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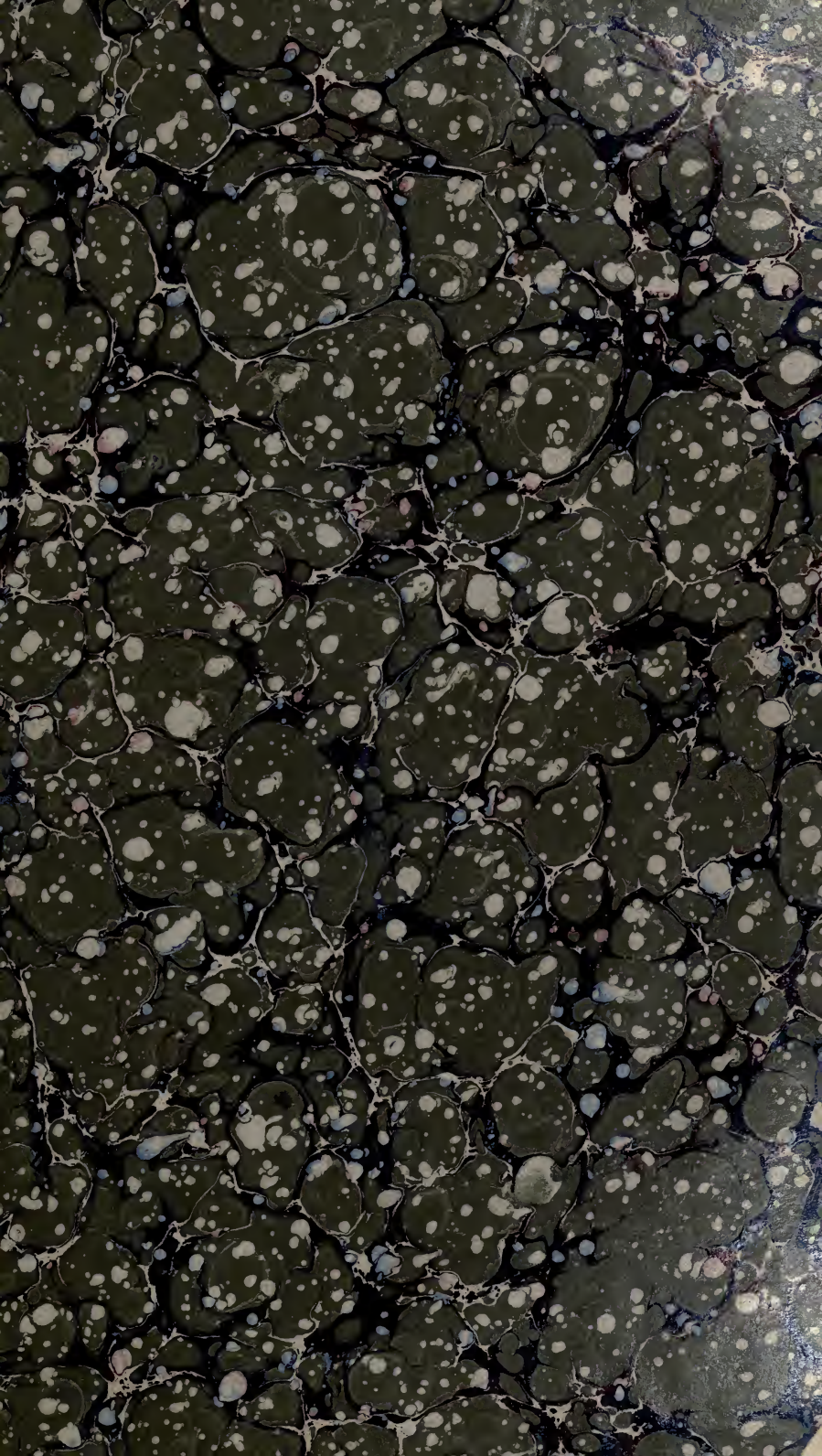
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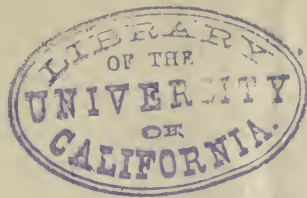
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MEMORIAL ADDRESS,

IN HONOR OF GENERAL RUTHERFORD B. HAYES; BY REV.
FREDERICK H. WINES, OF ILLINOIS.

