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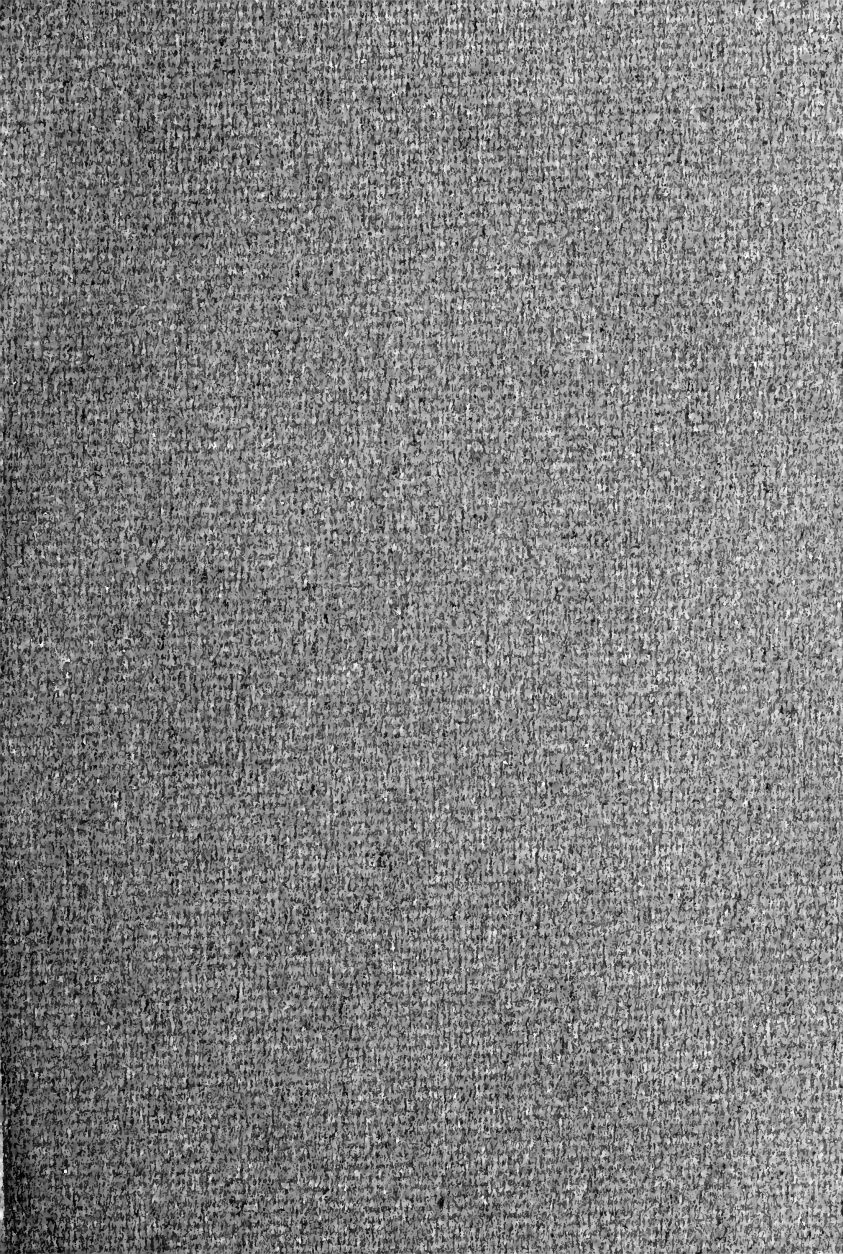
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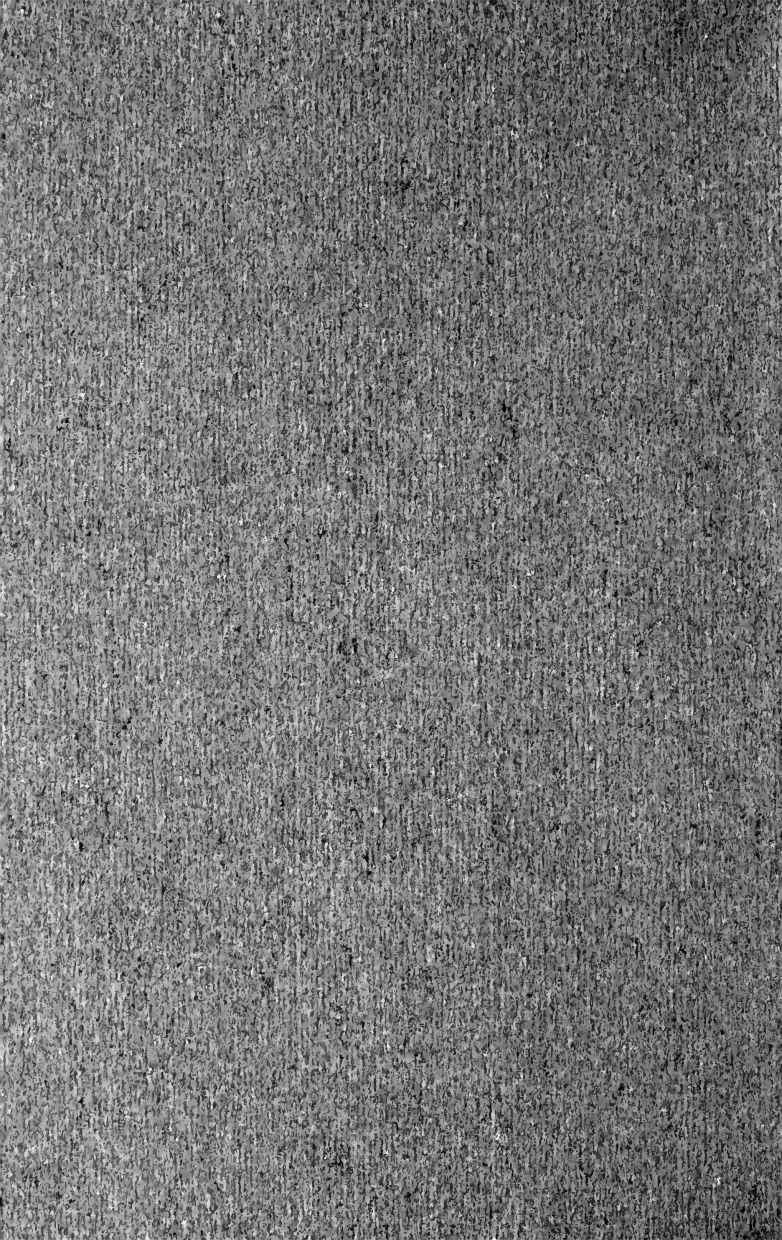
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Despotism vs. Republicanism.

