Republican candidates. In doing so, I shall but follow a step further in the line of argument already adopted; for the character of a party is to be gauged by that of its deliberately chosen representatives. I freely admit that Mr. Blaine is the choice of a very large majority of his party. His nomination was not the work of its leaders, but its rank and file. He was chosen by the party whose record of violated promises and shameless misgovernment should make every honest man in it blush; and the same judgment must pass upon both candidate and party. Its masses knew him well through his public record of twenty years in the House and Senate, and as President Garfield's Secretary of State. They knew him well in 1876, when he only escaped a Presidential nomination by an accident, and his stock-jobbing record had just been made familiar to the American people. They knew him as a popular favorite in his party in 1880, and they nominated him this year with their eyes wide open, and can not plead ignorance of his character. If, therefore, we can ascertain what that character is, it may afford another illustration of the claims of the party as the champion of political reform.

From the year 1863 to 1871, I served with Mr. Blaine in the House of Representatives. I have occasionally met him since, and have never received anything but courtesy and

kindness at his hands. In discussing his fitness for the Presidency I am therefore without even the shadow of a motive to do him the slightest personal or political injustice. He is lauded by his friends as a great statesman, and frequently compared to Gladstone. The New York *Tribune* speaks of him as "the foremost man of the time," and as having "reached and passed the high-water mark of American statesmanship." But when a bill of particulars is demanded, setting forth the several achievements which would justify this estimate, his champions find themselves exceedingly embarrassed. What famous act of statesmanship has he ever espoused and accomplished? None of his friends can specify it. His name recalls no great principle and no great measure of policy. He is a famous party leader, but only in the sense of inspiring his followers and drilling and deploying them in effective party work. He has neither originated any important bill nor shown himself the conspicuous advocate of any important measure. He has taken the lead in none of the great questions that have agitated the country during his long term of public service in the House and Senate, and covering the most memorable epoch in our history. The finances, the public lands, the civil service, the war policy of the government, the slavery question, reconstruction, negro suffrage, the several constitutional amendments, and other vital questions were all debated, and some of them should have called forth the marvelous resources of this "foremost man of the time;" but, although he made some respectable speeches, and almost invariably voted with his party friends, he said nothing and did nothing to establish the extravagant claim now set up in his behalf. As an anti-slavery leader, although now the great champion of the negro, his record is not remarkable, and is not sound according to Republican tests.

In looking over his recently published volume I find that he whitewashes the Dred Scott decision, which played so large a part in the early days of his party. He defends the

famous 7th of March speech of Daniel Webster. He eulogizes the Missouri compromise of 1820, which all earnest anti-slavery men have so unitedly deplored. He belittles the significance and moral purpose of the anti-slavery movement of the Northern States, and represents the South as struggling for an equilibrium in the Senate, through which it might secure the spoils of office. Coming down to later times, his position was not defensible on Republican grounds on the questions of reconstruction and negro suffrage. In an article published a few years since in the *North American Review* he says: "The Southern States could have been readily readmitted to all their powers and privileges in the Union by accepting the Fourteenth Amendment, and negro suffrage would not have been forced upon them." This was Mr. Blaine's idea of Republicanism. It simply meant that his party was willing to hand over the negroes of the rebellious states to the codes enacted by their old masters, without any voice in the government, on condition that they should not be counted in the basis of representation. This proposition was fortunately rejected, and what was called the Military Bill was introduced; but this, also, as first reported, left the negro without the ballot. It provided that the rebellious states should only be restored to the Union on condition that negro suffrage should be secured; but their restoration was left entirely at their option, and so long as they chose to reject the condition specified the negroes were completely at their mercy.

What was wanted to give complete validity and force to this plan was an amendment making it merely provisional, and providing that pending the decision of the question the negroes should have the ballot. Without this amendment they were turned adrift and helpless; but when it was proposed Mr. Blaine voted against it, and did everything in his power to defeat it. It was adopted in spite of his opposition, as the *Congressional Record* will show; but I refer to it as an illustration of his statesmanship and of his fidelity to the negro in the day of his great peril. I do not lose sight of Mr.

Blaine's magnetism, which is so often dwelt upon by his friends. I admit that he is magnetic. There must be some explanation of his hold upon his party, and in the absence of other assignable reasons I accept this. He draws people to him surprisingly, including honest men and rogues, saints and sinners, native and adopted citizens. But the government of the United States is not carried on by magnetism. The fathers of the republic never dreamed of an idea so perfectly original and refreshing. What the country needs in a President is statesmanship, solid sense and an honest purpose. I admit, too, that he is a brilliant man; but brilliancy is no more needed in the conduct of public affairs than magnetism. It might render Mr. Blaine very picturesque and spectacular, as we have seen him through the dissolving views of his career in the state department; but the American people are not in love with such pageantries. They would much prefer an honest man without brilliancy to a brilliant man without honesty. Kindred observations apply to the efforts of Mr. Blaine's friends to have him pose before the country as a "Plumed Knight." This may tickle the imagination of certain classes, but the days of knight errantry are ended, and neither the knight nor his plume is needed in the sober and unsentimental work of American politics.

What is his record as a reformer? Has he ever been heard of as an advocate of civil service reform prior to the date of his letter of acceptance? He was silent during the jubilee of roguery which signalized the two administrations of General Grant, and has remained so ever since, but he is not wholly without a record. In 1875, while Speaker of the House, he so organized the Committee on Civil Service Reform that nine of its eleven members were uncompromising foes of the policy, and two lukewarm friends. Under the lead of this committee the House refused any appropriation to pay the expenses of the civil service commission, through which the reform was at that time abandoned. The subject has been before the country over sixteen years, during which it has found its way into our party platforms and received the at-

tention of our foremost public men. Politicians have tried to get rid of it, but they have been compelled to face it, while its settlement on just principles has become inevitable. But if, during all these years, Mr. Blaine has at any time favored the reform, he has admirably succeeded in keeping it a secret. Let me add that in his frequent references to the spoils system, in the volume referred to, he nowhere condemns it, but evidently regards it as the natural and unavoidable incident of practical politics in the United States, while among his most active and zealous supporters are to be found Robeson, Elkins, Clayton, Dorsey, Brady, and the very worst elements in American political life.

Has Mr. Blaine at any time shown his hand in opposition to the growing power of our great railways over the government, through which so many millions of acres of the people's patrimony have been withheld from settlement and tillage, and so many of our public men debauched? On the contrary, he has been the steadfast friend and ally of these corporations in every time of need. While in the Senate he opposed the Edmunds-Thurman bill requiring the Pacific Railroads to establish sinking funds for the payment of their debts to the government, and dishonestly filled his pockets while in the House with money received from one of these corporations for services voluntarily rendered while speaker, as I shall presently show. If there is any public man in the Union who is well understood to be the right hand man of Jay Gould and the great railway corporations of the country, and their unflinching friend under all circumstances, that man is James G. Blaine. There has never been the faintest suspicion as to his perfect loyalty to their interests, and the conduct of his friends in now parading him as the champion of "actual settlers" and the foe of these land-grabbing monopolies, supplies us with as fine a mosaic of knavery and impudence as we can ever hope to see.

He is a man of genius, and has long been a great power in his party. He has seen corruption and greed grasping all the natural agencies of society for their own baleful pur-

poses. He has had great and multiplied opportunities for thwarting the enemies of the people and serving the poor in their hard fight with corporate rapacity; but he has lifted neither hand nor voice in their behalf, while always playing his part as a shifty ally of organized cupidity and pelf.

And here the way is naturally opened for considering the character of Mr. Blaine as illustrated by his jobbery in Congress. I know that in dealing with this topic we are warned by leading Republican politicians and newspapers to beware. They remind us of what they call the "campaign of mud" against General Garfield in 1880, and of his triumph at the polls, while they hope thus to divert attention from the charges now urged against Mr. Blaine. As to the campaign of 1880, I answer, as I did at the time, that if any "mud" was flung at General Garfield, it had previously been carted by the Republicans themselves and dumped upon his doorsteps. All the charges were of Republican parentage and supported by Republican proof; and they were not ineffectual. I believe it entirely safe to say that but for Dorsey's money in Indiana and kindred illustrations of the Republican gospel of "a free ballot" the Democratic ticket would have triumphed.

I do not deem it necessary to discuss Mr. Blaine's railroad transactions at any length. The detailed history of his performances is rapidly finding its way to the public, and I shall only refer briefly to the essential facts, and the evidence by which they are supported. The main charge is that in the spring of 1869, when a bill was pending before the House of Representatives which sought to renew a land grant to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad in Arkansas, an attempt was made to defeat it by an amendment; that Mr. Blaine, being the Speaker of the House, sent a message to General Logan, who was opposed to the amendment, that it was not germane to the bill, which point of order was accordingly raised, and sustained by the Speaker, and the bill thus saved; and that Mr. Blaine soon afterward wrote to the pro-

moters of the enterprise calling attention to the service he had rendered them, and after some negotiations received from them his appointment as selling agent of the bonds of the road on commission, for which service he received a number of such bonds as his percentage.

Now, what is the answer of Mr. Blaine and his friends to this statement? They say that Caldwell and Fisher, who were the friends of Blaine and the promoters of the railroad enterprise, were not connected with it at the date of the passage of the bill; but this can not help Mr. Blaine. His ruling saved the land-grant, which was the controlling inducement of his friends to undertake the building of the road; and as an honorable man he had no right to compensation for his decision, and his acceptance of it is as dishonorable as it would have been if his friends had been connected with the road and lobbying for the passage of the bill when the ruling of the Speaker was made.

A further defense is set up by Mr. Blaine in his speech in the House of Representatives of April 25, 1876, that the lands were granted to the state of Arkansas, and that the company derived its life, franchise and value wholly from the state, and not from Congress. This remarkable statement was for a good while accepted by the public as satisfactory; but it was not true, and Mr. Blaine certainly knew it. The land-grant of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad was about to lapse, and in that event the franchise and securities of the road would have had no value. No man at that time was more familiar with the legislation of Congress than Mr. Blaine, and he must have known that Warren Fisher took the contract because the land-grant had been revived. The attempt of Mr. Blaine to secure an interest in the road founded on his official services in saving the grant is conclusive evidence of the falsehood now set up as a defense. In his letters to Warren Fisher of October 4, 1869, Mr. Blaine carefully sets forth his services in securing the revival of the land-grant, and the value of those services to

his friends Fisher and Caldwell; but if the road derived its life, franchise and value wholly from the state, why should he parade his parliamentary ruling to these promoters of the enterprise, and remind them of "what a narrow escape your bill made on that last night of the session?" Out of his own mouth he is condemned as a willful falsifier of the truth, and the speech in the House in which he sets up his pretended defense, is made a part of his testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, and thus involves his veracity under oath.

Mr. Blaine, in the speech referred to, attempts a further defense by saying that the securities he acquired from the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad were obtained by "purchase, on the same terms as they were sold on the Boston market to all applicants." If this is true, why should he in his letter to Warren Fisher, of June 29, 1869, speak of his offer as "generous," and in his letter of July 2, as a "most liberal proposition," with which he (Blaine) was "more than satisfied?" And why should he promise, in the letter just cited, that he would not be "a dead-head in the enterprise?" All this is utterly inexplicable on the theory that he obtained his securities on the same terms as "all applicants" purchased them on the Boston market. But all doubt on this question is absolutely foreclosed by positive proof. Warren Fisher testified before the judiciary committee that he never "sold to James G. Blaine any bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad;" that the bonds he gave him were for other parties, and the sale of them was negotiated through him. Mr. Fisher's account with Blaine, produced by Mulligan, who was Fisher's confidential book-keeper, shows that Blaine, for his services, was to have \$130,000 of land-grant bonds, and \$32,500 of first mortgage bonds. Of course, then, he did not buy his securities on the same terms as other purchasers, and his statement to that effect is another deliberate and willful falsehood. The simple truth is that for his parliamentary ruling which secured the revival of the land grant he was made the agent for the

sale of its securities, and thus allowed to fill his pockets. These are the facts, overwhelmingly established by the evidence, including his own, and their impeachment of Mr. Blaine's veracity is conclusive.

In prosecuting this inquiry concerning Mr. Blaine's railroad transactions and his personal and political integrity, it becomes necessary to refer to the sworn statement of Mr. Mulligan, and his trustworthiness as a witness. He was for many years the confidential bookkeeper of Jacob Stanwood, a brother-in-law of Mr. Blaine. He was also for several years the confidential clerk of Mr. Blaine's friend, Warren Fisher, and Warren Fisher, Sr., a wealthy retired merchant, made him one of his trustees before his death, and he still manages the estate. Mr. Blaine, in his testimony, makes no attempt to impeach Mr. Mulligan's veracity. Warren Fisher testified: "I have known Mr. Mulligan intimately sixteen or twenty years. His character is the best. I would say it is as good as, or perhaps better than, that of any man I ever knew." Elisha Atkins, an eminent merchant of Boston, corroborates Fisher's testimony. As a witness he is unimpeached and unimpeachable. What does he tell us? I have already referred to a portion of his testimony directly contradicting the statements of Mr. Blaine in his letters, his speech in Congress in his defense, and his testimony before the House Judiciary Committee. He says that when Mr. Blaine asked him to deliver up his letters to Warren Fisher he almost got down on his knees and pleaded for the letters, saying they would ruin him for life; and when Mr. Mulligan still declined, Mr. Blaine asked him to think of his wife and six children. He further says Mr. Blaine offered to get him a consulship in return for the letters, and that he finally gave them to him under a pledge of honor that he would return them, which he never did. He also says that Blaine did not read the letters *verbatim* in the House, and that some of them were not read at all. These are the statements of an intelligent and perfectly trustworthy witness and an old-time personal friend of Mr. Blaine, who had no motive whatever to

fabricate what he asserts. They are nearly all denied by Mr. Blaine under oath. Whom shall we believe? As I have already shown, Mr. Blaine is conclusively discredited as a man and a witness by his own letters and declarations and by the testimony of disinterested parties. We are therefore forced to believe that he, conscious of his guilt and dreading exposure, played the dramatic part described by Mr. Mulligan, and by his entreaties and "magnetism" secured the evidence of his guilt, used such parts of it as suited his purpose, and violated his pledge of honor by refusing to return it. It should be remembered, too, that he declined to hand over these letters to the reporters after he had used them, and thus corroborated the statement of Mr. Mulligan that only parts of them were read.

But I need not further pursue the inquiry into Mr. Blaine's integrity or his veracity as a witness. Let me add, however, that he testified before the Credit Mobilier committee that he had never owned a share of stock in the Union Pacific Railroad Company, either by gift, purchase, or in any way whatever, nor received, either directly or indirectly, a single cent from said company; while in one of the Mulligan letters to Warren Fisher, dated April 13, 1872, he confesses that he was a part owner of \$6,000 of the land-grant bonds of said railroad company. Furthermore, Mr. Blaine had the control of a considerable interest in the stock of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, as shown by his letter to Warren Fisher of November 25, 1870, while the stock was dependent for its value on legislation in which he had taken part, which connection with the business of said company he at first denied, afterward vainly endeavored to explain, and still leaves in the fog.

Such is the moral picture of the Republican candidate for President, painted with a pencil dipped in his own turpitude. The facts I have presented have never been controverted, and never will be. His champions now make no attempt to do so, but rely upon party traditions and the party machinery for their triumph. His guilt is conclusively established by

his own letters, his declarations in Congress, and his statement under oath. The pettifogging attempts of William Walter Phelps and others to defend him have been completely riddled and demolished, and he stands before the country self-convicted of the disgraceful charges with which leading Republican newspapers eight years ago and four years ago branded him. General Harrison, in his recent speech in this city, tells us that Mr. Blaine "has been slandered," but that "no slanderer has ever been able to get him on the run." But the General knows that the charges I have been considering are the veritable truth, and that Mr. Blaine has been "on the run" ever since they were made. As the friend and champion of the Plumed Knight, why does he not face them? Why do we find him, also, "on the run?" Can he glance at the revolt of leading Republicans and newspapers and feel safe in relying upon the game of bluff?