The following memorial address was delivered before the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, at Chicago, June 12, 1893:

Ladies and Gentlemen: At Saratoga, in the summer of 1883, five gentlemen met to resurrect the National Prison Association, which, since the death of the Rev. Dr. E. C. Wines, its creator, had been sleeping, and was supposed to be dead. I say five, but really there were but four; a fifth had to be brought in, to make a quorum. These five men asked General RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, the ex-president of the United States, who had then been for two years again a private citizen, to accept the presidency of the society. It was a bold request. There was no apparent reason why he should grant it. It was a place without honor or profit. The work contemplated was the accomplishment of a purpose of doubtful utility, great difficulty, and, in the estimation of many, uncertain propriety—the reformation and rehabilitation of law-breakers, who are in some greater or less degree the natural enemies of society. Yet the man whose memory we revere and celebrate instantly and joyfully accepted this election. For ten long years he failed not once to appear annually before the public, at the head of a little group of men

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and women unknown to fame, who were popularly regarded as dreamy enthusiasts, amusing themselves by searching for the pot of gold at the rainbow's foot. Probably no other living man, in his position, would have done it. Why did he? He said of himself quaintly, to the students of the Johns Hopkins University, last November, that his function, in connection with the association, was that of an advertising agent merely; that he stood before the door and summoned the passers-by to step in and examine wares which other men had manufactured and were offering for sale. But why did an ex-president of the United States, a general four times wounded in battle, a man three times governor of his native state, a man of wealth, learning, and the highest social culture, and a lawyer withal, which means a man thoroughly acquainted with the dark and mysterious ways trodden by avarice and passion, the twin progenitors of crime—why did such a man stoop to become an advertising agent for the cause of prison reform? Evidently, we have to do with a rare type of character, an exceptional man, not to be judged as other men are, but with spiritual insight, and without political prejudice.

There lives a light that none can view,
Whose thoughts are brutish.

Your thoughts, ladies and gentlemen, are not brutish, or you would not be here. You knew him; some of you intimately, nearly all of you for years. You have seen him at his best, in all his manly dignity, his rugged strength, his modesty, his sweetness, and his simplicity. You have come into personal contact with his greatness, his truth, and his courage. But I speak for a larger audience—his countrymen and the world, for by many he has been misjudged, underestimated, and traduced. I hope to explain him and to vindicate him.

No charge, so far as I know, has been brought against him personally. Before his elevation to a station than which there is none higher, he had received such marks of popular confidence that those who did not see the secret springs of

his power over men commonly characterized him as lucky. Every honor which came to him in the course of his long life, came unsought, except as he forever rekindled the fires of ambition at the altar of duty. He was a young attorney in Cincinnati, struggling for bread, when he was made city solicitor, but not at his own suggestion. When, in 1861, he volunteered in his country's defense, President Lincoln offered him a colonel's commission; but he declined it, to become a major in the Twenty-third Ohio infantry, because he deemed himself too ignorant of military affairs to assume the command of a regiment. He was nominated for congress without his knowledge or consent. He would not leave the post of danger to make the canvass for his own election; nor would he enter the council chambers of the nation till the war was over, and the sparrow could again make its nest in the cannon's mouth. He was not a seeker for the nomination, when first called to be governor of Ohio. The second time, he was nominated by acclamation. The third time, he refused the nomination when it had already been made; and in order to compel his acceptance of it, the convention adjourned without listening to his declination. His candidacy for the presidency was the result of his reputation and his availability before the people; he owed it to no secret intrigue or corrupt combination. Not his bitterest enemy has accused him of failure, in any official relation, to discharge his duty as he understood it, or of any conscious, intentional wrong. What offense he may have given was exclusively political.

His professional and his private life were equally free from stain. Common fame has proclaimed him a model husband and father, as it would seem that any one must have been, who had the good fortune to marry Lucy Webb. I once heard him remark that she had but one rule of life—the golden rule, and that she never swerved from it. Her place in the affections of the American people is as secure as it is exalted. But he, too, followed that rule, stepping as nearly in the footsteps of a woman worthy to be held in reverential remembrance as a good man might. Even in his business

relations, he was governed by a standard of righteousness which few recognize as of equitable obligation in the forum of ethics, and which the law has never attempted to enforce. His home was in the natural gas belt of northern Ohio and Indiana, where he owned lands which were thought to be very valuable, for which he was offered a speculative price. He refused to sell, because he did not believe them to be worth what he was offered for them. He said that he would not consent that any man should suffer loss in a business transaction to which he was a party.