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FOURTH CHAPTER FROM

VATICANISM UNMASKED;

OR,

ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

A PURITAN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.



CAMBRIDGE, MASS.:

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCIPALIA CLUB.

1876.

DESPOTISM VS. REPUBLICANISM.

God's plan for opening the eyes of the American people to the real danger to their liberties, has by the logic of events and the overruling of second causes, so rapidly developed into history since the publication of the first edition of "The Political Trinity of Despotism," that the Principia Club finds it necessary to issue another number of their tracts, embracing some further progress of

THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN DESPOTISM AND REPUBLICANISM.

Two and a half centuries ago Republicanism set up in business for herself on this continent. Politically speaking the first element of despotism she encountered was the slave power in the democratic party which was not conquered until the seventh decade of the present century. The party itself first fell by the ballot—the slave power afterwards by the bullet and bayonet. These successive defeats alarmed the papal power—the most powerful element of the three—which immediately came to the rescue of her defeated allies. As at present reorganized the democratic party is making the most desperate efforts to put republicanism on the defensive; and by fraud and violence take possession of the governmental machinery and divide the spoils. In this tragic scene the papacy will play an active part—some times in her sacerdotal robes and at other times in military or political costume as circumstances may require. The truth of these propositions will appear in the following pages.

"The Hamburg Massacre in South Carolina," is familiar to all newspaper readers and we need not, in this place, go into the particulars. The "Regulators" whose special mission appears to be to "keep the negroes in their place," murdered in cold blood without the least provocation nearly a half score of negroes. This brought out the following from their survivors in Charleston, S. C. The address, after narrating the events of the massacre, says:

"We protest against these men, and their aiders and abettors, and, in the name of the majesty of law and order, we demand that Governor Chamberlain shall at once invoke

all the powers of this state to bring M. C. Butler and his clan to justice, and that no means or treasure be spared to punish these criminals. And we invoke the consideration of this whole nation, and the powers of the Federal Government, to see to it that the great principles of equal justice before the law, and equal protection under this Government, be maintained throughout this nation, so that safety to life and property, and the right to vote as conscience shall dictate to every citizen, shall be forever secured to all throughout this broad land."