But, as I have said before, the fight of the Democrats and their allies is not with Mr. Blaine, but the party he represents. He is himself a mere symptom. He is but the leaf and flower of long years of organized corruption and greed. The political chemistry of his party has simply obeyed its own laws, and the qualities which it held in solution have been precipitated in Mr. Blaine. He is its expression and breath, and the work we have in hand is to defeat and destroy the unhallowed dynasty behind him. Some of our Independent Republicans declare their purpose to vote the Republican ticket this year in state and congressional elections, and to return to the old party after casting their votes for Cleveland. This seems to me a despicable game of fast and loose, an inexcusable trifling with the crisis. If they succeed in their purpose to elect Governor Cleveland, I think there will be no Republican party to return to. When it loses its power and the spoils, the source of its life will be withdrawn, and the breath will go out of its body. But in any event, the work in hand is to strike at the root of the political demoralization which now overshadows the land, instead of merely lopping off its branches and leaving the tree to flourish. If further

proof of this is wanting, we have it in a recent speech of Senator Hoar, in which he says the men who nominated Mr. Blaine "are the very flower of America," and that it is "the nomination of what is best in our American life," and "best in human society the round world over." Mr. Hoar sees men as trees walking. He calls evil good, and good evil. Unmindful of his own terrific arraignment of his party ten or eleven years ago, he now sees it as the haunt of beauty and blessedness, and the only hope of the nation. And he is a fair example of his brethren. They are so besotted with party madness that they seem unconscious of the dreadful infatuation which enthralles them. They are the product of their party, and their party is fatally afflicted with the dry rot of self-righteousness and the paralysis of its conscience. What a blessing it would be if the hundreds of thousands of men in the Republican party could be emancipated from their political devil-worship, which is far more pernicious than the idolatry which our missionaries to heathen lands are laboring to abolish!

Of the Republican candidate for Vice-President I need say but little. To me, as an old anti-slavery man, his championship of the Black Code of Illinois seems atrocious; but this happened a good while ago, and he has the right to plead the statute of limitations, and to avail himself of any benefit it may afford him.

In fairness, too, this objection should be considered in connection with his military services in the war for the Union. As a reformer his character is exceedingly bad. He was a violent opponent of civil service reform as long ago as 1869, and among the foremost of General Grant's political body-guard during his two administrations. He has practically exemplified all the worst evils of the spoils system and political nepotism, and is a fit companion piece for Mr. Blaine. His political brethren in years past have criticised his lack of education and his slaughter of the English language; but everybody will now be rejoiced to learn from the *New York Tribune* that he is quite a scholarly gentleman, the master of

several languages beside his own, and able to criticise and correct a Harvard professor. He is probably versed in Greek and Hebrew literature and a doctor of divinity, but the *Tribune* did not happen to mention the facts.

It can not be necessary to speak at any length of the Democratic candidates. Governor Cleveland is known to the whole country by his successful administration of the government of New York. He signed and helped execute the civil service law of that state, and the act prohibiting political assessments. He has shown himself a man of courage, independence and rare executive ability, while the charge of political corruption has never been breathed against him. His public acts prove that he holds office as a trust for the people, and that he is a Democrat in the best sense of the term. His proved ability to resist political pressure, and his undoubted personal integrity, amply fit him for the great work of reform which a very protracted maladministration of the government has made an imperative necessity.

Governor Hendricks has long been known as a statesman of national reputation and large experience in public affairs; and the issue now pending between personal honor and political integrity on the one side, and private jobbery and official prostitution on the other, makes his nomination eminently appropriate and fortunate. With such standard-bearers, the true men of all parties can join hands with a good conscience in the emancipation of the nation from its long and grievous bondage to evil task-masters. The paramount issue in this canvass is political morality. It involves the question of fidelity to trusts, of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, honesty and dishonesty in the conduct of public affairs. Political corruption has become a great national canker. If the misdeeds of a public man are to go unrebuked, it weakens the standard of integrity in private life. One public rascal, it has been well observed, becomes the father of a multitude of private ones. Breaking out in high places, corruption finds its level, overflowing and poisoning the moral as well as the political life of the people. No reform is pos-

sible in any direction if we are not able to stem the black tide which threatens to lay waste the republic. We shall fail hopelessly if we can not inspire in the people, and especially in the coming generation, the love of rectitude, and restore the maxims of common honesty to their rightful sway. No theories of politics, no soundness of political doctrines, can save us, if the integrity of our public men loses its attraction for the people ; for democracy is "not born out of the sky nor wrought in dreams," but demands a ceaseless conflict of the people with ever-recurring moral dangers.

THE AUGURIES OF VICTORY.

READ BEFORE THE HENDRICKS CLUB, ON THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1888.

[The "auguries of victory" set forth in this speech were not verified, although fairly warranted by the political outlook at the time; and they were only falsified by the unexpected revival of the sectional issue towards the close of the canvass, and by the stupendous outlay of money in controlling the floating vote in the doubtful states.]

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: The supporters of Cleveland and Thurman are to be congratulated on the auspicious opening of the campaign of 1888. The Democratic situation is as animating as it is novel, and I see in it the sure auguries of victory. We have fairly reached that parting of the ways between the old and the new which constitutes an epoch, and every man can see this who is able to discern the signs of the times. We are on the eve of one of those radical changes in party issues and party machinery which have diversified the course of American politics from the beginning, and created well-defined historic periods; and my judgment is greatly at fault if the Republican party in November next shall not be as completely swept out of existence as was the old Whig party in the campaign of 1852. Allow me to state my reasons for this opinion.

In the first place, the Democratic party is no longer handicapped by the Republican theory of its hopeless depravity. From the final reconstruction of the government to the canvass of 1884 it was the helpless victim of a foregone conclusion. The entire stock in trade of the Republican leaders was the alleged wickedness of the Democrats. It was, in

fact, the platform on which the party made its fight in every national canvass since that of 1868. This Democratic wickedness was not actual, but only constructive. It was imputed diabolism, and was depicted in startling prophecies of what the Democratic party *would* do should it be restored to power. The election of a Democratic President would prostrate our manufactures and derange the finances. It would debase the currency and destroy the public credit. It would lead to the admission of Utah, with her polygamy, and give the Democrats two United States senators. It would open the way for the creation of a new state to be carved out of the Indian territory, and thus add two more United States senators to the side of Democracy and the South. It would lead to the division of Texas into five states, and thus strengthen the ascendancy of the South by eight additional United States senators. It would reconstruct the Supreme Court of the United States by duplicating the number of judges, three-fourths of whom would be selected from the South, and then the reconstruction acts and constitutional amendments would be pronounced unconstitutional and void. The country would be saddled with the Confederate debt and the Confederate pensions, while the bounties and pensions of our Union soldiers and sailors would be repudiated. The doctrine of secession would be reasserted and slavery would be re-established throughout the South; and the finishing touch was frequently given to this catalogue of Democratic crimes and calamities by declaring that the old slaveholders were preparing inventories of their lost slaves to be presented to Congress with their petitions for compensation when the Democratic party should regain the control of the government.

Gentlemen, I reproduce these stunning prophecies for the special edification of the public in this campaign. They are too picturesque and fascinating to be forgotten, and will form a permanent chapter in the curiosities of politics. Of course the prophets themselves did not believe a word of their predictions, but all the same these predictions were made to

play a very decisive part in defeating the Democrats in the campaigns of 1872, 1876 and 1880. During the past twenty years there has been a constantly growing spirit of discontent in the ranks of Republicanism, and hundreds and thousands would have enlisted under the banner of temperance, or as members of our various labor organizations, but they were made to believe that their independent action, by weakening the Republican ranks, would restore "the rebels" to power. They were so thoroughly indoctrinated with the theory that one-half the people of the United States were inherently disloyal to the old flag and incurably vicious that they felt constrained to remain quietly in the party traces in order to save the country from impending damnation and ruin. They did not see that a theory of American politics which makes one party totally base and unworthy and the other perfectly virtuous and patriotic, would, in practice, prove utterly fatal to democratic institutions, and that the adoption of such a theory by the Republican party would so afflict it with the gangrene of its own self-righteousness that death would inevitably follow. But it worked admirably for years. No delusion ever had a more marvelous success, or more unscrupulous managers. No political superstition was ever more skillfully manipulated by its chief priests. It held the Republican party solidly together, and thus completely disabled the Democrats. They could not silence the clamor of their enemies and refute their railing accusations unless they could regain power, and with it the opportunity to act; and they could not regain power because these railing accusations were accepted as gospel truth. It was a state of things perfectly calculated to perpetuate Republican rule indefinitely, and suppress all criticism of its misdeeds; and it now seems a marvel that this party devil-worship was so soon brought to an end.

But four years ago the Democratic party, aided by disgusted Republicans and the providential interposition of Dr. Burchard, was commissioned to take charge of the national government by a majority of the American people. And

what has been the result? We are now well along in the fourth year of a Democratic administration, and the malevolent and malignant power that was to overthrow our institutions and blast the nation's life has had the amplest opportunity to enter upon its baleful work and display its infernal genius. But the republic still lives. It has always seemed to me probable that if the heavens *should* fall, the devil would be to pay; but the direful catastrophe has not happened as foretold by the prophets. The same sky overarches the land which looked down upon it under Republican administrations, and the same solid earth is under our feet. The nation was never more prosperous than since the 4th day of March, 1885. Our manufactures have not been prostrated, nor has the currency been debased, nor the public credit destroyed. Democratic states have not been carved out of Utah, Texas, and the Indian territory. The Supreme Court of the United States has not been reconstructed in the interest of secession, nor have the acts of reconstruction and constitutional amendments been pronounced unconstitutional and void; but, on the contrary, that great tribunal, although overwhelmingly Republican, has recently pronounced a series of opinions, touching the matter of centralization and the proper autonomy of the states, which have been received with great satisfaction by the states-rights Democrats of Virginia and the entire South. The nation has not been saddled with the Confederate debt and pensions, nor have the bounties and pensions of our Union soldiers and sailors been repudiated. The doctrine of secession has not been reasserted, nor have the freedmen of the South been put back into bondage, while no compensation has been made or demanded for the slaves made free by the rebellion. Let me add, that the prosperity of the South within the past three or four years is altogether unprecedented, and that, in the words of Mr. Curtis, in his late address at Gettysburg, the free labor of that section "pays taxes on property of its own valued at nearly a hundred millions of dollars, while for the children of former slaves there are nearly twenty thousand

schools, of every degree, with an enrollment of more than a million pupils."

I am not indulging in sentiment or any phase of emotional politics, but dealing in the impregnable logic of facts. Time, it has been well said, makes more converts than reason; and all I ask of any reasonable man is that he shall look at the South to-day, as it appears under a Democratic administration, and contrast its condition with the spectacle of "hell broke loose," which for a series of years scourged its territory under successive Republican administrations, which had at their command the whole power of the national government. Gentleman, can not every thinking man see that what the South needs is not sectional strife and a prolonged antagonism of races, but cultivated patience and good-will in dealing with the inevitable conditions of progress? No other policy, unless aided by miraculous intervention, can work out the regeneration of that section of the Union, and at the same time insure the development of its wonderful natural resources. Strife and disorder still prevail in some localities, and for some time to come may disturb the peace of society; but these evils can not be cured by Federal action. The panacea of politics has been thoroughly tried, and has only hindered that process of healthy growth without which no cure is possible.

Mr. Chairman, I think I have thus made clear one of the reasons, and a very strong one, for my faith in Democratic success in this campaign. The false prophets of Republicanism have been brought to shame, and the Democratic party completely vindicated by living down their calumnies. This is now so palpably true that one of the recognized leaders of the Republican party, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, has recently declared that "any man who says that the institutions of this country are in danger from the election of any candidate, or the success of any party, is talking pernicious nonsense." Every intelligent Republican knows that this "pernicious nonsense" has done its work, and that every one of its evil prophecies has been belied. Cleveland and Thurman not

only enter the race unshackled, but on the inside track, while the Republican candidates are saddled with the huge grist of falsehoods so long and so potently employed in the service of their party in the past.

I pass to my second reason for believing in a Democratic victory. The Democrats are making their fight on a perfectly defined and strong issue. I allude to the tariff. I am sorry to say that both political parties have trifled with this question for twenty years. It was evaded as a party issue in the canvass of 1868. In 1872 the Democratic platform remanded it to the congressional districts for settlement, and it was not debated by either party. In 1876 the party platforms on the question were substantially identical, differing only in their phraseology, as they did in 1880. This was true again in 1884. Neither party was prepared to confront the other in a square and manly treatment of the question as one of principle. The better men on both sides would have ordered things otherwise, but they allowed themselves to be overruled by the champions of expediency, whose policy should long since have been subordinated to the demands of honesty and courage. Herbert Spencer mentions a class of people who hate anything in the shape of exact conclusions, and are continually trying to reconcile yes and no. He says they would scarcely believe an oracle, if it uttered a full length principle, and that if you were to inquire of them whether the earth turns on its axis from east to west, or from west to east, you might almost expect the reply: "A little of both," or "not exactly either." All parties are afflicted with a halting and unbelieving element, which throws itself across the path of progress, and is always ready to sacrifice principle to party success. A writer of fiction, whose books abound in sermons, tells us that "the hell that a lie will keep a man from is doubtless the best place that he can go to." This is as true in politics as in morals. If the Democratic party is to be made the mere annex of Republicanism and the instrument of monopoly and plunder, it ought to die, and the sooner the better. A struggle between two great national

parties, in which principle is discarded, is a shameful prostitution of the essential decency and dignity of politics.

But, at last, thanks to President Cleveland, the old-fashioned method of dealing with the tariff question has been disowned, and both parties have faced the issue without the slightest equivocation. The Democratic platform demands a reduction of the surplus by reducing taxes. The Republican platform demands the reduction of the surplus by increasing taxes. The Democratic platform insists that the taxes on clothing, blankets, tools, machinery, lumber, the necessities of life, and the raw materials and implements of production shall be reduced, in the interest of the whole body of the people. The Republican platform squarely opposes any such reduction as inimical to manufacturers, who receive the sole benefit of such taxes as a privileged class. The Democratic platform demands the highest duties on luxuries, including whisky and tobacco, which in all civilized countries are dealt with as prime sources of revenue. The Republican platform demands the exemption of the luxuries named from taxation, which would thus open the flood-gates of drunkenness and crime in order that the great manufacturing monopolies of the country may grow rich through the burdens heaped upon the masses of the people. Such is the contention between these parties in the present campaign. The question is so simple, and its economical and moral bearings are so readily seen, that he who runs may read. Herein is my faith in Democratic success. The question is sure to be understood by the people. It has not been sprung too late in the canvass for a thorough discussion of it on its merits. That discussion has already been going on for months, and it will continue to the end. It is in the air. The campaign is affording the people a rare opportunity for finding out the truth on a long-pending and momentous question, and should they deliberately embrace the mischievous folly embodied in the Republican party creed as now revised, they will deserve to grind in the prison-house of their own madness till their sufferings shall teach them the way of de-

liverance. I have not the slightest apprehension that any such calamity is in store for the country.

Indeed, the Republican party seems to be vigorously employed in the work of self-destruction. Its early and greatest leader, Abraham Lincoln, believed in a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people;" but the party to-day believes in a government dominated by corporations, monopolies, and class legislation. In its early life the Republican party espoused the old Whig policy of a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection. In later years it practically reversed this policy by favoring a tariff for protection, with incidental revenue. It now turns another somersault, and repudiates the teachings of all the oracles of protection in the past by demanding a tariff for protection, with no revenue. The party has hitherto had the reputation of being more favorable to temperance than the Democratic party; but it now openly declares that in order to prevent the reduction of existing duties on the necessities of life, should it become necessary, it will favor the total repeal of our internal revenue laws, which would probably reduce the price of whisky to twenty cents per gallon, and reproduce the horrid saturnalia of drunkenness, lawlessness, and domestic suffering which swept over the nation in the early part of this century. It thus commits the double offense of mocking the cry of the people for relief from the burdens imposed by the existing war tariff, and making itself the powerful and remorseless ally of intemperance and the saloons. Goaded onward by party blindness, and yet smarting under the consciousness of its shameless inconsistency and recreancy to principle, it seeks to wiggle out of its dilemma by comparing its platform to that of the Prohibitionists. But the Prohibitionists demand the total banishment of whisky from the country by law, while the Republicans welcome its desolating flood and leave the people wholly unprotected against its ravages. The Prohibitionists demand the removal of duties on "food, clothing, and other comforts and necessities of life." The Republicans, as I have shown, avow their purpose to repeal

the internal revenue taxes entirely rather than submit to the slightest reduction of such duties. In fact, the attempt to show any likeness between the attitude of these parties on the tariff question is simply laughable.