A brilliant modern novelist has drawn an ideal portrait of a man with a double nature, in the person of Dr. Jekyll. There are, as we all know, splendid reputations which will not bear investigation. There are men who wear one face to the public, and another to their intimate companions; men who are good and bad in spots; who "compound for sins they are inclined to by damning those they have no mind to." Some who did not know or did not comprehend President HAYES may imagine that he lacked single-mindedness; that his humanity and philanthropy were genuine, but that he had another side, selfish, ambitious, unscrupulous, treacherous, which impelled him to profit by a political crime, and to reward a fraud perpetrated in the interest of his party by the betrayal of that party. I propose to grasp this nettle of a national scandal firmly, and with both hands. I shall not make a political speech. I shall stop this side of the danger-line, and wound the feelings of no one present. But how would it be possible to esteem the beneficiary of an alleged wrong done to the north and the south alike, to the white man and the negro alike, if we could believe him privy to such a wrong and a guilty participant in it? Not all the service which he could render, in later life, to the poor, the friendless, the ignorant, the degraded, nor all the rain in the sweet heavens, could wash white the stain. We must, as his admirers, find an answer to the inquiry, whether the philanthropist HAYES and the politician HAYES were two men of antagonistic principles and sentiments, or whether his philanthropic and his polit-

ical careers were in accord with each other, and were harmonious manifestations of one and the same loyal, generous nature.

We knew him as a philanthropist. We met him where his voice was raised on behalf of the wretched prisoner, or in wise and tender admonition to him, but with no weak compassion, no apology for wrong-doing, no abasement of the majesty of the law, human or divine. With the friends of the Indian, at Lake Mohonk and elsewhere, he discussed the wrongs done in the name of civilization to a proud but conquered people, and by what means, if any, we may give to them a better heritage in exchange for that of which we have robbed them. He spent weary nights and discouraging days in a struggle, in which his whole heart was enlisted, to lift the negro to a point where his own intelligence, morality, and thrift will compensate the incidental loss which he has sustained in being deprived of a master and a home, the struggle to fit him for the responsibilities of freedom, and protect the republic from the peril certain to confront us, if he is left to perish in ignorance, poverty, and vice. He rejoiced in the just repression of crime, the beneficent progress of civilization, and the extension of the area of human liberty: but the sight of the victims of progress awakened his profound compassion, and he refused to believe that a single life can be innocently sacrificed which it is in our power by any means to save. His sympathies were naturally with the weaker party always; but beyond that, he was keenly alive to his personal share of national responsibility for every preventible wrong and he had the statesman's instinctive apprehension of the duty of giving guaranties to posterity against political and social dangers which can be foreseen and averted. He watched for opportunities to do good, and seized them as other men grasped for wealth or fame; and it was the same combination of lofty and patriotic motives that made him a champion of a sound financial policy, in matters commercial and governmental.

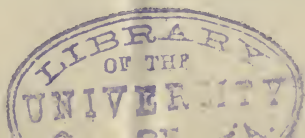
I think the quality in him which impressed us most

was his superb self-control. The highest mastery is the mastery of self, and that he had attained. He was master of his thoughts, master of his appetites, master of his passions, master of his tongue. His will dominated his body, and his conscience dominated his will. When, at Winchester, he forded the morass at Opequan, alone, on foot, under fire, and called from the other side to his men to come to him, then charged and captured a battery, and so decided the fortune of the day, he had, as he afterward told his friend Mr. Keifer, no expectation that he would get across alive; but he thought that some of his men might. He was merely fulfilling the pledge given his commanding officer, when he said: "I shall depend upon you for orders, and you can depend upon me that they will be executed." Judge of his control of his temper from his ability to adhere to the resolution never to acknowledge that he had an enemy. He was never known to speak unkindly of a human being. He could keep a secret. General Grant, that great commander, was known as "the silent man," but in the gift of silence HAYES was at least his equal. He determined that, after leaving the White House, he would not be interviewed on politics; and I have seen the discomfiture of an overzealous reporter, who attempted to accomplish the impossible. The fire in his eye, the set firmness of his mouth, and the gentleness of his voice as he repulsed him, will live in my recollection forever. And the patient reserve with which he submitted to abuse and misrepresentation, without opening his lips in apology, extenuation, or explanation, trusting his reputation to time and to the impartial judgment of history, was sublime. Not even to his own children would he utter a word in his own defense. He died, and he made no sign.

Yet I know that he was not indifferent to public opinion or insensible to neglect. At one of our meetings he was invited to a camp-fire, where he alluded to the recent loss of his wife and to her virtues in a way which melted all who heard him to tears. Some one who heard him

He spoke on that occasion said enthusiastically that he meant to vote for HAYES at every election thereafter, as long as they both lived. The next morning at breakfast I quoted this friendly outburst to the President; and, turning his head in a way peculiar to himself, but which you must all remember, he said, in a low tone, full of pathos, and in a hesitating manner, "I think—the tide is beginning to turn—a little—in my favor."