Failing to procure such protection as is needed, the address proceeds to say what they will do, as follows:

"We tell you that it will not do to go too far in this thing — remember that there are 80,000 black men in this state that can bear Winchester rifles, and know how to use them, and that there are 200,000 women, who can light a torch and use the knife, and that there are 100,000 boys and girls who have not known the lash of a white master, who have tasted freedom once and forever, and that there is a deep determination never, so help their God, to submit to be shot by lawless regulators for no crimes committed against society and law."

The wonderful grace and patience which has thus far restrained the Freedmen from using their "Winchester rifles" under such unheard of provocation, is a marvel in human society. If M. C. Butler, the bellwether murderer, and his crew are not brought to justice by the state authorities, they ought to be taken in hand by the strong arm of the nation. It is high time the American citizen should be protected in his rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Our colored citizens used their rifles effectively to save the life of the nation, and if the nation can not or will not protect their lives, they had better use the rifles again to protect themselves. Who can say nay?

Since the Hamburg massacre the South Carolina regulators have adopted a somewhat modified policy by taking possession of republican meetings and running the machine in the interest of spurious democracy, in the name of free discussion, equal rights (all on one side of course,) &c., &c. How long are the majority to wait, in order to find out whether they are to be protected by law from a lawless

banditti? Let the trio of despotism try it on in Massachusetts and see how they come out.

The late democratic triumph in Alabama is another specimen of democratic rule. At a democratic ratification meeting in Mobile, the chairman of the "Democratic State Committee," said that "the election was peaceable and quiet, not a disturbance of any magnitude marred our day of triumph." But the speaker omitted to tell his hearers WHY it was so "peaceable and quiet." Probably *they* knew, but for the benefit of those who may *not* know, we will supply the omission. In all the Southern States where the negro voters are in a majority, one plan is, to surround the ballot box with a circle of "Regulators" ten or twelve deep, armed with pistols and bowie knives, with a passage-way of ingress and egress of sufficient width for one man only to pass at a time. This passage-way is strictly guarded and no "nigger" is allowed to enter it on his way to the ballot-box with a republican ticket. Some are induced by threats and intimidations to take a *democratic* ticket and put it into the ballot-box to the infinite delight of the candidates for hades. We have this key to the democratic victories in the South from undoubted authority and from witnesses who cannot be impeached.

We have still another specimen of the programme of the democratic regulators, which may pass more current in some localities. The Hayneville, Alabama Examiner, has the kindness to inform us of another way to get rid of republican majorities, which ought to be at once patented, for it enabled the democratic party to roll up 40,000 majority in that State at the last election, with peace and quietness, without shooting a negro.

"The true and good men of Collerine, not wishing to be servants of the radical party by sitting down all day, just to receive the votes 300 or 400 negroes were anxious to cast against the peace and welfare of the State, wisely concluded last Monday that if the radical negroes wanted to have an election they might hold it themselves; and if they didn't have sense enough to hold it they didn't have sense enough to vote at all, and therefore the county would be all the better for it. This was a just and sensible conclusion, for nothing can be more foolish and ridiculous than for men to

aid this villainous party to carry out its schemes of plunder by acting as their agents to gather in the votes of a blinded and prejudiced people. And no man who has carefully thought over the matter would be guilty of such a crime against God and his family if he could help himself. Therefore, the patriots of Collerine are hereby thanked for the splendid manner in which they struck at carpet-bagger and negro rule in this State."

From another source we advance still further into "the true inwardness of the Alabama election." The Cincinnati Commercial has a letter from H. V. Redfield, in which we find the following utterances of the democratic press of that state.

"I spoke of the large democratic gains through "mild intimidation," meaning an intimidation of less degree than shot-gun arguments. I have the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) Times of last Wednesday. In a previous issue the editor stated that two colored men — giving their names — had voted for the democrats. Here is the handsome manner in which he "takes it back:"

"WE TAKE IT BACK.—We stated in our last issue, upon what we regarded as reliable authority, that Jeff Wilson and Israel Carson both voted the democratic ticket at the recent election. We have since heard that neither of them did anything of the sort. Jeff is said to be one of the most impertinent negroes in town, and Israel is just fool enough to be manipulated by 'Squire Stone and other similar lying and thieving negro scoundrels."

No doubt if Jeff had voted the democratic ticket he would not have been classed as "one of the most impertinent negroes in town." And "'Squire Stone" might escape being called a lying and thieving scoundrel if he would only vote the democratic ticket.

This sort of thing, with which the country press of Alabama is unfortunately filled, is what I call "mild intimidation," though the reader may not consider it so very mild, after all.