The further attempt is made to silence the cry of free whisky by raising the idiotic howl of free trade; but the Republican leaders know that the message of the President, which embodies the Democratic gospel on the tariff, expressly disowns the policy of free trade, and that the reduction of duties proposed by the Mills bill would leave them higher than those of the famous protective tariff of 1842, while it is entirely in accord with the avowed policy of Arthur, Garfield, Grant, and other high Republican authorities. The party managers, however, are not satisfied with their scare-crow of free trade. They denounce the Democratic party as the champion of *British* free trade. Relying upon the ignorance of the people and the potency of demagogism, they charge the President with entering into a secret alliance with England for the ruin of American manufacturers and the starvation of American laborers. But they forget that the high protective policy of their party makes it the natural ally of the English Tories, while the reduction of duties, now urged by the Democratic party, commends it to the friendship of the English liberals and the English common people, who have uniformly been found on the side of the United States. What is the meaning of this strange sensitiveness to the welware of American manufacturers, and this morbid jealousy of their rights? Why should Congress tax the whole people for their special advantage? Are they any more deserving than our farmers, or any other class of honest producers? Is there any valid reason for singling them out as pets and favorites under a government of equal laws? The champions of our great manufacturing monopolies should remember that the lowering of our tariffs has never injured the workingman or the people, and that our lowest tariffs in the last fifty years have been the most popular, although ruin was predicted as the sure result of reduction.

It is urged that high duties enhance the wages of labor ; but every intelligent manufacturer knows that the rate of wages is determined by the law of supply and demand, and not by the rate of duties. Manufacturers are no more inclined to divide their profits among the poor than other men. Protection enables them to amass great wealth ; but they hoard it, or lavish it in ambitious projects, instead of dividing it among their employés. When Andrew Carnegie made his million and a half in a single year, he did not dispense any part of it in largesses among his toiling operatives, but reduced their wages. That was his method of protecting them. In the light of such facts the people are rapidly finding out the truth, and the hollowness and selfishness of Republicanism as it writes down its character and aims in its latest confession of faith.

I come now to my third ground of confidence in Democratic success, namely, the character of our standard-bearers. Four years ago Grover Cleveland appeared as a comparatively new star in the political firmament ; but he had so displayed the qualities of courage, independence, integrity and real leadership while Governor of New York as to give him at once a national reputation, and a high place among the foremost men of his party. The people caught his spirit and rallied to his support with such ardor and spontaneity that all rival candidates were sent to the rear, and his nomination became inevitable. His later career has been still more remarkable. He has been far more thoroughly tried in the great office of President, and under the remorseless fire of his political enemies ; but since the day of his inauguration he has been steadily winning the admiration and love of his party and the respect of good men. His nomination for a second term became a foregone conclusion so early in his administration, and his qualities as a great leader of men revealed themselves so unmistakably from time to time, that the claims of no other candidate have been debated, or even seriously thought of. Not one of the famous men of the republic in its early days was ever more completely the

idol of his party. His renomination at St. Louis by the unanimous vote of its picked men from every section of the Union was no surprise to the country, but I believe was universally anticipated by men of all parties. But this unanimous nomination only faintly indicated the unexampled and resistless enthusiasm of the convention. It carried everything before it like the tides of the sea, and the delegates became the mere instruments of a power which had enthralled them, and given them one heart and one will. Their sense of duty was an illumination; and yet their enthusiasm was not ephemeral, but the final outburst of a deliberate and intelligent estimate of the man in the light of his public acts through a series of years. What other explanation is possible? It will not do to hold, with Senator Ingalls, that Grover Cleveland is a near relative of the great family of idiots, and that the Democratic party is "a heap of compost." Nor will it help the matter to brand the Democrats as rebels, who have found their likeness and fit instrument in the President. These interesting specimens of post-mortem politics and political lunacy have served their turn and gone to their place.

Mr. Chairman, in the canvass of 1876 I referred to the exceptional power of one strong man, thoroughly in earnest, and thoroughly armed with the strength of his convictions. "With a fertile brain, perfect courage, absolute devotion to duty, and a genius for the work of reform, he may scatter renovating ideas, redeem a state from misrule, and radically change the face of society. * * * A really great man, with rare force of character, passionately wedded to his work, and desperately resolved to submit to no defeat, might so inspire the people with his own spirit of courage and faith that a revolution in the administration of public affairs would be the result." These words were spoken of Samuel J. Tilden twelve years ago, and I have no doubt would have been perfectly justified in the administration of that eminent statesman if he had been permitted by the party in power to take the office to which he had been fairly elected. But in thus sketching the Democratic candidate of 1876 I anticipated the

character and career of Grover Cleveland. Let me illustrate the truth of what I say by facts. His annual message on the subject of the tariff awakened alarm in the ranks of a very formidable body of Democrats and general rejoicing among Republicans. It was regarded as a daring and perilous venture. The rugged issue he presented had been evaded and shunned by the cautious and prudent politicians of both parties since the close of the late war, while a surplus had been accumulating in the treasury which had threatened the utter demoralization of our politics, and had been unnecessarily drawn from the pockets of the people in the form of taxes upon the necessities of life. The President fully realized the situation and the necessity of prompt action, and without taking the counsel of timid leaders he launched his message. He was a candidate for renomination; but in determining the question of public duty he took no thought for the morrow, and was perfectly ready to face the consequences of his course. The people, however, love courage, and he has so multiplied himself in the ranks of his party, and has been so completely vindicated in the congressional debates upon the question, that at the end of eight months the transformation of his party was accomplished, as was shown in the nearly unanimous Democratic vote upon the Mills bill in the House of Representatives.

Let me refer to the matter of pensioning our soldiers. The most cherished memories of the war for the Union cluster around the men whose valor saved it, and the widows and orphans of those who were slain. No subject of greater difficulty and delicacy could have been presented to the President than that of passing upon the numerous acts of Congress providing for pensions which he has been called upon to consider. He could not be unmindful of the strong sense of gratitude to the nation's defenders which exists in every section of the Union, nor forget the natural impulse of every patriotic man to favor the most liberal and beneficent legislation in their behalf. To the average public man it would have been far easier to approve of indefensible legislation under

the pressure of a strong public opinion than to hazard the damaging misconstruction of his action in guarding the public treasury by the disapproval of fraudulent claims. But the President has been inflexibly true to the principle that public office is a public trust, and not an outfit for the personal advantage of the incumbent, or a machine to be used for his political ambition. He had the courage to veto the dependent pension bill, which would have raided the treasury, dishonored our soldiers and demoralized our legislation; and here again the people showed their love of courage by approving his act, while many of the leading Republican newspapers applauded it. He has shown the same courage and love of justice in his vetoes of numerous private pension bills, while it should be remembered to his honor that under his administration more money has been paid out in the form of pensions and bounties to our soldiers and sailors than was ever before expended in their behalf during an equal period.

The character of the President invites further illustration in his action touching the reform of the civil service. There is no reason to doubt his perfect good faith in espousing this reform, and there is just as little doubt that he underrated the character and potency of the opposition he would have to encounter. What we call the spoils system is rooted in the policy and traditions of all parties for more than fifty years. It may almost be called an institution, and its overthrow must necessarily be the work of time and courageous endeavor. But the President bravely undertook it. Early in his administration he set about the work of taking the New York postoffice out of party politics, so that its affairs might be managed on business principles, and in the interest of the people. He has done very much to redeem the New York custom-house from the great and crying evils which have disgraced its management during previous administrations. He has postponed the removal of the great body of Republican office-holders till the end of their term of service. He has repeatedly favored the extension of the civil service rules in furtherance of the great ends contemplated by the reform,

and as a rule his appointments have been remarkably meritorious; while he has set his face against political corruption, and kept the executive mansion free from the scandals that have disgraced so many previous administrations. He has, it is true, disappointed the hopes of some of the zealous friends of this reform, and has evidently not accomplished all that was desired and expected; but he has done far more than any of his predecessors since the introduction of the spoils system, and placed the movement on such a footing that no retreat is now possible. He is bitterly assailed by the Republican leaders for not fully living up to his promises; but the public will not fail to notice that it is not the violation of the President's promises that offends these leaders, but the fact that he made them. Leading Republican senators have openly declared that if he had made a "clean sweep" of the offices, they would have had no quarrel with his policy. In this they but echo the general sense of the party, which four years ago nominated a man for the Presidency whose political life had belied every principle of civil service reform, and whose renomination this year was the fervent wish of an overwhelming majority of its members. When we remember, that, with the slight exception of President Arthur's action touching federal appointments, the record of the Republican party on this question for twenty years has been a shameless exhibition of official corruption and political prostitution, the hypocrisy of its present leaders in assailing the President is readily seen. They despise him in the exact measure of their unfaithfulness. I ought to add that many of these assaults emanate from Republican office holders who owe their retention in their places to the impartial enforcement of the civil service rules, while they lack the decency to keep silent. The President, in the meantime, holds on along the path of his pledges. He takes no step backward, but commends the good work of the faithful commissioners chosen by himself for its prosecution, and shows his determination to stand by them. He can not work miracles, but he will not betray the cause to its enemies, nor withhold

from it his continued and earnest support to the end. His enemies know this, and their malignant warfare against him would instantly cease if he should really turn his back upon his professions.

I need not multiply these illustrations of the President's strong personality, which has so impressed the country, and so naturally suggests the contrast between him and his competitor. General Harrison is certainly a respectable candidate. His private life is without a stain, and, I believe, his personal and political integrity is undoubted. I am quite sure he has written no letters which he has any occasion to call on his friends to "burn." He is a very good lawyer and an intense partisan who is not wanting in pugnacity. His military career bears witness to his patriotism and courage, but it offers no striking situations. His service in the Senate for six years supplies no satisfactory proof of his statesmanship, and leaves him at a disadvantage when compared with rival leaders who have had the experience and training of an extended public career. While in the Senate he vigorously assailed the President on the score of his inconsistency in dealing with the civil service, but his attack fairly implied that he had no fault to find with the spoils system, while he was exceedingly active in his endeavor to secure his full share of federal appointments. He voted for the Blair educational bill, which a number of the better men in his party wisely opposed as a measure unduly favoring the centralization of federal power. He voted for the dependent pension bill, which the President vetoed with the general approval of the people, while he introduced several private pension bills which could not be defended. He voted for the Hennepin canal scheme, which some of the leading Republican papers justly denounced at the time as a most gigantic and unqualified piece of jobbery. He has avowed himself in favor of steamship subsidies, and he is, of course, the representative of the atrocious tariff policy of his party, which is now the vital issue of the canvass, and has suddenly become the great test of Republican orthodoxy.

Gentlemen, can such a man be trusted as a leader in the reformation of great and hoary abuses? Is he strong enough to lift his party out of the mire of general demoralization in which it has landed, and restore it to the integrity of its earlier days? Is he able to work out the regeneration and purification of a party already dead in its trespasses and sins? To ask these questions is to answer them. General Harrison, if elected, will faithfully carry out the principles of his party as defined in its platform. He will countenance no revolt, or even protest, against its supreme authority. He will do nothing to check the current of evil which has completely carried it away from its traditions, and made it the servant of corporations, monopolies and special interests. He lacks both the power and the will to rise above it, while his political career has revealed no sign of discontent with the evil tendencies and growing abuses which have made it what it is. Of all the prominent leaders of his party he is probably least inclined to listen to the cry of reform.

Of the candidates for Vice-President I need say but little. Judge Thurman is known to the whole country as a man of great ability and large experience in public affairs. His fidelity to the people has been splendidly illustrated in his successful fight against the domination of great railway corporations, and his name is the synonym of integrity, courage and devotion to his country. Of the republican candidate it is only necessary to say that he is a wealthy New York banker, whose statesmanship is an unknown quantity, and who never would have been dreamed of for the second office in the gift of the people but for the money he is able to control.

Gentlemen, in approaching the conclusion of what I have to say, I must refer to a still further ground of encouragement. I find it in the action and attitude of the Democratic and Republican parties touching the land question, and I am drawn to this topic by the fact that I am somewhat familiar with it, while my official work in New Mexico for the past three years seems to make it appropriate.

The Republican party prides itself upon its early espousal of the homestead policy, which it borrowed, as it did its other principles, from the old Free-soil party of 1848. It also claims the glory of having enacted the homestead law of 1862. Let it be duly honored for its good work; but the country will not forget that, simultaneously with the enactment of this law, and as if intending to nullify its operations, this same Republican party set on foot a system of extravagant and unguarded land grants to railroad corporations, which surrendered to their purposes an aggregate area of the public domain about equal to the entire territory of the thirteen original colonies of the Union. I admit that there was some excuse for this legislation, and that it should have the benefit of extenuating facts. We were grappling with the difficult problems of a great war, and this naturally opened the way for hasty legislation on other questions. The demand for great highways to the Pacific was deemed imperative, while their construction was believed to be unattainable without the help of the public lands. Moreover, the value of the lands granted was not then understood as it is to-day, nor did any one then foresee the rapid settlement and development of our western states and territories through which the building of these roads would become a work of practical accomplishment without the aid of the government. I add, that I believe it was universally understood that the lands would be promptly restored to the public domain on the failure of the companies to comply with the conditions of the grants. If this had been done, the mischief inflicted upon the country would have been comparatively trifling. The recreancy of the Republican party was not so much in making the grants as in declining to enforce their forfeiture and succumbing to corporate dictation. If Congress had done its duty, the great body of lands given away would long since have been restored to the public domain; but the roads were allowed to proceed in their laggard way, and hold back from settlement and tillage during many years vast areas of land which had never been earned, while it is well known to every lawyer who practices in the federal courts, that their rulings

in controversies arising under these grants have sometimes been colored by railway influence. Attempts were made in Congress at various times to declare these grants forfeited, so that the lands might be restored to the people, but they were baffled by Republican opposition. This happened year after year, while the railway lobby played its strong game in Washington, and Congress became the servant of the corporations it had created and richly endowed. More than one hundred millions of acres of the public domain were thus illegally held in the clutches of these corporations, while an additional area almost as large was withheld from the people under executive orders, covering the even-numbered sections withdrawn pending the survey of the odd-numbered ones, and indemnity lands unwarrantably reserved. The truth is, that for more than twenty years prior to the inauguration of Grover Cleveland the general land office, to a fearful extent, was a mere bureau in the service of the railways, as I have demonstrated in a carefully prepared magazine article published a few years ago.

But Congress, at last, under the pressure of public opinion, was constrained to act. Bills were passed in the Forty-eighth Congress declaring forfeited 19,610,880 acres, and in the Forty-ninth Congress 30,811,360 acres, making a total of 50,482,247 acres. These measures were initiated by Democrats, and the opposition to them came from Republicans. Since Cleveland's inauguration 52,437,373 acres improperly reserved have been restored to the public domain by executive action, while the present House of Representatives has passed a bill declaring forfeited 53,735,562 acres, which bill, it is generally understood, will fail in the Republican Senate. If to these sums we add 10,794,542 acres already recommended for recovery, in cases now under consideration in the general land office and the department of justice, we shall have an aggregate of 167,459,717 acres. This Democratic record is not complete without the further statement that the House of Representatives has passed a bill repealing the preëmption law, and so revising our land laws generally as to set

apart for actual settlement the whole of our remaining public domain which is fit for cultivation. This measure, it is much to be regretted, will in all probability be defeated in the Senate, which has repeatedly refused to concur in its essential provisions.

Mr. Chairman, I think I am justified in saying that this wholesale restitution to the people of these millions of stolen lands under past legislation is as honorable to the Democratic party as it is damaging to its opponent. It certainly furnishes no reason for turning out the present administration and restoring the cast-off dispensation of public plunder which has so long scourged the country.

Allow me to refer to a more particular and localized illustration of Republican devotion to the rights of settlers. Naturalists tell us that with the aid of a single joint of an animal they can determine its entire structure. Let me see if I can not give you a pretty clear apprehension of the nature and make-up of latter-day Republicanism by examining the joint of it which is supplied by New Mexico.

When the United States acquired this territory it was incumbered by old Spanish and Mexican land grants covering a claimed area of about fifteen million acres. The government bound itself by treaty to respect the title to these grants, so far as found valid under the laws of Spain and Mexico; and, by act of Congress of July 22, 1854, the office of Surveyor-General for the territory was created, and it became his duty to ascertain "the origin, nature, character and extent" of these claims, and make full report of his opinion thereon for the final action of Congress. This armed him with very large and responsible powers, for no court in the Union had any authority to review his opinions, which were final and absolute, subject only to the ultimate supervision of Congress. The matter to which I wish to direct your special attention is the action of the government under this legislation, and I shall speak from personal and official knowledge. By far the greater part of this action occurred under Republican rule, and the aggregate of the public lands lost

to the government by its recognition of fraudulent titles and unwarranted surveys exceeds ten million acres. The Surveyors-General were the mere instruments of grant claimants, who had purchased their claims at a low rate for speculative purposes; and having secured favorable reports upon them and surveys enormously stretched, they lobbied the cases through Congress, while they also made the general land office their servant. Their influence over New Mexico has been absolutely disastrous, and I believe it would be no extravagance to say that the evil they have wrought in the territory could scarcely have been exceeded by the three-fold scourge of war, pestilence and famine.