The love and respect which we felt for him were shared by many, and most of all by his army comrades. Governor McKinley says that from the beginning to the end of the war he was the most beloved officer in his regiment. The Grand Army honored him in various ways; and he was grand commander of the Loyal Legion. His affections were deep and warm. He loved his comrades, and it was characteristic of him that he never missed a chance to meet with them, but that he always walked with them, even at the great parade of the Grand Army in Washington. He had in his house an unknown number of photographs, estimated at ten thousand. His charities were unostentatious, but he gave up to the measure of his ability, and beyond. He neglected no social duties, but traveled thousands of miles to pay the last tribute of respect to men whose public services or attachment to himself entitled them to this remembrance. When President Cleveland made the long journey to Fremont, in the dead of winter, at great inconvenience to himself, to look at the dead face of this hero in his coffin, he said, "I know that he would have done as much for me;" then added, "He was a brave and an honest man." He worshipped his wife; and his last word, in the agony of death, forgetting all his past trials and triumphs, was, "I know that I am going where Lucy is." It is not strange that, at a meeting of the Loyal Legion in Cincinnati, when he referred to the illness of Mrs. Harrison, he broke down, and the tears rained from his eyes upon the card of toasts which he held in his hand. Children loved him, for he loved the little ones. And he loved and communed with



nature. There was not a tree in Spiegel Grove which he did not know, nor a bird which sang in its branches to which he could not have given a name. The purity and gentleness of his spirit made the heavens to him an open book.

Nor did he want the knowledge which comes from extensive reading, illumined by the experience of affairs. Literature was his favorite recreation, even when he was absorbed by the study of his profession, in his early manhood. At his death his private library numbered ~~two~~ *twelve* thousand volumes, more than half of which were histories. It was especially rich in American local history, with which he was very familiar. He read much, of late, on social questions, particularly the labor question, in which he was profoundly interested. He had a mind rich in apt and striking quotations, and the portraits of eminent American authors adorned the walls of his most private and sacred retreat.

As to his religious life, I shall say little. He never united with any church, assigning as a reason, that he did not think himself worthy. But he was known of all men as a Christian whose life was more eloquent than words. He believed in the two great commandments, but was wont to say that love to God is a matter between the creature and the Creator, not to be spoken of; but that love to man, where it exists, can not be hid, and needs not to be proclaimed. His likeness has been drawn by the pen of inspiration, in that chapter where Paul describes a gentleman: "He suffered long and was kind, he envied not, he vaunted not himself, he sought not his own, he was not easily provoked, he thought no evil, he rejoiced not in iniquity, but rejoiced in the truth." And his charity never failed; great as was the strain upon it, but endured to the end.

If there are any who fancy that his interest in philanthropic movements was an afterthought, and began when he had not anything else to occupy his mind, that error should be corrected. The first case which brought him into notice as a lawyer was that of a half-witted girl, named Nancy Farrer, accused of murder and convicted in the lower court,

whom he succeeded in having adjudged insane and sent to a hospital. After her discharge from the hospital, he assumed the cost of maintaining her for her natural life. When he became governor of Ohio, his first act was to visit Mrs. Victor, in the penitentiary, under sentence of death, and commute her sentence to imprisonment for life, remarking that no woman should be hung during his administration. In 1870, when the first National Prison Congress assembled in Cincinnati, he was there and presided, in the absence of Mr. Blaine, who had agreed to do so, but was prevented from coming. He was a member of the committee appointed to organize the association, and was one of those named in its charter.

His state papers, while president of the United States, reveal his interest in every good word and work. To begin with things that are perhaps least, he secured the completion of the Washington monument, and favored the reclamation of the Potomac Flats. To him we owe the erection of the library of congress and of the national museum, and the removal of the national observatory, for he urged these measures, though they were not carried out until after his term of office had expired. He recommended the laying of a marine telegraph, connecting America with China. He declared himself opposed to the construction of any canal across the isthmus of Panama, except a canal under American control. He tried to protect our timber lands from depredation and waste. He suggested the necessity of having animals in transit by rail protected by federal statutes. He was opposed to war, and advocated international arbitration. He insisted upon the duty of giving to the negro an education, and of protecting him in the exercise of his legal right of suffrage. He advocated the granting of lands to the Indians in severalty, and breaking up their tribal relations; he recommended their enlistment in the cavalry; he approved and upheld their education in the schools at Hampton and at Carlisle. He was everywhere and always the friend of education, in its fullest extent, for all classes of citizens, and said, in his inaugural address,