The Tuscaloosa colored drayman gets this simple notice, but it has a world of meaning.

"Alec, the drayman, did not vote at the recent election."

And a colored man who gets his living by painting gets this notice, pregnant with meaning:

"Bill Buck is an excellent painter, — he voted the democratic ticket."

Had he voted with the republicans he would no doubt be referred to as a lying and thieving scoundrel, whose painting wasn't worth a cent.

It seems there are two "chicken peddlers" in Tuscaloosa, one white and the other black, and they get this local notice:

"Redd, the white chicken peddler, voted the democratic ticket. Daniel, the black peddler, was a radical ringleader on election day."

A delicate insinuation, indeed, as the best man of whom to buy chickens.

When Texas was clamoring for admission, as a slave state, to the union, she was denominated the "valley of rascals." Since her admission into the family of states she is supposed to have reformed, but it now appears that her "reform" is of the democratic pattern. The Boston Daily Advertiser of Aug. 21, has the following item:

"Professor James Gilliard, colored, a graduate of Oberlin University and late of this city, was murdered recently in Texas, his offence being that his horse interfered with a game of base ball by stopping the ball. He was shot."

If a *white* man's horse had stopped the ball of *black* men, the latter would have been shot for the indignity to a white man's *horse*, in rolling their ball against his hoof! This addition to the crimes punishable with death, may be new to some people. But black republicans are of no account in the valley of rascals, for they can't be trusted to vote the democratic ticket and therefore must be shot at sight.

Another way of getting rid of black republican votes is the starving out plan. In Barnwell, S. C., according to the Charleston Journal of Commerce, the farmers are forming clubs that "will no longer give aid of any kind to such as vote the radical ticket." If the negroes had a Moses to lead them out of Egypt, the poor white trash would have to hoe their own corn and dig their own potatoes or starve.

In Louisiana another mode of intimidating is resorted to to keep the black republicans from the polls.

Pinchback is speaking in Indiana for the republicans. In a recent interview he stated that the white-liners are making active and determined efforts to carry every southern state

at the ensuing elections. He said that they had planned out a complete system of intimidation, going so far as to organize rifle companies in every parish. This line of action was very general, especially in Louisiana. It was his opinion that it was not intended to bring these companies into action, yet their existence was regarded by the blacks as a formidable menace to them to stay away from the polls, or, if present, to vote the democratic ticket. It was his deliberate opinion that if permitted to express their free judgment and inclination ninety-nine out of every hundred blacks will vote for Hayes and Wheeler, and at least four states would cast their electoral votes for the republican candidates.

The poor, ignorant "white trash" of the South have neither brains nor intelligence to discover that the colored people have *some* rights the white man is bound to respect. Indeed the "white liners" who claim to occupy a higher plane of intelligence than the blacks, have yet to learn that the shot-gun argument is a game that two can play at, and so sure as they continue it, until the blacks meet them on their own chosen ground with their own chosen weapons, they will get more than they bargained for.

But the democratic party has another baby in its cradle more troublesome than the "rag-baby" which was so easily rocked to sleep at Saratoga—and more turbulent and mandatory than the negroes, to wit, the third factor in the Trinity.

Senator Thurman is reported to have said a few days ago that "The d—d priests have overdone the thing by sticking their noses into our politics; and they deserve to be beaten, to teach them their place. The Democracy only have themselves to blame in submitting to the demands of the priests in the way they did. It was unfortunate, indeed, that the Catholic question was lugged into the campaign. The Democracy was the only party that ever did anything for the Catholics, and it would seem that the more that is done for them the more they will demand. Their arrogance is insufferable, and as we shall be defeated anyway, I hope it will hereafter teach these meddlesome priests a lesson that they will understand—that is, to let politics alone. I, for one, don't propose to stand any further nonsense from these fellows."

If the Cleveland reporter is correct, it is evident that one democrat at least sees that his party is fair game for the satellites of the vatican. The warp and most of the woof of the democratic party are Roman Catholics, and Senator Thurman is correct in saying that "the Democracy was the only party that ever did any thing for the Catholics." It is true however, whether he said it or not, and it is also true that "the more that is done for them the more they will demand," as the party will find out in due time. Congressman Seeley is reported to have said,

"Two dangers beset us in questions of religion in the schools. One is letting it alone and allowing education to slip into the hands of the Catholic priesthood. The other is taking away the Bible from the schools and making them altogether secular. The first means delivering posterity, body and soul, into the hands of the Romists; the second means destruction to our system of education."