Their most shocking performances occurred under the administrations of Grant and Hayes; and, by way of example, I refer you to the case of the *Una de Gato* grant, which was claimed by Stephen W. Dorsey. Its area was six hundred thousand acres, a very large part of which is the finest land in New Mexico. Under a favorable opinion of the Surveyor-General as to its validity it was reserved from settlement under the act of Congress of 1854, and remains so reserved to-day. In the year 1877 investigations were set on foot respecting the validity of this grant, which were exceedingly offensive to Mr. Dorsey, and resulted in completely demonstrating its forgery early in the year 1879. He thereupon determined to appropriate the lands under the homestead and preëmption laws. But this he could not legally do. One Surveyor-General had declared the grant valid, and another had pronounced it a forgery, while Congress alone could determine the question, and the land was absolutely reserved in the meantime. In this dilemma the Commissioner of the General Land Office, who was touched by Mr. Dorsey's misfortune, ordered the land to be surveyed and opened to settlement, although he knew he had no power to do so. Mr. Dorsey, who was already in possession of many thousands of acres of the choicest lands in the tract, at once sent out his squads of henchmen, who, by perjury and subornation of perjury, availed themselves of the forms of the

preëmption and homestead laws in acquiring pretended titles, which were conveyed to him in pursuance of arrangements previously agreed upon. No record of this unauthorized action of the Commissioner is now to be found in the land office. What was done was done sneakingly and in the dark, and nothing is known of the transaction but the fact of its occurrence, and the intimate relations then existing between Mr. Dorsey and the Commissioner and his chief of surveys. Of course, he and his associates in this business have no title to the lands thus acquired, and their entries should be canceled, not only because the land was reserved from sale by act of Congress, but because the entries were fraudulently made, as has been already shown in many cases by investigations not yet completed.

These are remarkable facts, but there is no mystery about them. Mr. Dorsey was then a power in Republican politics. He had neared the summit of his remarkable ascendancy. It was in the following year, 1880, that his genius, as secretary of the Republican national committee, lighted the way to a national victory for his party, for which he was subsequently banqueted and lionized as "the Napoleon who carried Indiana." When such a man wanted the Republican officials of the land department to violate the law and their oath of office to enable him to appropriate a large body of public lands in furtherance of his rapacity, they did not dare say no, and the robbery was accomplished. He well knew, and so did the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Interior, that this action was totally unauthorized, and that the lands thus acquired by him and his allies, under an illegal order, rightfully belonged to the United States. In these statements I am supported by the records of the government, and no lawyer will attempt to controvert them.

This is but one case, among many, of land stealing in New Mexico under Republican rule. If that rule had continued four years longer, the fortunes of the territory would have been still more completely handed over to the tender mercies of Dorsey, Elkins and their confederates, and the

work of reform would have been postponed to a day far in the distance, or made absolutely impossible. But a good beginning has been made under this administration. Of the 10,000,000 acres already stolen, probably one-half can be reclaimed as the result of disclosures brought to light, and measures already instituted through Democratic officials, and nothing could more completely demonstrate the necessity of continuing the present administration in power than the facts I have presented.

Gentleman, I take no pleasure in depicting the recreancy of a great historic party in the day of its decline. I was present at its birth, and saw it grow up to the full stature of manhood; and I was with it and of it in the grand part it played in suppressing the slave-holders' rebellion and establishing liberty throughout the land by irrepealable law. In the beginning it espoused the rights of the states, as well as the union of the states. It resolved to rescue our national territories from the polluting tread of slavery, and it demanded the freedom of the public lands for actual settlers in limited homesteads. It made the Declaration of Independence the basis of its policy, and in the best sense of the word it was the party of the people. In its first successful battle Abraham Lincoln was its great captain, who fell under the hand of his assassin before his party had sinned away its moral heritage. Its founders and fathers were Seward, Chase and Sumner, who were the real heroes of its principles, and they walked out of it when it yielded to a demoralized leadership and turned away from the rectitude of its youth. These great men never returned to its fold, and thenceforward till the meeting of its late national convention at Chicago it has steadily drifted, step by step and year by year, from its early moorings, and lost the inspiration and heroism that made its beginning so glorious. That convention was largely controlled by gamblers in public office, monopolists who had grown rich by the legalized robberies of our tariff system, and the agents of great railway corporations. It was called to order by a great manufacturer whose

interests are largely involved in protective duties, and its temporary chairman was an attorney for a great Pacific railway. One of the Presidential candidates was a millionaire, who has grown rich by the tariff on lumber, and another was the attorney and representative of the Vanderbilts and their system of railways. Perhaps the most active and conspicuous, if not the most influential, leader in the convention was Stephen B. Elkins, who was formidably reënforced by such moral auxiliaries as Mahone of Virginia, Flannagan of Texas, and Chalmers of Mississippi.

If anything was wanting to show the complete apostacy of the party and its absolute surrender to the domination of special interests and personal greed, it was supplied by its declaration in favor of cursing the land with free whisky as a means of perpetuating high taxes on the necessities of life. This is its epitaph, fitly written by itself; and the honest men in its ranks who still vainly hope to redeem it from dishonor will be obliged to take their places in another organization, and under leaders more worthy to be followed.

CONTROVERSIAL PAPERS.

REPLY TO SENATOR HOWE.

To the Editor of the "World :"

SIR—Perhaps I ought briefly to notice the article of Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, in the last number of the *North American Review*, entitled "Is the Republican Party in its Death Struggle?" This is the text he chooses, but, strangely enough, the sermon which follows it fails to answer the question. He probably remembered that in his late speech in the Senate he had answered it in the affirmative, but now, in arraigning me as an assassin of his party, he should have remembered, also, that in that same speech he charged its ruin upon its own trusted leaders.

The senator, for some unaccountable reason, deals with my article as a studied defense of the Democratic party. I entered upon no such task. My subject neither involved nor required it. My purpose was to show the readiness of the Republican leaders, after the late war, to condone the vices and profligacies which began to assume the name of Republicanism on the plea that the Democrats could not be trusted, and that the country would perish in their hands. I insisted that "the philosophy which regards a particular party as of divine appointment and necessary to salvation would place the administration of the government in its hands forever," and that "while the corrupt and venal elements of society would certainly gravitate into it through its prolonged hold on power, the good men in its ranks, instead of joining the other side or becoming the nucleus of a new party, would be obliged to keep their places and quietly submit to the unhindered rule of roguery and plunder, lest the opposite party should gain power and ruin the country." This was my position; but instead of meeting the logic by which I supported it and exposed this party devil-worship, the senator

wastes his time and strength in assailing the Democrats. In declining to meet the issue I tendered him, he confesses his inability to do so.

The senator surprises the public by denying that the Republican party favored the abolition of slavery upon compulsion. Every man who is even superficially acquainted with the history of the first two years of the war knows that I am right. I do not speak of the abolition element in the party, but of the great body of its members, when I say that it tried with all its might to save the Union and save slavery with it. The very letter the senator quotes from Mr. Lincoln to Horace Greeley proves the truth of the statement he controverts, while the proclamation of emancipation furnishes official evidence that the great act was done "as a military necessity." What the senator means by denying a statement which is as notoriously true as any fact connected with the war, I am at a loss to divine; but I rather think he needs a liberal diet of fish.

The senator is equally entertaining and picturesque in his attempted defense of his party. From my arraignment for its startling misdeeds and crimes during the past eight or nine years, covering some ten pages, and embodying undisputed or well authenticated facts, he picks out some half-dozen items and pours himself forth upon them in all the force of his senatorial feebleness. He says Mr. Flannegan was not at the head of the Committee on Education and Labor, and that Sumner was not placed on it. The senator ought to know, having been in the Senate at the time, but he does not. The congressional directory, to which he invites my attention, flatly contradicts him. I think he should have been more "painstaking." In my article I mentioned Sharpe, a brother-in-law of the President, as having been Surveyor of the Port of New York, in violation of the civil service rules. The senator, instead of meeting my accusation, denies that this particular Sharpe is the President's brother-in-law. I believe he is right, and that the Sharpe who was a brother-in-law was Marshal of the District of Co-

lumbia ; but the point is wholly immaterial, and my charge stands uncontradicted. I also mentioned that one Cramer, another brother-in-law, disgraced our diplomatic service during General Grant's first administration, and was afterwards made naval officer at New Orleans. The senator says he was not made a naval officer, but is still in the foreign service at Copenhagen. If so, he is thus disgracing the government abroad instead of at home, and the senator seems to think this defense complete. Does he think his readers are all fools, or is he mentally afflicted himself?

The senator denies that Sumner was driven from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations on account of his opposition to the Santo Domingo job ; and then, in effect, admits it by saying that " if a representative body really favors the adoption of a public measure it is difficult to say why it should place at the head of a committee any man whose employment there would endanger the success of the measure." He then makes another wriggle by ridiculing the idea that the Senate which rejected the treaty would have deposed Sumner for opposing it—sneakingly keeping back the fact that Sumner's magnificent fight against it compelled a recreant Senate to abandon it. If the senator knows any fact connected with American politics he knows, as does the public, that my statement as to the cause of Mr. Sumner's removal is true ; but he seems so charmingly innocent of a conscience that he finds a real pleasure in denying it, although he must know the public will not believe him.

Equally remarkable are the senator's statements and denials respecting the New York custom-house investigations in 1872, his wholesale defense of political corruption in that institution, and the transparent pettifogging by which he seeks to defend General Grant's administration in dealing with the Chorpensing claim and the misdeeds of General Babcock. I need not dwell upon these performances ; nor can it be necessary to notice his statement that I deserted the Republican party on account of my retirement from Congress. Any politician in Indiana of moderate intelligence could have told

him he was bearing false witness, and that the prizes of politics were within my reach when my connection with the party was severed.

I fear the senator is unhappy. Notwithstanding his unchristian temper towards the Greeley Republicans, he has himself become a factionest and a disorganizer in his party. He brands the President he helped elect as an usurper, or else the accomplice of one in the person of Governor Nicholls. He lavishes upon Secretary Schurz his sincerest and most heart-felt abuse and defamation. He deals with such men as Sumner, Chase, Seward and Greeley as apostates and traitors, while defending the worst of the thieves who held office under General Grant; and yet he declares in the close of his article, with a sanctimonious whine, that "criticism and calumny are two very different agents," and that "the example is evil and the effort only pernicious when innocent men are pilloried in the permanent literature of the country as if they were guilty." His party servitude of eighteen years in the Senate has so palsied his intellect and pauperized his soul that he coolly refers to the administration of Grant in proof of the honesty of his party. And in the travail of his spirit the senator complains that I talk too much. He is not singular in this opinion. It was entertained by all the leaders of Grantism in 1872, and they were fully confirmed in it in 1876. It is not very common for criminals to enjoy the exposure of their crimes. I did not expect the men I impaled in the pages of the *North American* would be delighted by the entertainment. It is probable that Benedict Arnold, to whom the senator politely compares me, and the more "sensitive" class of criminals to whom he alludes, who "laid hold upon their own lives," found as little comfort in the contemporary criticism of their exploits as the senator now finds in my limning of the rogues and mercenaries whose cause he champions, and who, unlike the "sensitive" characters referred to, have lacked the decency to rid the world of their presence. The senator must excuse me. I can not cease talking while he and his party friends furnish

me with so fruitful a text. With all his delinquencies, I find he "has sensibility left, or the memory of sensibilities; that he remembers, and perhaps regrets, the time when he had generous impulses, and gave loose to them; when he had moral perceptions, and trusted them." I must, therefore, continue to labor for him in hope, not, as he imagines, for the pleasure of witnessing the "contortions" of my "victim," but for his good.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

REPLIES TO HON. CARL SCHURZ.

NEW YORK WORLD AND NEW YORK SUN, IN THE SPRING
OF 1883.

[New York World.]

Sir: A copy of the *Evening Post* containing your reply to my recent article in the *North American Review* is before me. The angry tone of your letter is quite as remarkable as its substance. The burden of my article was to show the shameful subservience of the land department of the government to railway management during the past thirty years, and in performing this task it naturally fell in my way to refer to your official conduct while Secretary of the Interior. This reference, forming only a small part of my general indictment, was purely incidental, and for the simple purpose of illustrating my subject. It was not prompted by the slightest personal unkindness, and yet you lose your temper and bandy epithets as if I had singled you out for special and elaborate animadversion and pursued you with personal malice. Your wincing is significant. Conscious innocence is not apt to pour itself forth in uncomely rhetoric and inexcusable passion.

But I proceed at once to notice your defense. Your first complaint is founded on the following extract, which you quote from my article:

"Another advantage gained by the railroads had its origin in an opinion given by Attorney-General Black, in 1857, when the railroad companies were anxious to obtain certified lists of their lands before they had been earned. Mr. Black held that these lists were simply in the nature of information

from the records of the department, and that he could see no objection to issuing them to any person who desired to make a proper use of them, just as any other information would be furnished from the records, and that they could have no influence on the title to the lands. Under this opinion the department issued the certified lists as required; but in May, 1880, the Secretary of the Interior decided that where any of his predecessors have certified lands under railroad grants their acts are final and conclusive, and binding upon him as their successor. He further held that a complete legal title was conveyed by such certified lists, and that the latter were in all respects equivalent to patents."

You say "this can have but one meaning, and it has been so understood by all the newspapers which have commented upon it—that certified lists of lands, issued without the lands having been earned by the railroad companies, merely in the nature of information, without any intention of conveying title thereby, were decided by me, as Secretary of the Interior, to have conveyed to the railroad companies complete legal title to the lands so listed."

This is exactly what I charge, and there is nothing in it which can give you the slightest trouble but its absolute truth. Let me now follow you in your attempt to wriggle out of your dilemma by cunning evasions, and to break the force of what I say by perfectly reckless and unwarranted assertions.

In your decision respecting the lands involved in the case of *Brown v. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company*, to which I referred, you declare, first, "that these lands were certified to the state by my predecessors, and their acts are final and conclusive, and binding upon me as their successor in office;" and, second, that "the certification of these lands invested the state with a complete legal title to the same, which was in all respects equivalent to a patent." In this decision, you say further, that the merits of the case had already been passed upon by your predecessor, in August, 1876 (in the case of *Bell v. The Chicago, Rock*

Island and Pacific Railroad Company), and that they had also been covered by a decision of the United States Circuit Court for the Eighth Circuit, which you quote as follows, in the case of *Drury v. Hollenbeck*:

“The title to the tract of land in controversy in this suit was by the act of 1856 vested in the state of Iowa. The tract in question was within the terms of the act of 1856, and when it was selected and the selection approved and certified by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the title became perfect in the state. Every act had then been performed necessary to make the title of the state complete.”

There is thus no controversy whatever about your action in recognizing as valid the certified lists referred to, and your defense is that “in the original granting act (the act of May 15, 1856), as well as the act amendatory thereof (June 2, 1874), it was expressly and specifically provided that complete legal title should be conveyed to the state and the company by certified lists, and in no other way.” But, most unfortunately for yourself, no such provision as you here cite is contained in the act of 1856. There is not a word in it providing for the conveyance of title in that way; but, on the contrary, the grant is *in presenti*, and the title passed to all the lands embraced in it by the granting clause itself. The lands involved in the case of *Brown v. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Road*, in the case of *Andrew L. Bell v. The Same Company*, and in the case of *Drury v. Hollenbeck*, decided by Judge Dillon, were all claimed under the act of May 15, 1856, and the certified lists referred to were made under that grant in December, 1858, more than five years before the amendatory act was passed. That the title in these cases was conveyed by the grant itself is stated by the very authorities on which you rely, including Judge Dillon and Secretary Chandler; and you yourself, in the case you decided, quote from an opinion of Attorney-General Cushing, of February, 1857, in which he expressly states that the Iowa grant of May 15, 1856, was a grant *in presenti*, and that the title to the lands passed by the statute as soon as they became

identified by the definite location of the road. It is true that the grant provides for the selection of indemnity lands by an agent of the state, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, as in other railroad grants; but the approval of the Secretary is simply to prevent the agent from making unauthorized selections. It is not his approval, but the *statute*, which passes the title. What Judge Dillon obviously meant was that the selection and approval were necessary to identify the lands covered by the grant. And yet, in the face of the act of Congress of 1856, and of the plain language of the very authorities on which you rely, you declare that complete legal title to the lands involved was to be conveyed to the state and the company by certified lists, "and in no other way." You write with the air of one having knowledge, but the display you make of your ignorance is picturesque, and is only matched by the heroic audacity of your assertions.