“Universal suffrage should rest upon universal education.” He even desired to see federal aid granted for the support of public schools, in states too impoverished to maintain them without it. He believed in the new education, and was the ardent, unflinching apostle of manual training, which he declared to be with him a hobby. Literary men must always be grateful to him for the recognition given them in the appointment of James Russell Lowell minister to England, Bayard Taylor to Germany, and Andrew D. White to Russia. He constituted himself the protector of the Chinese, and vetoed an act to restrict their immigration to the United States, because it was in violation of their treaty rights, the Burlingame treaty having explicitly recognized “the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and immigration of the citizens and subjects of the United States and China respectively from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.” This bill was passed over his veto. He favored civil service reform. Politically, he may almost be said to be its father; he was its godfather at least. In a letter to the collector of customs at New York, he wrote: “Neither my recommendation, nor that of the secretary of the treasury, nor the recommendation of any member of congress or other influential person, should be specially regarded. Restrict the area of patronage to the narrowest possible limits.” To congress he said, “The authority of appointment and removal is not a perquisite but a trust.” But his greatest service to the country was undoubtedly the stand which he maintained for the honest payment of the national debt, his opposition to the unlimited issue of treasury notes, and to the depreciation of the currency by coining silver dollars below par, and making them a legal tender. His successful campaign against greenbackery made him the nominee of his party for the presidency. As president, he had the courage to veto the Bland silver bill, on the ground that it would impair the obligation of contracts and injuriously affect the public credit. Yet he favored the coinage

of silver dollars of full value, and he sent delegates to the monetary conference at Paris, the object of which was to find a way to maintain gold and silver coin at par with each other, by means of an international agreement. The national debt was refunded, under his administration, and that marvelous feat accomplished of the resumption of specie payment, which he had advised in his inaugural address.

This rapid and imperfect sketch of some of the leading features of his administration confirms the impression which association with him in philanthropic work has made, that he was a broad-minded, far-seeing, wise, honest, large-hearted man, well balanced, not carried away by impulse, not swayed by popular clamor, but the embodiment of common sense; more of a statesman than a politician, but shrewd, and not wanting in tact, who looked rather to the future than to the present, and fixed his eye upon the widest horizons. He would not sacrifice a larger interest to a smaller, his party to a faction, the nation to his party, humanity to any prejudice of race, or right to expediency.

It has been the fashion to say that he was not a brilliant man, which is true. The idols of mankind are artists, orators, poets, men of imagination, gifted with the power of expression, or mighty captains, conquerors, those daring innovators who overturn existing institutions, and change the map of the globe. The endowments bestowed upon HAYES at his birth were solid and substantial rather than showy. One would scarcely call him an orator, yet few public speakers were so convincing and persuasive or could make so many converts to their own ideas. He was a soldier, and proud of his record; but one would hardly call him a great soldier, though Grant said of him that "his conduct on the field was marked by conspicuous gallantry, as well as by the display of qualities of a higher order than mere personal daring;" and if he had served elsewhere than in West Virginia, he might have risen to a higher rank than that of major general by brevet.

But when it is said that he was not a great man, a wrong is done him. What makes men great? What ele-

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ment of greatness did he lack? Washington Gladden's estimate of him is more just, when he calls him "Ohio's greatest citizen," and says that "Grant and Sherman and Sheridan were greater generals; Garfield was a greater genius; and there have been greater orators and greater jurists and greater educators; but take him all in all, for an all-round man, there is not another who will measure quite as large as the good man who has just gone."

To call him a weak man is to do violence to language. There are two sorts of strength, that of aggression and that of endurance. Of these two, can there be any doubt that it takes more courage to stand and take a blow than to deliver one? The rôle assigned him in the drama of history was essentially a negative one, and greater power to maintain an attitude of absolute independence, without any semblance of defiance, has never been shown than he displayed during the four years he spent in Washington. He has told me that the first two years were the unhappiest of his life, but the last two the happiest. He had placed his lance in rest, and, seated motionless upon his horse, he had successfully withstood the shock of charge after charge by the champions of political knighthood, without being unseated, or even a dent made upon his armor. All his enemies had been compelled to yield to the firmness of his convictions and his will. Not even by strategy had they been able to gain any advantage over him. And yet he was weak! What nonsense! If he had been weak, they would have been better pleased.

I come now to the history of the circumstances connected with the election of 1876, the dispute over the electoral vote of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and the settlement of this heated controversy by means of the device of the electoral commission. Into this history I shall not enter further than seems necessary to clear the character of my friend from imputations which have been brought against it. A New York paper, speaking of him after his death, said: "An otherwise creditable and honorable life was blackened forever by the acceptance of a stolen office."

And again: "He was himself a party to the conspiracy by which he profited, and an active agent in promoting the monumental crime." A Charleston journal, more generous, said: "He sinned, and he repented."

If General HAYES sinned in accepting the verdict of the electoral commission, which was acquiesced in by the nation, and in governing his conduct by the law of the land, he certainly did not repent, for he was unconscious of having committed any wrong. He believed that the verdict of the commission was a just verdict. He believed, as fully as he believed in his own existence, that he was entitled in law and in equity to the votes of the three states which were so fiercely claimed by both political parties. He believed, moreover, that the vote of several other states, had it been freely and fully cast and fairly counted, belonged of right to him. He had not the shadow of a doubt of his election. To this assertion the natural and very pertinent objection will be urged, that if General HAYES received the electoral vote of these states, then the Republican candidate for governor in each of them must also have been elected. Undoubtedly. No one asserts the contrary. HAYES believed that they were elected. The question will next be put to me, why then did he not, after taking his seat, recognize and sustain them? To this question there are two conclusive answers. The first is an answer in law. In the trial of causes, the same point of law may be ruled upon in one way in a state court, and in another in a federal court. When any case comes before the supreme court of the United States upon appeal, the supreme court will ordinarily sustain the decision of a state court, based upon local statutes, if it can, and if it has delivered no previous conflicting opinion based upon the federal statutes and practice. The case in dispute did not reach the supreme court, or a method would have been found to reconcile the obviously inconsistent verdicts rendered, one in the case of the presidency by a national tribunal with special and exclusive jurisdiction, and the other three by state authority, from which no appeal to the federal courts was ever taken. Both decisions could not be

right, for they were absolutely contradictory. But Mr. HAYES had no part in either, and was legally bound by both. The executive can not set aside a judicial decree without usurpation.

But a less technical and far more satisfactory answer is found in the fact that President HAYES could not sustain the Republican claimants, except by the exercise of military force, which he had virtually promised, in his letter accepting the nomination, not to use. The Republican party, in its platform of 1876, had said: "The permanent pacification of the southern section of the union is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged." HAYES said, referring to this declaration, "The moral and national (material?) prosperity of the southern states can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all, by all—a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded, it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the general government, the efforts of the people of those states to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire, to labor for the attainment of this end." This letter is dated July 8, 1876,—four months before the election. As everybody knows, the effort which the candidate, following in this regard the implied instruction of his party, pledged himself to promote, and with that end in view to avail himself of all legitimate federal agencies, was the effort of the southern states to throw off the burden of the so-called "carpet-bag" governments. He promised, in the words which I have quoted, that he would not interfere with the freedom of local election, or the decision of local questions by local tribunals; but on one condition, namely, that the negro voters should be protected in the enjoyment of all their constitutional rights. Any other construction of his language would be to juggle with words, with the intent to deceive, of which he would no more be guilty than he

would be guilty of going back upon his promise. General Grant had, in fact, already withdrawn the troops from Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. He approved of President HAYES' action in withdrawing them from all the southern states, and said to him that he would have done the same had he been in his place.

This, then, is the unsubstantial foundation of the charge of insincerity brought against him. He withdrew the troops from Louisiana; but he did not withdraw them until after the report of the Louisiana commission, appointed "to examine and determine the real extent and form and effect to which" military intervention actually existed, "and to decide as to the time, manner, and conditions which should be observed in putting an end to it." When the troops were withdrawn, the Packard government fell, as a matter of course. The action of President HAYES aroused the bitter resentment of a majority of his party, and it may probably be said with truth that his action laid the foundation for the solid south, and was the beginning of the end of Republican supremacy in the nation. But the view which HAYES took of the political situation was that the continued employment of physical force on behalf of Governor Packard would be both impolitic and impracticable, since the north was tired of the conflict, and would not longer uphold it; in other words, that the inevitable had to be faced with calmness and discretion; and that, had he taken the other horn of the dilemma, the political disaster to his party might have been earlier and greater. This view receives some confirmation from the part which the so-called force bill played in the last presidential election.

But it is further charged that this withdrawal of the troops was due to a corrupt agreement, of which Mr. HAYES had criminal knowledge, and in which he was a guilty participant. So far as his knowledge or participation is in question, if there was such an agreement, I have no hesitation in denying it, with emphasis. He wrote but one letter on the subject, and that was to his friend Senator Sherman, in which he said: "There must be nothing

crooked on our part. Let Mr. Tilden have the place by violence, intimidation, and fraud, rather than undertake to prevent it by means that will not bear the strictest scrutiny." He was urged by his friends to come to Washington. He refused. He was asked to send a messenger authorized to speak for him, and he would not do that. He exercised his wonderful gift of silence; he summoned all his patience to his aid, and he awaited the result, not without anxiety, but without eagerness and without fear.

This statement will be received with incredulity, perhaps even with scornful derision, by some whose passions are yet hot, when they recall this painful page of American history. But that is no reason why the truth should not be told. The politician is a stock subject for ribald jesting, like that directed against mothers-in-law, and often equally witless; nevertheless, a politician may be as honest as any other man. Thank God, there are men who believe in honor in politics, as they believe in honor in trade. Better yet, there are men whose lives exemplify this belief. President HAYES was one.

But, it will be said, at any rate there was a bargain, and, whether he was a party to it in advance or not, he fulfilled it, when its terms were made known to him.

There was certainly a combination of interests and a consensus of beliefs. The man who does not know that no public measure is ever carried out otherwise than by mutual understanding and concession on the part of men who differ as to details, and that the larger interest prevails over the lesser, irrespective of the plans or wishes of individuals, is ignorant of the primary condition of associated human action. Such natural combinations are not properly characterized as conspiracies, nor even as bargains.