But you make a further and equally futile attempt to defend yourself by appealing to the act of Congress of August 3, 1854, which you quote as follows:

"Where lands have been, or may hereafter be, granted by any law of Congress to any one of the several states or territories, and where such law does not convey the fee-simple title of the land, or require patents to be issued therefor, the lists of such lands which have been or may hereafter be certified by the Commissioner of the General Land Office under the seal of his office, whether as originals or copies of the originals, or records, shall be regarded as conveying the fee-simple of all the lands embraced in such lists, or that are of the character contemplated by such act of Congress, and intended to be granted thereby; but where lands embraced in such lists are not of the character embraced in such acts of Congress, and are not intended to be granted thereby, the lists, so far as these lands are concerned, shall be perfectly null and void, and no right, title, claim or interest shall be conveyed thereby."

You say "this statute would have covered the case com-

pletely, and made it my clear duty to recognize the certified lists as conveying title, even had the granting act not specifically provided for this and no other mode of conveyance."

But I have just shown, and by your own authorities, that the act of 1856 does convey the fee-simple title of the land in dispute, and therefore that the lists which pretend to convey them are "perfectly null and void," according to the statute you quote in your own defense. You seem to have a genius for blundering. The point I am considering was directly before Attorney-General Black in 1857, when he rendered his opinion already quoted, and he there expressly stated that the act of August 3, 1854, does not apply in any manner whatever to the grant made to Missouri and Arkansas by the act of February 9, 1853, because a Legislative grant made by Congress does, of itself, *propria vigori*, pass to the grantee all the estate which the United States had in the subject-matter of it, except what is expressly excepted. This act of Congress, be it remembered, is of the same character as that of May 15, 1856, and has always been so regarded. Mr. Black further declared that the act of 1854 prescribed the duty of the Commissioner of the General Land Office in regard to Legislative grants when the law does not convey the title nor require patents to be issued, and yet you strangely quote this act in defense of your lawless conduct.

But even if the case were otherwise, your defense would fail. The certification of lands under the act of 1854, in a case to which it properly applies, could only convey the title through a compliance with the terms and conditions of the granting act. In the case under consideration the grant, as you say, is to the state; but the state is merely a trustee. It acts under the statute as its power of attorney, and its right depends upon a compliance with its requirements. A certification of lands that were never earned could not be a valid conveyance of the title, nor could lands be conveyed in this way as indemnity for lands never granted and consequently never lost under the grant. Your attempt, therefore, to le-

galize the certification of lands procured by false pretences in 1857, under an opinion of Attorney-General Black, before the lands had been earned, could not be defended, even if the act of 1854 had been applicable, for the simple reason that an executive officer is absolutely bound by the act of Congress from which alone he derives his authority.

In thus exposing the sophistry and nonsense of your pretended defense, I have anticipated your next subterfuge, namely, that you were concluded by the decisions of your predecessors, and I have shown that no such decisions have been made. Let me demonstrate this more perfectly. You have not denied your ruling that the certified lists of 1858 conveyed the title the same as a patent, and you are the first and only Secretary of the Interior who ever so held. As I have already said, neither Chandler nor Dillon ever so decided. Chandler expressly decided to the contrary, as Delano had done before him. In the case of *Brown v. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company*, which you decided in May, 1880, the certified lists were precisely of the same kind as those issued in 1857, under the opinion of Judge Black. They were issued to the state of Iowa upon the theory of that opinion, and, of course, conveyed no title. The road was not completed until the year 1869, being eleven years after the lists were issued. Little or nothing had been done, even as to the commencement of the road, in December, 1858, when the lists were issued, and of course they were issued for unearned lands. Judge Black, in his opinion, held that the lands within granted limits became identified by the definite location of the road, and those within indemnity limits by approved selection. The act of 1856 expressly provides that the indemnity lands shall be selected after the definite location of the line of the road, and in the case cited by you, Judge Dillon said that the line was definitely fixed in November, 1856. You ought to have known that the only indemnity selections ever made under the grant of 1856 were made September 4, of that year, more than two months prior to the definite location. You ought to have known that this

was no selection at all in point of law, and that the lands could only have been certified on the theory of Judge Black's opinion that the act of August 3, 1854, had no application at all to such grants. I believe the lists under all the early grants prior to 1862 were issued in pursuance of Judge Black's opinion, and a gentleman fit for the position of Secretary of the Interior would have seen that this certification was no adjudication whatever of the rights of settlers. He would have known that in all cases settlements under the preëmption law were allowed within the granted and indemnity limits up to the date of the definite location of the road or the withdrawal of the lands from settlement. This was the early practice of the department, and recognized by circular letter of April 5, 1854. Settlers were not required to file declaratory statements or notices of their claims in the local land offices, but were permitted, after the lapse of years, to prove up their claims, notwithstanding the previous certification of the lands granted.

This was done in cases that were never brought to the attention of the department till about the time the road was completed in 1869, and I am reliably assured that even as late as 1873 and 1874 settlers within the limits of Iowa grants were allowed to enter lands that had been certified to the state in December, 1858, under the grant of 1856, while no one dreamed that the previous certification of the land would preclude them from so doing. Can you not see that the department, in December, 1858, could not adjudicate upon facts that came before it ten or twelve years afterwards? Ought not this to be clear even to a man "not a lawyer," but "only a journalist?" The truth is, that for at least a dozen years after the certified lists of December, 1858, were issued, the General Land Office continued cancelling tract after tract on the lists, as settlement claims made prior to the withdrawal of the lands were from time to time proved up. The department always regarded the lists as subject to final correction according to ascertained facts. This was the practice under all similar railroad grants. It is clear, there-

fore, that your attempt to take refuge under previous rulings of the Interior Department can not shield you from the charge of recreancy to your official duty, and that, in your own language, you did make "a law of your own for the benefit of railroad corporations, by which unearned lands could be surreptitiously put into their possession."

I ought to add, however, as I desire to meet every phase of your defense, that if your predecessor had given such a decision as you pretend, it could not justify your action. I admit that, as a rule, the adjudications of a secretary are binding upon his successor, but this rule has its exceptions. In one of the authorities cited by you on this question (13th Opinions of Attorney-General, 358), Attorney-General Stanbury declared that the rule does not apply "where there has been a palpable error of calculation, or where new facts are subsequently brought forward which show that the former decision was erroneous and would probably not have been made if they had been known at the time of the decision."

If your predecessor had decided in 1876 that certified lists issued by the land department as mere information and not as conveying any title whatever, did, nevertheless, convey a complete legal title, which was in all respects equivalent to a patent, and the fact was brought to your knowledge in 1880 that these lists had been obtained by a trick through the misuse of the opinion of Attorney-General Black, you were not bound in law or conscience to aid in consummating this fraud upon the government. But the rule upon which you rely is by no means uniformly observed in practice, even in the absence of any special exception. You are probably aware of the well-known case in which an opinion of Secretary Harlan was overruled by Secretary Browning, and that this latter ruling was afterwards overruled by Secretary Delano. You overruled the ruling of your predecessors in your decision in the case of *Kniskern v. The Hastings and Dakota Railroad Company* in April, 1879, and your successor has since overruled your decision. You changed the ruling of

your predecessors in December, 1878, in the case of *Gates v. The California and Oregon Railroad Company*, and Secretary Teller has since overruled your decision. You overruled your predecessor in the case of *Serrano v. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company*, in July, 1874; but your ruling has since been overruled by Secretary Kirkwood. In view of these facts your pretense that, under the ruling of your predecessors, you were powerless to protect the United States against the wholesale spoliation of the public domain by railway companies, bears a striking resemblance to a transparent fraud and an impudent fabrication. There was one potent reason, and only one, why you gave your decision in 1880, and that was that you were the servant of the railways, and, of necessity, the enemy of the settler.

I now come to your conduct in asking the advice of the Attorney-General on the question whether land-grant railroads are entitled to indemnity for lands disposed of by the United States within the granted limits prior to the passage of the granting act, or only for those disposed of between its passage and the definite location of the line of the road. You attempt to defend your action on the plea that the point involved was a disputed one among lawyers, and that it was your duty, as the head of your department, to ask advice. But the point was not a disputed one when you referred it to the Attorney-General. It had been settled by three or four successive decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. These decisions were your guide, and there was no occasion whatever to call for advice. In the case of *The United States v. The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company*, Justice Davis, who pronounced the opinion, had made the case so perfectly clear and irresistibly conclusive as to remove all doubt. He shows that Congress could not grant lands that had already been disposed of, and therefore that no indemnity for such lands could be allowed. The court declares in so many words, in this case and in that of *The United States v. The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company*,

that indemnity could only be allowed for lands "lost by the action of the government in keeping the land offices open between the date of the granting act and the location of the line of the road." There could be no mistake about the meaning of this language. A child could understand it, and you make it your boast that you accepted this opinion as your guide, and followed it till the closing months of your administration, when you referred the matter to the Attorney-General, "in consequence of the protest of parties interested, and the arguments urged by respectable attorneys." But all this could not justify your perfectly gratuitous act. You say: "There is one reason imaginable, and only one, why, under such circumstances, the head of the department, and not a lawyer, might hesitate to ask the Attorney-General for advice. It is that he might consider the Attorney-General incompetent as a jurist or corrupt as an officer." This is a remarkable statement. If your common sense had not taken its flight you could readily have imagined another and equally conclusive reason.

The character of the Attorney-General for integrity and capacity was not necessarily involved. It was enough for you to know that the question had been settled, and that there was, therefore, no occasion whatever for reference, and when the railroad lobby asked you to refer it you had reasonable ground to suspect a design to use you for base purposes and to make the Attorney-General your ally. You say the Attorney-General is "the soul of honor." This may be true, but it does not alter the fact that he gave you an opinion directly in conflict with the decisions of the Supreme Court, and attempted to justify it by quoting the "mere dictum" of an inferior tribunal, which does not appear in its printed opinion, and in a case which was to be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision. You refer to the important official positions which the Attorney-General has occupied. I make no denial, and I add, also, that *you* have been Secretary of the Interior. You at first adopted the judgment of the Supreme Court as your guide,

but excuse yourself by saying that "the interior department had to yield to legal authority, which it did very reluctantly." But there was no compulsion whatever, and you had no right to accept any "legal authority" in opposition to that of the Supreme Court. In the opinion of Attorney-General Crittenden of the 30th of June, 1851, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, as to the binding character of a previous opinion of Attorney-General Johnson, he says: "The opinions of an Attorney-General are merely advisory. No law gives them any technical, specific or official consequence or effect. To whatever respect the high character of Mr. Johnson may justly entitle his opinion, I may very confidently say that no law has made it binding or obligatory upon you. The weight that you should give it can be determined by no other standard than your own judgment." You were, therefore, left perfectly free to exercise "your own judgment," and to testify your decent respect for the paramount authority of the Supreme Court of the United States. You did not yield "reluctantly," but willingly. The question involved the title to millions of acres of the public domain which had illegally fallen into the clutches of our land-grant railways, and it was sacredly incumbent upon you as an officer and an honest man to stand by the rights of the United States, and guard your own personal honor against the suspicion of having sacrificed those rights in the service of great monopolies.

You further seek to excuse your conduct by referring to an opinion of Justice Miller, in the case of *Barney v. The Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company*, given since that of Attorney-General Devens, and reported in 2d McCrary's Reports, 421, in which he concurs with Justice Harlan in the case cited by Attorney-General Devens. My perfectly sufficient answer to this is that Justice Miller was on the Supreme Bench when the contrary principle was settled and gave no dissenting opinion. He was thus committed to the principle that indemnity can not be allowed for lands disposed of prior to the grant, but only for those lost by the action of the gov-

ernment between the date of the grant and the definite location of the line of the road. If he had given a dissenting opinion it could not have changed the law as settled by the court, and by which he was completely bound, both as a judge and a citizen. And yet you parade him before the country as attempting to nullify the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and stultifying himself, and quote him as telling you that the Attorney General was right in the advisory opinion he gave you. I think he will not thank you for inviting public attention to such performances, while they can furnish no shadow of justification for your action.

You next proceed to notice my statement respecting the award of indemnity lands under the grant made to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé road. This statement, as my language shows, was made on the information of others, and not as a fact within my own knowledge. My authority was an exceedingly well-informed official in the land office, who inadvertently confounded indemnity with granted lands. To this extent he was inaccurate, and you seem to take great comfort in the fact. This is quite natural, considering the serious tribulations of your situation; but let us see how much solid ground for comfort the actual facts of the case will afford you. You do not deny that you awarded lands to that railway in 1880, and the land office reports show that while you were Secretary 280,717 acres were certified and approved to the road. There had been previously certified 2,465,221 acres, making an aggregate of 2,745,938 acres. According to ex-Governor Crawford, of Kansas, now employed by the state to assert her rights against said railway, the greatest amount the company could possibly receive under the grant would be 2,361,600 acres. He estimates the amount disposed of to settlers prior to the date of the grant at 150,000 acres, thus reducing the legal claim of the company to 2,211,600 acres, or about 253,621 acres less than the road had received before your approval of 1880; so that even under the ruling of Attorney-General Devens the road had received an excess of 384,338 acres prior to that

date, which was increased by you to 665,055 acres. If these were not indemnity lands the fact is equally material and equally damaging to you that the company had no right to them, and I thus demonstrate the power of railway influence over the land department, and over you, especially, as its official head.

You take great credit to yourself for having adopted a rule requiring railroad companies, in selecting indemnity, to specify the particular tracts within the granted limits for the loss of which indemnity is claimed. But of what service could this be unless accompanied by the further requirement that the companies should also specify the particular tracts in lieu of which indemnity already received has been selected? Had you made this requirement of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Company—which had already received, prior to 1880, more lands within the indemnity limits than it had lost within the granted limits, even under the Devens opinion—it would then have been your duty to call upon the company for the surrender of the illegal excess, instead of certifying an additional quantity. But no such requirement was made of this or any other company; and the rule of which you make boast has been so administered that they have been permitted to designate as a basis of indemnity the same land lost in place which formed the basis of previous selections without being designated. By this practice the same tract within the granted limits has twice become the basis of an indemnity selection—first without being designated as such, and afterwards by being so designated under your rule as a second crop of indemnity for the same land. You say you are sure the bearing of this rule was appreciated by the land-grant railroads if not by me. I agree with you, and have pointed out the reason why they appreciate it, and the manner in which they made you the instrument of their plunder. If they do not thank you they are strangely wanting in gratitude.

I come now to some minor matters to which you refer in connection with your defense. You quote the testimony of

the chief of the railroad division of the general land office, given before a Senate committee, covering the year ending December, 1881, showing that of 824 cases in which final action was taken between settlers and railroad companies, 635 were decided in favor of the former. In parading this fact your deliberate purpose is to deceive. The evidence to which you refer shows that all cases considered by the department which involve land in railroad limits are treated as contested cases. This is their *status*, whether the railroads make any actual contest or not. There are, of course, many tracts within railroad limits so clearly excepted from the grant that the companies themselves concede the rights of settlers, and these cases, as you well know, are always more numerous than those of a doubtful character which lead to litigation, because settlers, as a rule, have not the means to carry on contests, and rarely, if ever, undertake to do so if the rulings of the department are against them in the beginning. As there is nothing in the evidence to which you refer to show that any actual contests were made in any of the 635 cases referred to, the fact you present is wholly irrelevant, and could only have been stated to mislead. But even if these cases had been actual contests it could not affect the showing made in my article, which related to the general administration of the land department for a long series of years. What I said is fully supported by the sworn testimony of capable and experienced land office officials, as given before the Senate Committee on Public Lands of the last Congress, and printed with the report of that committee, which is numbered 362. One of these witnesses is now the chief law clerk of the general land office, and knows tenfold more about its practical affairs than yourself, and if you had consulted his testimony you would have made no denial of my statement.

You complain that in criticising your action I did not mention some of your decisions adverse to the railroads. If you made any such decisions I have nothing to do with them. My task was to show that for nearly a third of a century the

land department, to a very great extent, has been the servant of the railroads and not of the people. This I demonstrated, and in doing so I necessarily involved you in my general indictment.