There is no mystery whatever about the steps by which Mr. HAYES' title to the presidency was acknowledged and confirmed. It was a logical necessity of the situation, and could not have been prevented. It might have been better for the Republican party if it had; but those of us who be-

lieve in historical evolution and divine providence can not assert that it would have been better for the country. The south was impoverished by the war, anxious for peace, that it might rebuild its shattered fortunes, chafing under the suspicion that it secretly desired to renew the conflict or to reinslave the negroes. It was weighed down by oppressive taxation. It desired to be governed in all local matters by its intelligence rather than by its ignorance, and it resented the control of its property interests by a class which owned nothing. It saw that the seating of Mr. Tilden would bring to it endless trouble, and some of the shrewd, long-headed men of that section frankly said to Mr. HAYES' friends, "We prefer that Mr. HAYES should take the place, for the sake of peace, and because we believe that peace is essential to our prosperity; but we can not and will not submit to negro domination at home. Will Mr. HAYES give us any assurance that he will let us alone, and allow us to settle our own local questions, free from federal interference or control?" This question was carried directly to Mr. HAYES, who replied that he had said all that he had to say in his letter of acceptance; that he could and would add nothing to it; that to say more would simply be to repeat himself. The question, he said, was one of his sincerity and good faith, with regard to which those who knew him best could testify. And that is all he ever said. He made no promise whatever, but stood on his letter of acceptance. No friend of his was authorized to make any promise for him. In fact, no promise was ever made. All assertions to the contrary are inferential, and rest on circumstantial evidence only. If any man has direct evidence to the contrary, I challenge him to produce it.

There was, at the Wormley Hotel, in Washington, a conference of certain prominent Republicans and certain prominent southern Democrats, at which it is claimed that the alleged bargain was made. But nothing was said at that conference which might not, but for prudential reasons, have been printed in all the daily newspapers the next morning; nothing that was discreditable to any of the participants;

nothing that was not in the highest degree patriotic, and in the interest of peace, at a time when civil war was raising its threatening head. A full account of its proceedings will be given to the public at a proper time. In substance they consisted of the question, on the one hand, "Will Mr. HAYES stand by his letter of acceptance?" and on the other, "Will the south stand by the amendments to the constitution, and protect the negro in his rights?" Such assurances were mutually given and received. The rest followed.

With reference to the alleged purchase of the Louisiana returning board, I know nothing about that. I can only say that I probably know as much as General HAYES did. There is no apparent reason why Republicans in Louisiana should have demanded compensation for performing what, from their point of view, was an obvious duty. As to the appointment of these men subsequently to office, if they were ostracised and exiled for doing what HAYES believed to have been their duty, he would have been a poltroon and a traitor, had he allowed them to perish for want of employment.