You refer to a noted case in which you decided, in 1878, that where the act making a grant of land to a railroad company provided that all the land so granted "which shall not be sold or disposed of by said company within three years after the entire road shall have been completed shall be subject to settlement and preëmption like other lands, at a price not to exceed \$1.25 per acre, to be paid to the company," the provision meant that all lands not actually sold by the company three years after the completion of the road should be thrown open to settlement under the preëmption law. You say this decision covered six land-grant roads, and that it turned over to settlers many millions of acres, but that "the railroad corporations" rushed at you with urgent applications for a reconsideration of your decision, which you refused. You say the corporations then went before the courts and finally obtained a decision that under the "loose wording" of the granting acts the mortgage of the granted lands was a disposition of them within the meaning of the law, and that this decision was the "keenest disappointment" you suffered while at the head of your department. This sounds pretty well. It seems to indicate that at this early period of your administration you really had a spasm of virtue. I hope you had, but it was so momentary and sporadic, and stands out in such strange contrast with the whole current of your official action that I strongly suspect you were playing a mere game of official clap-trap. Let me analyze it for a moment, and let the reader judge. Notwithstanding the keenness of your disappointment when you found that your attempt to rescue the settlers in the case from the clutches of "six of the land-grant roads" had failed, you promptly recalled your decision and excused the court on the ground of the "loose wording" of the statute. You meekly and lovingly conformed your action to a ruling which

handed over to the railways millions of acres, with the fortunes of the men whose just right to them no one could dispute ; and although this decision at once gave rise to a decided difference of opinion and had to run the gauntlet of legal criticism and popular condemnation, it never occurred to you to call on the Attorney-General for his advice, or even to hesitate a moment in your course.

But when this same court, in the case of the *United States v. The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company*, gave a decision by which millions of acres of the public domain could be snatched from the illegal control of the railways and awarded to settlers, you repudiated its authority by following the advisory opinion of Attorney-General Devens, which you now attempt to whitewash. In this you simply repeat your action in January, 1879, in the case of *Beck et al. v. The Central Pacific Railroad Company*, in which you followed a shameful ruling of Secretary Delano and disregarded the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Newhall v. Sanger*, which would have saved the homes of a multitude of settlers who have been turned adrift at the bidding of railway corporations. Your reverence for the Supreme Court is thus made to depend upon the party who profits by its decision, while you sacrifice to the railways both conscience and consistency. They have evidently "rushed at" you, and you have succumbed ; for with the single exception of your apocryphal ruling in the Dudymott case I have not been able to find a decision against railroad companies, except such as were based upon decisions of your predecessors which had become precedents in the department before you became secretary. I have found no case in which you have attempted to modify the rulings of any of your predecessors in the interest of settlers and against the claims of railroad companies, while in several instances you have modified previous rulings in their interest and against the claims of settlers.

You did this in December, 1878, in your ruling in the well-known case of *Gates v. The California and Oregon*

Railroad Company, under which a large number of settlers lost their homes during the four years it was in force. But, as I have before stated, the doctrine of that case was set aside as unsound in December last by Secretary Teller, and much to his credit. So in the case of *Serrano v. The Union Pacific Railroad Company*, in July, 1879, you overruled your predecessors in the interest of the railways, by which many settlers lost their claims before your decision was set aside in December, 1881, by Secretary Kirkwood. In April, 1879, in the case of *Kniskern v. The Hastings and Dakota Railroad Company*, involving the interpretation of the soldiers' homestead law, you overruled the decision of your predecessors, that a soldier's entry, while existing on the records, operates to reserve the land from a railroad grant under the general rule of law applicable to all homestead entries. Many soldiers lost their claims under this ruling, which prevailed until the 12th of February last, when Secretary Teller, in the case of *Julia D. Graham v. The Hastings and Dakota Railroad Company*, substantially overruled your decision and reinstated that of your predecessors. To these singular samples of your loving kindness for settlers, and your hostility to the railways I may add your decision in January, 1879, in the case of *Beck et al. v. The Central Pacific Railroad Company*, under which the lands of a large number of settlers on a reserved Mexican grant were awarded to railways without any warrant of law, and as a part of the despicable game of fast and loose played by the land department under your management in behalf of these corporations, and already exposed in my article in the *North American Review*.

As to your closing argument of "you're another," I have very little to say. I was not a member of the Pacific Railroad Committee which drafted the grants to which you refer, and whose "loose wording" you think caused so much mischief. As a member of the House Committee on Public Lands I did everything in my power to curb the recklessness and extravagance of land grants and to guard the rights of settlers by adequate provisions. When you attempt to make

me responsible, not only for the passage of the various granting acts, but for the particular phraseology of every act and every clause contained in it, your picture of my parliamentary omnipotence is so splendid that I confess myself a little dazzled by it. You have a poetical turn of mind. But if what you say were the exact truth it could not justify you in abetting the theft of millions of acres of the people's patrimony which should be awarded to settlers at the minimum rate, instead of being made the spoil of greedy corporations and sold at rates to be fixed by themselves under the legalized system of blackmail sanctioned by your official acts.

I think I have now disposed of you entirely. In the light of the facts I have stated, and supported by proof, it seems utterly incredible that you presided over the great home department of the government for four years; and the fact that the country has survived your administration is a fresh illustration of the power of republican institutions to withstand the most deadly assaults. With due respect,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

HON. CARL SCHURZ.

[New York Sun.]

HON. CARL SCHURZ—*Sir*: Your first open letter to me in reply to my article in the *North American Review* was the product of a whole month's incubation, and in the labor of bringing it forth you were assisted by Mr. Marble, your legal adviser, and other official and personal friends in the Interior Department. That you were proud of your work was made evident by the amusing strut of self-complacency with which it was offered to the public, while it revealed your perfect and child-like innocence of any knowledge of the questions you had undertaken to discuss. It really seemed a little cruel to unroof your charming little Paradise of shallowness and self-conceit, and publicly impale you on your ignorance; but you invited me to the task and I performed it thoroughly in my letter in the *World*. On every question

of fact and law involved in the controversy you were completely driven to the wall, and every man who read your letter and my reply knows it. You, yourself, with all your legal thickheadedness, felt it, and what you would do in your distressing dilemma became the conundrum alike of your friends and your enemies. Silence on your part, however, was death, and as nothing could be worse than that, you determined upon another public appearance, and through the sweat and toil of another month you struggled to find your way out of the ditch in which I had compelled you to measure your length. We now have you posturing before the country in act second of your interesting drama as ex-Secretary of the Interior, and my only hope as to your mental condition is inspired by the glimmer of light which seems to have dawned upon you at the close of your letter, where you say that this is your last attempt to defend your official conduct.

I must, however, give you some credit as to this farewell address. It is quite clear that you have found a new set of advisers, and that your final effort is the only one which afforded you the faintest shadow of deliverance. Believing that by this time the unmanageable facts on which I brought you to your disagreeable reckoning are forgotten, and pretending innocently to ignore them as if you had never wrestled with them or even heard of them, you start out upon a new line of defense; and by putting into my mouth statements I never made, and then valorously bombarding your man of straw, and drawing upon your imagination both for your facts and embellishment, you seek to make your escape through the fog thus created for the bewilderment of your readers. In your extremity you play the game of the cuttlefish, which, when pursued, throws out a blackish, dirty liquid, that so darkens the water as to afford him the chance to evade his pursuers. Let me see if I can drive you from your castle of mud, and once more hold your nose to the grindstone while I turn it.

You say I accuse you of "having devised some develish

machinery for conveying to railroad companies lands which do not belong to them." You purposely misstate the case. You simply perverted to base ends, in the interest of the railways, machinery already in existence, and which had been created for a totally different purpose. My charge was that certified lists of lands, issued to railroad companies merely in the nature of information, without any intention of conveying title, and before the lands had been earned, were decided by you to have conveyed a complete legal title, which was in all respects equivalent to a patent. This, at first, you indignantly denied; but you proceeded at once to admit it by pleading in confession and avoidance. You attempted to defend yourself on the ground that the act of May 15, 1856, specifically provided that complete legal title should be conveyed to the state and the company by certified lists, and "in no other way." But I totally demolished that defense by showing that that act contains no such provision, and that the title passed to all the lands embraced in it by the granting clause itself. You further sought to defend your conduct by citing the act of Congress of August 3, 1854, as your justification; but I demonstrated by that act itself and your own authorities that your decision was totally unwarranted, and that the lists which pretended to convey the lands in question were "perfectly null and void." You next cited in your defense the decision of Judge Dillon, in the case of *Drury v. Hollenbeck*, and a decision of your predecessor in the case of *Andrew L. Bell v. The Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company*; but I pinioned you on the unfortunate fact that neither of these decisions warranted your ruling, while both condemned it. You thus confessed my charge to be true, while you utterly broke down in your attempt to defend yourself. If you had been an honest man, or even possessed of honest tendencies, you would have frankly acknowledged these blunders when I exposed them. You especially owed this duty to yourself, if the Assistant Attorney-General, who wrote your opinion, misled you; but with the characteristic effrontery of a hired flunkey of the

railways, you now brazenly reaffirm your uncovered falsehoods. You incorporate into your code of morals the philosophy of Sam Patch, and hold that some things may be said as well as others. Your tactics suggest the lines of the poet:

How full of weight, how strong, how bold,
The big round lie with manly courage told.

But your gifts in the field of fiction are not more resplendent than your genius for wriggling. Referring to my position that the granting clause of the act of 1856 conveys the fee-simple title to the lands in dispute, you ask, "Was not the road entitled to the lands in question?" Let me remind you, my dear Mrs. Candor, that this is not the point on which I arraigned you. Of course the road was entitled to the lands covered by the grant, subject to its conditions and the rights of settlers. What you decided was, that the lands were conveyed by the certified lists, and could be conveyed "in no other way;" and under cover of this decision hundreds of thousands of acres of the public domain have been illegally awarded to the railway companies before they were earned, although the opinion of Attorney-General Black, under which the lists were issued, declared that they could convey no title, and were only issued as mere information. You intentionally converted that opinion into the "devilish machinery" for plundering the public domain. This is what you did, and you are the only Secretary of the Interior who ever so ruled. You did it without any warrant of law or precedent, and in open defiance of both. You did it as the minion of your masters; and I now ask you to stand where I have placed you long enough for a survey of your moral lineaments. Don't wriggle, but stand up before the public in the act of deliberately abetting the wholesale piracy of the public lands through your official ruling in behalf of the railways.

Let me scrutinize you a little further, while the light shines on you. You at first denied ever making the decision referred to, and compelled me to prove it, which I did by the

express words of the acts of Congress cited by you, and the executive and judicial rulings on which you relied. In concluding and clinching this proof, I said: "There is thus no controversy whatever about your action in recognizing as valid the certified lists referred to;" and you now quote this language to show that you were right in a decision which you deny making, and that I indorse it. You write yourself down a moral pickpocket by pretending to do this innocently. You seek to hide your shame under a juggle of words, and blind the eyes of the public by your "dissolving views." You are not brainless, and therefore you knew that what I meant and said was that there was no controversy about your having decided the validity of these lists as a conveyance. This was the very point I was debating with you, while I proceeded, in the same connection, to demonstrate the absolute invalidity of such lists as a conveyance of title. You thus, in your own language, illustrate "the uncontrollable propensity of hypocrites to overdo what they attempt." You coolly pose as a victor in the field of your disgraceful defeat. Your impudence is phenomenal, while your trickiness suggests a prospective place for you in the rogues' gallery. Are you silly enough to believe you can save your character by thus preaching the funeral of your own conscience?

Passing to your next item, you say that I charged you with having "committed the crime of asking the Attorney-General for legal advice in a case on which the Attorney-General's opinion did not agree with your own." Why did you make this statement, which not one of your readers will accept as true? Could you not afford the luxury of telling the truth once? What I charged was that, in the interest of the railways, you gratuitously asked the opinion of the Attorney-General on a point which was settled. The Supreme Court of the United States, in three several cases, had decided that lands already disposed of by the government can not be granted to a railroad company, and so can not be the basis of indemnity, for the simple reason that they have

never been lost by the company. The word indemnity means remuneration for loss or damage incurred, and how could a railroad be entitled to it if the lands for which it claims indemnity were never granted? This question had been fully discussed by the Supreme Court and settled. You might as well have asked the Attorney-General whether two and three make five. These decisions were not a mere *dictum*, but the adjudication of a principle. You recognized this principle for years, but finally succumbed to the railways by referring the question, at their instance, as a doubtful one, to the Attorney-General, who gave you an opinion in direct conflict with the ruling of the Supreme Court, and which he attempted to justify by the *dictum* of Justice Harlan in an inferior tribunal and in a case that was to be appealed to the Supreme Court for final decision. Your reference to Justice Miller can not help you and only harms him, while your pretence that you were compelled to abide by the advice of the Attorney-General was a false one, as I proved by your own authorities in my reply to your first letter. You obeyed the Attorney-General willingly and joyfully, as a part of your engagement to serve the railways, and this you know quite as well as well as any one else can. You even went beyond the opinion of the Attorney-General by adding the words "otherwise disposed of" to the specification of prior losses for which indemnity might be allowed, thus greatly enlarging the scope of the opinion, as I stated in my *Review* article, and which statement you have admitted by failing to deny it.

You reiterate your pettifogging drivel about the question of indemnity lands under the grant made to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad. I fully disposed of this whole matter in my former letter, showing the enormous quantities of lands awarded to that road in excess of the grant, through your action, and how cunningly but potently you played into its hands through the machinery of a rule adopted by you in the pretended interest of settlers, by which large quantities of lands were made the subject of their plunder. You take no notice of my exposure of these

facts, which leave you in far worse condition than did my first charge in the *North American Review*. Why did you skulk the whole matter? And why should I repeat what you decline to notice, and thus confess to be true by your default?

You repeat your twaddle about the decision of eight hundred and twenty-four cases in 1881, of which six hundred and thirty-five were decided in favor of the settlers. This, also, I have fully dealt with in my former letter, showing that all cases in which railroads are concerned are recognized in the department as contested cases, whether any actual contest is made or not, and that your figures are wholly without significance in the absence of evidence showing what cases were really contested. In writing your farewell letter, why did you not notice what I said? You prudently pass it all by, and yet talk about the "suppression of the truth" and the "falsification of facts." As a pettifogger, you make the average practitioner of that fine art exceedingly respectable.

You impute to me the statement that five or six of your decisions have been overruled by your successors, and say there was but one. I did not say there were five or six, but specified three, referring to their titles and dates; and the records of the land office sustain me. You say you have inquired into the matter, and are informed by "very competent authority" that there was but one such case. Why did you not name your "authority?" I made my statement from knowledge, and you can not gainsay it.

You again pour yourself forth on the subject of my votes in Congress, and my infidelity to the poor settlers, upon whom you have so lavished your love. Your return to this subject after the knock-down I gave you in my first letter shows how impossible it is for you to take a hint. You would be glad, of course, to put me on the defensive, but I am now trying you. If I should conclude at any time to defend my record it will be when some man possessing a decent character and clean hands shall make the attack. I

plead to your jurisdiction ; but to those of my readers who belong to the present generation rather than the past, I may be pardoned for the statement of a few facts. I championed the policy of our homestead law years before you unloaded the blessed cargo of your virtues upon our shores. In this work no public man was before me. Millions of acres of the public domain in the land states of the South were saved to actual settlers by the southern homestead law of 1866, which I reported from the House Committee on Public Lands. Other millions were snatched from monopolists and thieves, and turned over to settlers by efforts in which I was an active participant, resulting in the reform of our Indian treaty system, under which lands when relinquished by a tribe had long been made the spoil of railway corporations and Indian rings. I took the lead in defeating monstrous schemes of land bounty which threatened the complete overthrow of the policy of our preëmption and homestead laws. Before I left Congress I secured the legislative forfeiture of a large land grant in Louisiana for non-compliance with the conditions on which it was made, and did my best to secure several similar enactments, which the railway lobby defeated. I am sure I was instrumental in saving large areas of the public land from the clutches of monopolists through an amendment to several important land grants requiring the lands to be sold to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than a quarter section to one person, and for a price not exceeding \$2.50 per acre. It is true that during the war, and what we call "the development period," I united with men of all parties in voting for most of the railroad grants. The value of the lands given away was not then known as it is now, while we were in the midst of a struggle for national existence or grappling with the difficult problems it involved. Hasty legislation was the result. The need of highways to the Pacific was deemed imperative, and unattainable without very large grants of land. No one then dreamed of the mismanagement of these great trusts which we have since witnessed, while the universal expectation was

that the lands would be restored to the public domain on failure to comply with the conditions of the grants, nor did any one then foresee the rapid settlement and development of our western states and territories, through which the building of railways would become a work of practical accomplishment without the aid of the government. I did not, however, vote for the grant to the Northern Pacific Company, nor for its revival after forfeiture, while I nail another of your falsehoods to the counter when I tell you I voted and spoke *against* the Texas Pacific grant, which occupies the front rank as a railway conspiracy to cheat the people of the United States.

The truth is, that Congress has been far more recreant in dealing with forfeited lands than in granting them in the first place, while the power of these railways over our legislation for years past has only been matched by their power over the executive and judicial departments of the government. The resulting mischiefs to the country have proceeded less from the land-grant system than from its shameful mal-administration by such officials as yourself since I went out of Congress in 1871. All this will be sufficiently disagreeable to you by the contrast it will suggest with your own record, but it will not, I hope, be offensive to the general reader.

The closing part of your letter, in which you absurdly impute my long-standing hostility to railway domination to the failure of the railroad kings to purchase my services, is very characteristic. You judge me by yourself; but I can not return the compliment thus unwittingly bestowed, for I have shown that they did purchase your services, and found them an exceedingly profitable investment. To their interests you have been preëminently faithful. When I made my passing allusion to you in the *North American Review* I did not dream that the administration of your department had been so thoroughly bad. If at any moment you seem to have swerved from your perfect loyalty to these corporations, you atoned for it so promptly, and by such unequivocal acts of fidelity, as to remove all possible ground of suspicion. Your devotion to them has had the quality of a religion. It is true

you have never been wanting in professions of devotion to purity and reform. You have always mustered in the robes of dignity and decency. The moral felonies of your administration have been pretty successfully sugar-coated. In the externals of your position you have, in fact, appeared remarkably well as a member of the Hayes administration, which you aided in inflicting upon the country; but I am confident that no Secretary of the Interior since the organization of the department, save Jacob Thompson, has been so thoroughly recreant to his trust as yourself. He made the department a bureau in the service of treason, while you only made it a feeder to the railways. This you did splendidly; and for the facts which justify my statements the country is indebted to you for attacking my article in the *North American Review*, and thus prompting me to lay them before the people. They form a part only of your record, but they are amply sufficient to strip you of your disguises and cover you with shame.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

THE LIMNING OF STEPHEN W. DORSEY.

PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS LEADING NEWSPAPERS IN JANUARY, 1888.

In the October number of the *North American Review*, Stephen W. Dorsey makes what he calls a "rejoinder" to my article on "Land Stealing in New Mexico." I find it a palpable misnomer, for he does not even attempt a reply to the mass of facts which constitute my indictment against the rogues of this territory. A brief notice of his performance may, however, be deemed proper. In some respects Mr. Dorsey is a formidable antagonist. He once held a seat in the National Senate from the state of Arkansas, where he will long be remembered as the genius who happily blended in himself the traits both of the carpet-bagger and the scalawag. He has held high places and wielded large powers as a party leader. He has shown uncommon ability in exploiting the mail service of the United States and eluding the hand of justice. Probably no man in the Union is so thoroughly acquainted with the whole business of "land stealing." In this interesting field of activity I believe he has a national reputation as an expert. His selection as the apologist and defender of the tribe of which he is the acknowledged chief, is therefore altogether appropriate, and their cause will have to be abandoned as utterly hopeless if he is not able to defend it.

Mr. Dorsey damages his case in the outset by his bad temper. It is not a symptom of innocence. His personal abuse is too fervent and emotional. He should have remembered that the spaniel under the lash only yelps when it is touchingly applied. The article to which he pretends to

reply was dispassionately written. I only referred to individuals where my task made it necessary, dealing entirely in facts; and if Mr. Dorsey had kept cool, and applied himself honestly to the work of answering them, he might have had the sympathy, if not the respect, of the public.

He also weakens his cause by dragging party politics into the discussion. He has done this without any provocation whatever. His effort to show that Democrats, as well as Republicans, are involved in the exposures I have made, is not a response to anything I said. I have no dispute with him on that point. My article is thoroughly non-partisan. In overhauling the frauds connected with Spanish and Mexican grants in New Mexico, I struck right and left, pursuing every ugly fact into its hiding-place, without the least concern as to whether it would damage this party or that. I think the purpose of Mr. Dorsey in thus wandering away from the real issue is perfectly transparent. He has become tired of hanging on the outer-wall of politics, and hopes to regain his lost place of power in the Republican party. I sympathize with him in his distress, but he will find himself utterly disappointed. The days of his political glory are past, because, as I am convinced, the leaders and masses of all parties regard him as hopelessly pilloried before the nation as a star route thief. He smells of the penitentiary, and no fumigation is possible. To every honest man in the republic the mention of his name suggests the striped costume of the crew whose fellowship he escaped through the miscarriage of public justice.

Mr. Dorsey damages his cause still more fatally by his absolute recklessness in dealing with matters of fact. In attacking me personally he succeeds in missing the truth in every statement he makes. In pretending to give my pedigree, for instance, he says that nearly fifty years ago I was elected to office as a pro-slavery Democrat, and that, defeated for re-election, I left my party. He also says that after I had posed as a Free-soiler I became a conservative Whig. These ridiculous statements will only provoke the

laughter of my old friends. He knows that after beginning my political life as a Whig I became a member and a leader of the Free-soil party in 1848, and so continued till it was merged in the Republican party in 1856; and that I remained in that party till the Greeley campaign of 1872, when I joined its fathers and founders in walking out of it on account of its shameless misdeeds, in which Mr. Dorsey was disgracefully conspicuous. He says that in my eye "there was no public crime of which Ulysses S. Grant was not guilty," and that to his personal knowledge I denounced General Garfield at every cross-road in Indiana as a "thief," a "bribe-taker," a "bribe-giver" and a "perjurer." The extravagance of these statements destroys them, and Mr. Dorsey knew them to be base fabrications when he penned them. I have, in past years, criticised the administration of General Grant and some of the acts of General Garfield, but in doing so I did not appear in the role of a blackguard, in which Mr. Dorsey is always a very shining figure. I refer to these and kindred fabrications about myself solely as illustrations of the marvelous bent of his mind towards the habit of lying, and not by any means in self-defense. In this case Mr. Dorsey is the defendant and culprit, and I frankly confess myself hopelessly lost if I need to be defended against any conceivable charges emanating from such a source. They can only tend to enthrone me in the hearts of all honest men.

He asserts that mainly through my exertions nearly four hundred citizens of New Mexico have been indicted for land frauds, and that every man tried has been acquitted. He says, "there is not a grain or shadow of truth that there have been, or are now, frauds committed to any extent in New Mexico under the homestead and preëmption laws." Mr. Dorsey makes Gulliver respectable. As to his "four hundred citizens of New Mexico" (if there were so many), he knows that I had nothing whatever to do with their indictment, and that this was the work of the grand juries, aided by the district attorney and the special agents of the govern-

ment. He knows, also, that quite a number of these men were convicted, and that the great body of them escaped solely through the saving grace of the statute of limitations, which innocent men would not have pleaded. The proof of their guilt was ample, and no man knows this better than Mr. Dorsey, who is exceedingly familiar with the work of acquiring title to the public lands through the perjury and subornation of perjury of scullions and dummies employed for this service. In this prostitution of our land laws to the base uses of theft and plunder, I do not speak at random, but on the authority of ascertained facts. I shall only refer to the proceedings of a single term of the United States Court, held in Santa Fé, last spring.

On the trial of numerous parties for perjury and subornation of perjury in procuring land titles, and conspiracy to defraud the government through the corrupt use of our land laws, eighty-eight persons availed themselves of the statute of limitations, and thus confessed their guilt. The testimony developed the fact that many of these men had been paid from five to ten dollars each to sign certain title papers, and that they never saw the land and never attempted to occupy or improve it, while the men who hired them to swear falsely sold the tracts to an Iowa cattle company. All this is well known to Mr. Dorsey, and that these men would not have escaped the penitentiary if the Republican officials of the territory had done their duty in securing indictments in season. But Mr. Dorsey says "there is not a grain or shadow or truth" in the charge that land frauds have been committed in New Mexico to "any extent." In speaking of an accomplished scoundrel of the last century, Thomas Carlyle says "there was not truth enough in him to make a real lie of." I suspect that Mr. Dorsey is his lineal descendant.

But hear him further. In speaking of the right of the citizen to take 160 acres of land, and pay for it as designated by law, at the rate of \$1.25 per acre, he says: "The person entering this land must swear that he is doing it for his own use and benefit, and not with the view of selling it." This

is true ; but in the cases just cited, which are mere samples of New Mexican frauds, the men who pretended to enter their tracts swore falsely, and the lands passed at once into the clutches of a cattle company, just as Mr. Dorsey is well understood to have secured the title to his lands on the Una de Gato grant, and he defends this disgraceful perversion of the preëmption law. He says : "Before the title passes to the preëmtor he pays the government the price of the land," and that "the government is not defrauded." It is true the government does not lose the price of the land, and, therefore, according to this logic, if Mr. Dorsey can hire one hundred middle-men for a few dollars each to acquire that many quarter sections of land by perjury, and convey them to him, it is a legitimate business. The preëmption law, it is true, only permits one person to acquire 160 acres of land, but on the Dorsey plan he can acquire 100,000, and that law thus becomes the instrument through which the great curse of monopoly, which it was designed to prevent, is fastened upon the country. Everybody knows that the preëmption law subordinates the question of revenue to the policy of actual settlement and tillage in small homesteads. When it was passed, in 1841, the treasury was full to overflowing from the proceeds of sales of the public lands in large bodies for speculative purposes, thus fatally hindering the settlement and development of the country. After a long wrangle in Congress, our ugly "surplus" was divided among the states, and we entered upon a new dispensation, inspired by the purpose thereafter to dedicate the public lands to the use of landless men who would personally appropriate them in limited allotments. Not revenue, but the *settlement of the lands* was the dominating idea ; and this was afterwards still more strongly emphasized in the passage of the homestead law. But the moral vision of Mr. Dorsey sees nothing wrong in nullifying both these laws, and making them the engines of monopoly and robbery, through the detestable agencies of bribery and perjury. As I have shown, he denies, absolutely, that any frauds have been committed under them in

New Mexico, and then brazenly defends the very villainies I have charged upon him and his kind. Such is the gospel of "land stealing," according to St. Stephen. It is Dorseyism, pure and simple, in its unveiled ghastliness; and I turn away from it, and mercifully draw the curtain over it, while I proceed with my task.

He asserts that I have charged the Supreme Court of the United States with joining hands with the plunderers of the public domain. There is not a sentence or word in my article which can be tortured into any such meaning, and Mr. Dorsey, who carefully read it for the purpose of reply, knows this to be true.

He says that my article implies that all the Secretaries of the Interior, from 1861 to 1885, all the Commissioners of the General Land Office, and all my predecessors in office, were dishonest and corrupt men. This statement is a gross exaggeration, and it is, moreover, a mere begging of the question. Quite a number of the officials referred to are involved in my exposure, and the records of the government will identify them. Are my facts authentic? Mr. Dorsey makes no attempt to controvert them, which he certainly would have done if he had been able, but with uplifted hands and the whine of a convict, begs that the officials whom I have arraigned as his accomplices shall be shielded from the right of search!

Mr. Dorsey says the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives, during the time I was its chairman, reported favorably bills granting land to railroad corporations covering more than half of all the land granted to railroads in the United States, which bills passed Congress as a result of such report. In these statements he does not refer to the vast areas granted to our great trans-continental railways, respecting which he makes no charges against me. He speaks only of the fertile lands granted in Illinois, Iowa, and other Western states, which were not granted to railroad corporations at all, but to the states themselves. The entire aggregate of these lands was a small fraction only of the

many millions granted to our Pacific railways by bills reported from the Committee on Pacific Railroads, and not by the Committee on Public Lands. Mr. Dorsey should also have remembered that, even as to these moderate grants for which he holds me responsible, I had only one vote as a member of the committee, a majority of which made the report, and that I could not, of course, be made responsible for the action of the two houses of Congress on the passage of the bills reported. Moreover, Mr. Dorsey, himself, says the land grants in these cases "were for the best interests of the whole country," and thus defends my action. But, let me admit, for the sake of the argument, that some of my votes are indefensible. Does that prove that he is not a land-stealer?

Mr. Dorsey further holds me responsible for the provision in all our railroad grants, compelling the settlers on the reserved sections to pay \$2.50 per acre for their lands instead of the ordinary price, \$1.25 per acre. He says I "thus added more than two hundred millions of dollars to the burden of the settlers who sought homes along the proposed lines of the railway," while I put an additional "two hundred millions of dollars into the pockets of the railroad lobby." I think I am safe in saying that this example of parliamentary almightiness has no parallel in the annals of the civilized world. Both houses of Congress and the President of the United States were my playthings, and my diabolism had full sweep from 1850, when the first land grant was made, till I left Congress in 1871! Such flashes of imbecility are really somewhat dazzling and spectacular, but life is too short to be wasted in a fight with dissolving views.

I must not conclude these illustrations of the ethical side of Mr. Dorsey's character without noticing the display he makes of himself in connection with the Una de Gato grant, in which he is personally involved. This is what I said on that subject in my article:

"The area of this grant, according to Mr. Dorsey, its claimant, was nearly 600,000 acres. It was reserved from

settlement, and is so reserved to-day by the act of 1854; but when the forgery of the grant was demonstrated in 1879, and he thought it unsafe to rely upon that title, he determined to avail himself of the homestead and preëmption laws. This he could not legally do, because the land was reserved; but the Commissioner of the General Land Office was touched by his misfortune, and in defiance of law ordered the land to be surveyed and opened to settlement. Mr. Dorsey, who was already in possession of thousands of acres of the choicest lands in the tract, at once sent out his squads of henchmen, who availed themselves of the forms of the preëmption and homestead laws in acquiring pretended titles, which were conveyed to him according to arrangements previously agreed upon. No record of this unauthorized action of the Commissioner is to be found in the land office. What was done was done verbally, and in the dark, and nothing is now known of the transaction but the fact of its occurrence, and the intimate relations then existing between Mr. Dorsey and the Commissioner and his chief of surveys. Of course, he and his associates in this business have no title to the lands thus acquired, and their entries should be cancelled, not only because the land was reserved from sale by act of Congress, but because the entries were fraudulently made, as will be shown by investigations now in progress."

These are exactly the facts as shown by official documents. Now, how does Mr. Dorsey answer me? Upon investigating the title of this grant he says he became satisfied that it was fraudulent. When did he make this investigation, and reach this conclusion? The records of my office and of the interior department give no answer to the question. They do not show that he ever made an investigation, but the contrary. He says he wrote to the Hon. Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, stating substantially all the facts in his possession respecting the grant, and asked him to send a special agent to make a careful investigation, and turned over to the Secretary all the papers in his possession. Unfortunately for Mr. Dorsey, these statements are unsup-

ported by the records of the land department, and contradicted by them. They show that he persisted in his claim for years following the first agitation of the validity of his title, and up to January, 1879, when the forgery of the grant was demonstrated. He did nothing whatever in instigating the inquiry which led to this demonstration, which inquiry was set on foot by Lewis Kingman and Henry W. Arms in the year 1877. The papers show that he was displeased with their intermeddling with his title, and that it was solely at the instance of these men that the land office directed an investigation to be made. In the light of these facts the reader can judge for himself as to Mr. Dorsey's reverence for the truth when he says: "I exposed the fraudulent nature of the grant with which Mr. Julian attempted to link my name unfavorably!" The audacity of this statement is fascinating. It is charmingly satanic, and it settles the fact that Mr. Dorsey, in his way, is a genius.

But he says he applied to the Secretary of the Interior to have the land within the bounds of this fraudulent grant thrown open for settlement, and that it was done accordingly. This is what I said in my article; but I stated, further, that the land department had no power to do this. One Surveyor-General had pronounced the grant valid, and another had declared it to be a forgery. Congress alone could determine the question, and the land was absolutely reserved by law in the meantime. Secretary Schurz and Commissioner Williamson knew this perfectly, and for this reason, doubtless, no written order for the survey and sale of these lands was made, and the business was done "in the dark."

Nor is there any mystery about this action. Mr. Dorsey was then a power in politics. He had neared the summit of his remarkable ascendancy. It was in the following year (1880) that his genius lighted the way to a national victory for the Republicans, for which he was banqueted and lionized as "the Napoleon who carried Indiana." When such a man wanted the Republican officials of the land department to violate the law to enable him to appropriate a large body of

public lands in furtherance of his rapacity, they did not dare say no, and the robbery "was done." Mr. Dorsey knows all this, but makes no defense. He admits the action of the land department, in response to his request, but stands mute as to its illegality. He knows, and so do Carl Schurz and J. A. Williamson, that that action was totally unauthorized and sneakingly performed, and that the lands acquired by him and his allies under an illegal order now rightfully belong to the United States. In these statements I am supported by the records of the government, and no lawyer will attempt to controvert them. In such a dilemma as this, Mr. Dorsey should have remained silent, both on his own account and in the interest of parties claiming title under him.