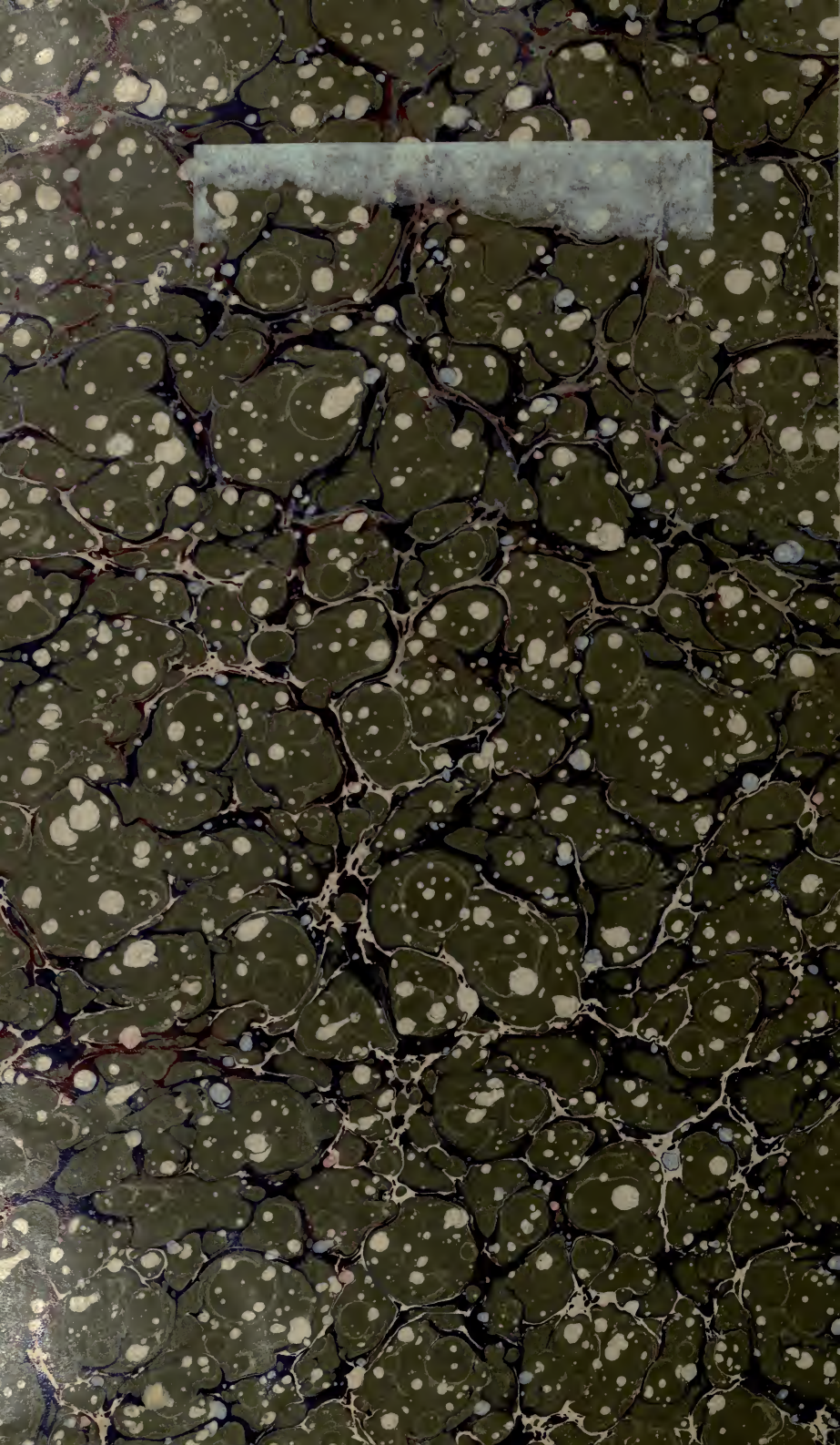
Both HAYES and Tilden were political martyrs. Tilden was denounced by a section of his party for not asserting his right to an office to which the electoral commission declined to certify his title, and for not taking possession of it by force. HAYES was denounced by the united voice of his political opponents for accepting the presidency, which it was foolishly said that he should have relinquished to Mr. Tilden, as if that had been in his power to do. After the rendering of the verdict, his legal successor could have been only Mr. Wheeler. But HAYES was also denounced by many Republicans for abandoning Governor Packard to his fate. He entered the White House under the most extraordinary circumstances, under bonds to enforce a policy of pacification which was most unpopular with his own party, and for which he received but scanty acknowledgment from the south, though Wade Hampton has truthfully said that the south owes him a debt which it can never repay. He planted himself upon what he believed to be the right,

and stood there, like Simeon Stylites on his pillar in the desert, almost deserted by the politicians, compromised as a Republican by the attention shown him by southern Democrats, and sustained only by his conscience and by the echoes of approval which reached him through private letters from scholars and from the common people. If Mr. Tilden suffered the stings of fate, President HAYES was a far greater sufferer. His only consolation was the spectacle of the irresistible rising of the tide of returning reason on the part of the Republicans, who were compelled to sustain him, when he resisted the attempt to attach political riders to the bills making appropriations for the support of the government, a struggle in which he exhibited the courage of a Spartan and the self-possession of a sage. Yet he died unforgiven by those whose will he had crossed, with a willow at the head of the grave where there should have been planted, and will yet be planted, the laurel and the olive tree.

The restraint which I have been under in speaking has compelled me to do injustice to this great subject, which must and will be more fully discussed elsewhere. History presents many illustrious examples of the reversal of contemporary opinion by the judgment of posterity. All thoughtful and candid men, irrespective of their party predilections, must sooner or later acknowledge that this simple story, as I have told it, is consistent, intelligible, and rational. That a man of his intelligence, his probity, and his force, so singularly free from self-seeking and from hypocrisy, should have bartered his integrity for a crown of thorns, and have been led by personal ambition to part company with his friends, to contradict every utterance of his entire life, and to betray the helpless freedmen, for whose emancipation he had shed his blood, is a theory of human nature which can only be stated to be rejected with scorn by every man of honor. I have said of him not what he would have said for himself, had he graced this platform by his benignant presence, for he would, living, have been incapable of reproach or expostulation;

Rutherford B. Hayes.

but I have said what he must have known would be said of him after his death. I have desired not so much to clear his memory from stain, for after all he was only an individual among many millions, as to wipe out a blot upon the fair fame of the great American republic, which is dear to men of every section and of all schools of political thought, and the honor of every American citizen is assailed when the tongue of slander is let loose against this man.



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