Mr. Dorsey concludes his paper with a digression upon the water supply of New Mexico, and its "physical phenomena of climate and topography;" and he insists that with very slight exceptions the land is fit only for grazing and mining. This is not the conclusion of a disinterested explorer and devotee of science, after patient investigation, but the plea of a land stealer, seeking to make the physical peculiarities of the country the scape-goat of his sins. The wayfaring man, though a fool, can see this. If he could make the public believe that New Mexico is worthless for agriculture, it would go far to exonerate him from the charge of robbing the government and plundering poor settlers through the machinery of the homestead and preëmption laws. It would also tend to smooth his way to still more formidable schemes of robbery as a great cattle king, through which he and his confederates could trample down and crush out both the stock-grower of small means and the homesteader, and thus bring the people of the territory more completely under the yoke of a grand Brotherhood of Thieves. The trouble with Mr. Dorsey is that he believes the people too stupid to see through the game he is playing. It does not occur to him that owing to his unfortunate survival of his own conscience nobody will accept either his theories or his facts. Although his reputation for successful and brilliant

rascality is continental, he impudently takes the witness stand as if he expected the public would believe him. He is, perhaps, the most picturesque political reprobate now on public exhibition; but he seems wholly unconscious of the fact that the interest felt in him is purely historic and *post-mortem*, and that the people only desire to get some idea of his moral physiognomy, and what may be called the scenery of his career. I trust I have done them some service in this direction; but it has been the chief purpose of this paper to penetrate the dry-rot of his self-complacency, and by a little wholesome vivisection to help him catch at least a glimpse of his real lineaments as others see them, and as indelibly painted by himself in the somber pigment of his evil deeds. If I have failed in these friendly offices it will be Mr. Dorsey's misfortune, and not my fault.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

WEBSTER AND BLAINE: HISTORIC JUSTICE.

[From the Magazine of Western History.]

Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress" can not fail to interest men of all parties and opinions. For more than a dozen years he has been the most conspicuous and idolized leader of his party, as well as the most picturesque figure in American politics; and what he writes is sure to command attention, whether men love him or hate him. His style is always marked by clearness, vigor and animation, and sometimes by felicitous expression. Indeed, his literary quality is very remarkable for one whose life has been completely absorbed in the dismal strife and turmoil of practical politics. The personalities of his history are particularly attractive, and the vengeance he occasionally takes upon his enemies is made the more galling by the fine flavor of judicial fairness with which he cunningly seeks to disguise the real animus of his statements. His two bulky volumes will undoubtedly play their part in the making of history and the molding of men's opinions; and to this extent it becomes a duty to expose the more serious errors of his work.

In speaking of the course of Daniel Webster in 1850, in Mr. Blaine's first volume, on pages 270-271, he uses this language:

"When the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the territories of the United States north of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes were left without slavery inhibition or restriction, the agitation began which ended in the overthrow of the Democratic party and the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. It will, therefore, always remain as one of the singular contradictions in the political history of the country that, after seven years of almost exclusive agitation on this one question, the Republi-

cans, the first time they had the power, as a distinctive political organization, to enforce the cardinal article of their political creeds quietly and unanimously abandoned it. And they abandoned it without a word of explanation. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wade and Mr. Chandler, the most radical men in the Senate on the Republican side, sat still and allowed the bill to be passed precisely as reported by James S. Green, of Missouri, who had been the ablest defender of the Breckinridge Democracy in that body. In the House Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, Mr. Owen Lovejoy, the Washburns and all the other radical Republicans vouchsafed no word explanatory of their extraordinary change of position. * * *

“If, indeed, it be fairly and frankly admitted, as was the fact, that receding from the anti-slavery position was part of the conciliation policy of the hour, and that the Republicans did it the more readily because they had full faith that slavery would never secure a foothold in any of the territories named, it must likewise be admitted that the Republican party took precisely the same ground held by Mr. Webster in 1850, and acted from precisely the same motives that inspired the seventh of March speech. Mr. Webster maintained for New Mexico only what Mr. Sumner now admitted for Colorado and Nevada. Mr. Webster acted from the same considerations that now influenced and controlled the judgment of Mr. Seward. As matter of historic justice, the Republicans who waived the anti-slavery restriction should, at least, have offered and recorded their apology for any animadversions they had made upon the course of Mr. Webster ten years before. Every prominent Republican senator who agreed in 1861 to abandon the principle of the Wilmot proviso in organizing the territories of Colorado and Nevada had, in 1850, heaped reproach upon Mr. Webster for not insisting upon the same principle for the same territory. Between the words of Mr. Seward and Mr. Sumner in the one crisis, and their votes in the other, there is a discrepancy for which it would have been well to leave on record an adequate explanation. The danger to the Union, in which they

found a good reason for receding from the anti-slavery restriction on the territories, had been cruelly denied to Mr. Webster as a justifying motive. They found in him only a guilty recreancy to sacred principle for the same act which in themselves was inspired by devotion to the Union."

Mr. Blaine, in his second volume, returns to the subject, and while skillfully using his brush in whitewashing Mr. Webster, speaks with passionate emphasis of the injustice done him by Republican leaders who "literally followed in his footsteps" in 1861, and "should have recorded their apology;" and he declares that "it is seldom that history so exactly repeats itself."

This unqualified defense of Mr. Webster's action in 1850, by the great leader of the Republican party, is as remarkable as his assault upon the foremost representatives of that party in 1861. Let me refer to both epochs in our history and point out the strange confusion of facts and confounding of moral distinctions which disfigure the passages I have quoted.

The war with Mexico, which gave us California, Utah and New Mexico, was instigated by the South for the purpose of extending the area of slavery; and the question involved in the memorable crisis of 1850 was whether the ancient policy of congressional restriction should be applied to these territories, or surrendered at the bidding of the slave interest. The domination of that interest over all the departments of the government had been unchecked for thirty years, and it was now resolutely bent upon the accomplishment of this new scheme of propagandism. The southern leaders confidently believed that slavery would be established in New Mexico and Utah, if not prohibited by law, and they had on their side the whole power of the Federal government. It was of vital moment that they should be confronted with absolute courage. The Northern states should have been united and immovable in their purpose to secure these territories for freedom and free labor. The threat of disunion at that time created no alarm among the great body of the people, and afforded no justification for the surrender of

a fundamental principle to which all parties in the free states had been solemnly committed. Mr. Blaine, in his second volume, attempts to excuse Mr. Webster's conduct by saying that "neither he nor any other person at that time imagined the possibility of repealing the Missouri Compromise;" but the abandonment of the Wilmot proviso naturally led to that event. It belonged to the logic of slavery, which made every concession to its demands the occasion for further exactions. It did not require Mr. Webster's grasp of mind to foresee that if freedom and slavery were to have equal rights in New Mexico and Utah, the same principle of non-intervention by Congress would be asserted for the territories north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and the Missouri restriction regarded as a rock of offense which should be removed. This idea was very forcibly illustrated by the famous bill of Mr. Douglas, providing governments for the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In one of its sections, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was declared to be inoperative and void, because "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850." This provision was not an accident, but the obvious effect of the cause which preceded and produced it. The anti-slavery leaders of that day saw this clearly, and events have justified the assertion that "the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a sprout from Daniel Webster's political grave;" while the absolute necessity of the Wilmot proviso was demonstrated by the raid into Kansas which followed its abandonment and led to the tragedy of civil war.

The simple truth is that Mr. Webster's sin against the clear dictates of his conscience was as undeniable as it was shocking to the anti-slavery opinion of the Northern states. The transparent fallacy of his new-born theory that "the law of nature, the law of the formation of the earth" and "the will of God" made slavery impossible in New Mexico, could deceive no man having the power to think. He had himself voted for the Wilmot proviso, and claimed it as his "thun-

der," when "the law of the formation of the earth" was just as potent as on the seventh of March, 1850. He knew that slavery, without much regard to soil or climate, had established itself wherever it had not been interdicted by positive legislation, and then suborned the law into its support. He could not forget that for a long time it existed in his own New England, and that our fathers wisely thought it necessary to prohibit it in the Northwest territory, extending from the Ohio river to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. He knew that slavery *did* exist in New Mexico till it was abolished by law, and that leading men of the South, quite as familiar with "the law of physical geography" as himself, believed it to be peculiarly adapted to slave labor. He knew that able lawyers were divided in opinion on the question whether the law of Mexico, abolishing slavery in that country, would operate in the regions acquired by our conquest, and that assurance should be made doubly sure by a positive prohibition. He knew that of the territories acquired from Mexico, 204,355 square miles were south of the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and in the latitude of Virginia and the Carolinas. It does not help the case in the least to say that slavery, in fact, did not secure a footing in New Mexico, because this fortunate circumstance was not the result of any "law of the formation of the earth," but of resistless moral forces and the strange drift of subsequent events which no man in 1850 could possibly foresee. That this famous speech was Mr. Webster's bid for southern support for the Presidency was still more conclusively demonstrated during the two following years, in his contemptuous flings at the higher law, his unstinted abuse of "the rub-a-dub Abolitionists," and his desperate and pitiable struggle in the campaign of 1852, in which the ingratitude of the South and his insufferable disappointment and humiliation sent him home to die of a broken heart. Goaded forward by his devouring political ambition in this trial hour of the republic, he deliberately prostituted his matchless powers, a noble nature and the prestige of his great name to the service of slavery and the betrayal of a holy cause.

I turn now to the closing days of Congress in the spring of 1861, when Sumner, Wade, and other Republican leaders allowed bills to be reported for the government of Colorado and Nevada without the Wilmot proviso. The fight for freedom in the territories had then been won in the Kansas struggle, which proved the Armageddon of the great conflict. Lincoln had been elected, and the administration could no longer be used as the handmaid of slavery. New Mexico and the other territories involved had been secured to freedom by the logic of events and the madness of the south, while slavery itself was fatally threatened by the great trade-winds of humanity and civilization. The repeal of the Missouri restriction had proved a deadly boomerang to the slave power by rousing and combining the people of the northern states against it. The diabolism of the Dred Scott decision strangled it in its birth, and multiplied anti-slavery men in every section of the non-slaveholding states. The appeal of the south from political action to the bayonet was itself a confession that slavery had been baffled and finally overborne, and that having sown the wind it must now reap the whirlwind in the desperate refuge of secession as its only hope. The danger of disunion, moreover, was now no longer a distant and debatable question, as in 1850, but was imminent. The dispensation of "southern bluster" was ended, and the work of dismemberment had actually begun. The Republican leaders were brought face to face with the catastrophe of civil war; and the policy of passing territorial bills without the inhibition of slavery, which could serve no practical purpose whatever, was favored as one of the final efforts then made to conciliate the south and avert the awful calamities of civil strife. It was a palpably futile endeavor, and I so regarded it at the time; but it did not surrender a foot of land to the ravages of slavery. It was a mistake, because the day of conciliation had long since passed; but it bore witness to the humanity of the men who recoiled from the alternative of war, and who yet clung to the hope, though vainly, that it might be averted. The honesty and purity of

their motives were never called in question, and Mr. Blaine himself admits that congressional restriction was then unnecessary, and that their action was "altogether patriotic."

In the light of these plain facts of history, the untenableness of Mr. Blaine's statements will be clearly seen. He speaks of the abandonment of the "cardinal article" of the Republican creed by Sumner, Wade, Stevens, Lovejoy and others, without a word of explanation. But no explanation was needed, because the "cardinal article" was not abandoned. He speaks of the "extraordinary change of position" of these distinguished leaders; but there was no change in their "position," but only in the state of the country since the year 1850, and the altered attitude of the slavery question which it produced. He says: "The Republican party took precisely the same ground held by Mr. Webster in 1850, and acted from precisely the same motives that inspired the 7th of March speech;" but the facts in the case show that the Republican leaders of 1861 were perfectly justified in regarding the Wilmot proviso as then unnecessary, and that their motives in what they did were unquestionably patriotic; while it is also shown that the Wilmot proviso in 1850 was necessary, and that Mr. Webster's motives in surrendering it were as unpatriotic and sinister as the result of his act was calamitous. Mr. Blaine says that, "as a matter of historic justice, the Republicans who waived the anti-slavery restriction should, at least, have offered and recorded their apology for any animadversions they had made upon the course of Mr. Webster ten years before." But I have shown that no apology was called for, because no wrong had been done him, and I submit that, "as matter of historic justice," Mr. Blaine should apologize for his inexcusable assault upon the bravest and best men among the founders of his party, and his despicable defense of Mr. Webster at their expense. He says, "Between the words of Mr. Seward and Mr. Sumner in the one crisis, and their votes in the other, there is a discrepancy for which it would have been well to leave on record an adequate explanation." But the

facts clearly show that no such discrepancy exists. He says the Republican leaders in 1861 "literally followed in Mr. Webster's footsteps" in 1850, and that "it is seldom that history so exactly repeats itself;" but I have shown the utter fallacy of these statements by the actual situation of the country at the two periods, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, and the contrasted action thereon of Mr. Webster on the one hand and the Republican leaders on the other.

My task would be incomplete if I did not add that this defense of Daniel Webster destroys itself by proving too much. It dishonors Mr. Blaine's political ancestry, and places him in an exceedingly awkward predicament as a leader of the Republican party. The formation of that party was not an accident, nor was it the work of a day. It was a development, and has a very discoverable genesis. Its primal beginning was in the old Liberty party, and a "cardinal article" of the creed of that party was the prohibition of slavery in our national territories. It was a gallant little band of sappers and miners who blazed the way for the armies that were to follow; but if Mr. Webster was right in 1850, these men were pestilent fanatics and disturbers of the peace, who fairly invited the discipline of the mob or the police. Next came the old Free-soil party of 1848, avowing the same fundamental principle. It was led by such men as Adams, Sumner, Chase, Hale, Giddings, Wilson and many others, whose names are now held in honorable remembrance by all Republicans. According to Mr. Webster and Mr. Blaine, however, they were all engaged in "a quarrel about goats' wool," since "the law of physical geography" and "the will of God" had consecrated our national territories to freedom. This party, with its honorable place in history, would never have been organized but for the antecedent work of the Liberty party, which was the John the Baptist of political action against slavery; but having fulfilled its mission by preparing the way for a larger movement, better fitted to accomplish its work, it was merged in the Republican

party, whose "cardinal article" of faith was that of its predecessors. But if Mr. Blaine is right in his defense of Mr. Webster, the "grand old party" had no excuse for its creation, except the work to which it was summoned in the struggle to make Kansas a free state; and it never would have existed but for the proceeding organizations which prepared the way for it and made it possible, while the Kansas struggle itself could never have occurred but for the abandonment of the Wilmot proviso in 1850, in which the leadership of Mr. Webster was so potent a factor. I do not believe that other prominent leaders of his party will be found ready to join Mr. Blaine in disowning its pedigree and seeking to cut the thread of history from behind it; but if I am mistaken, I can only say that they have outlived the spirit which gave it birth, and are the "degenerate sons of noble sires."

I need scarcely add that the defense of Mr. Webster necessarily involves another fact of which Mr. Blaine seems totally unconscious. It is a confession. If Mr. Webster was right in 1850, Mr. Blaine would have stood by his side and confronted Seward, Chase and Hale in the Senate, and their allies in the House, whose labors, though they failed at the time, paved the way for more comprehensive and effective action in the future. He would, of course, have opposed the anti-slavery revolt of 1848. Still more would he have opposed the organization of the Liberty party and the earlier and more historic movement of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which began its heroic work in the face of a fiercely hostile public opinion, the proscription and wrath of the old political parties, the equally hostile power of the American Church and the mob. No man, I am sure, whose soul was so moved by the wrongs of slavery as to ally himself with a small, and despised party in resisting such fearful odds, could ever defend the seventh of March speech. It would not be morally possible. He might admire Mr. Webster's "God-like" gifts, but he could not even dream of making him a hero, still less an anti-slavery apostle. As an active and

very zealous member of the Republican party in the days of its glory, and a preacher of its doctrines long years before it received the gift of life, I can not suffer the pioneers of freedom and the founders of that party to be assailed without rebuke. In lauding the act of Mr. Webster in throwing himself into the arms of the South in a great national crisis, while arraigning the tried and true men who condemned his recreancy, Mr. Blaine renounces his kinship with the anti-slavery movement in all its historic phases. He defines his position as a prudent politician and a thrifty statesman, but not a reformer in any sense. He is the brilliant leader of Republicanism in its modified and latter-day life, but not the representative and exemplar of its fundamental principles. In his account of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, he breathes no word of censure against this pregnant and historic surrender of freedom to the demands of slavery, but defends it as "wise and patriotic." There is no conclusive evidence that his devotion to the colored race rests upon any inwrought principle or real sympathy, while his attitude in Congress on the question of reconstruction is open to criticism, as I have heretofore shown.* As the negro has gradually made his escape from the thralldom of party politics and shown his ability to take care of himself, Mr. Blaine's solicitude for his welfare seems to have steadily increased. Unquestionably he possesses "magnetism," great ability and shining gifts; but he is unfit to hold the scales of historic justice in dealing with the anti-slavery conflict and its leaders.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

* *International Review*, for August, 1879.