In the last Congress it was proposed to amend the Constitution, concerning religion and the common schools, as follows:

"No state shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any state; no public property and no public revenue, nor any loan or credit by or under authority of the United States or any state, territory, district or municipal corporation shall be appropriated to, or made or used for, the support of any school, educational, or other institution, under control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination shall be taught, and no such particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or part by such revenue or loan of credit, and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have effect to impair rights of property already vested. Sect. 2. Congress shall have power by appropri-

ate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article."

While this was pending the Roman Catholic priesthood rallied around their democratic allies in Congress and demanded that the proposed amendment should be snuffed out and it was of course done. If this can be done by a majority of the U. S. House of Representatives, in obedience to the demands of the vatican, what may we not expect if the whole political and money power of the nation is put into the hands of the corrupt democracy under the iron despotism of papal Rome. Be it remembered that a majority of the last House of Representatives are ex-rebels, who fought four years to destroy the republic and substitute a despotism, and failed—but who were magnanimously forgiven and restored to citizenship, which privilege they with their constituents and papal allies are now using to capture the government by the ballot AND the bullet.

There is another witness we wish to introduce, to wit, the Rev. W. C. Van Meter, a missionary in Rome. In presenting his claims as a missionary, to the First Baptist Church in Springfield, Mass., in July last, he said "that Roman Catholicism is a curse wherever found . . . that this republic is under its curse and therefore its priests would not allow the bells of its churches to be rung in commemoration of our National Centennial. But if a second St. Bartholomew were possible, if an edict silencing every Protestant pulpit in the land, and disbanding every Sunday School were possible, then the cathedral bells would ring right merrily, and the Pope himself, old infallibility, the old man of sin, he who sits in Satan's seat, under a canopy of peacock feathers, fit emblem of his mind, would rejoice greatly."

This is spoken of by some of the democratic papers as "a bitter denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church." Mr. Van Meter states a fact that nobody denies, viz., that the bells on the Catholic churches were not allowed to be rung in commemoration of our National Centennial. He then states a case where and when they would be rung right merrily, if such a case were possible. Now then who denies or doubts that, if the papal power, with the help of their allies could and should "silence every Protestant pulpit in the land," the bells on the Catholic churches would be made

to ring their merriest peals, while *Te Deums* would be sung from Rome to the bottomless pit.

Again, at the National Sunday School convention held at Fair Point, N. Y., in July, "Dr. Hatfield spoke of the perils of our youth, and his remarks were the feature of the day. One of these perils was ignorance, especially the ignorance of voters. Another was the growing influence of the church of Rome, which was still asserted to be an inveterate and consistent enemy of civil and religious liberty. She claimed the right to coerce civil powers to obey the dictates of the mother church. It was Father Hecker's boast that within fifteen years the Catholics would have control of the United States government."

"Father Hecker," is a little more sanguine in regard to the time of gaining possession of the United States government than some of his brother priests. He sets it at fifteen years, while "Father Scully," of St. Mary's Church, Cambridgeport, Mass., who is drilling a military company for future use, magnanimously allows us poor Protestants until nineteen hundred to make our peace with the Pope!

One of the most truthful and comprehensive utterances of our public men is contained in a speech of Senator Sherman, which has been printed in capitals in some of our daily papers, and is as follows:

"And now the very men who fought and voted to break up this Union, now under the same name and organization, still calling itself democratic, appeal to your generosity to surrender to them all the great powers of the government, they ask to administer its laws, control its revenues, and to mould its policy at home and abroad. Both of their candidates, though living in the North, opposed every measure of the war, all the movements to organize the army that beat down the rebellion, and all the safeguards adapted to secure the results of our victory. The men they would bring into the chief places of the government are those who led the rebel armies or who frowned and complained in the north. The same states that passed and maintained ordinances of secession are the main strength of this coalition.—*Senator Sherman.*

Parson Brownlow wrote to the Tennessee Republican Convention: "The American people are not yet ready to

see their National Government turned over to the tender mercies of the Hamburg-Secession-Repudiating-Democracy; but, in November, will hurl this nefarious, God-forsaken, hell-deserving old party to that political perdition which it richly merits."

The Mobile Register, the leading democratic paper in the state of Alabama, and one of the leading journals in the South says "The grave question to be settled is: *What is to be done with the negro as a voter?* Sooner or later, with more or less despatch, he will be disfranchised and thrust out of politics. He must go, and there is no profit in standing long upon the order of his going. When the reorganized democracy of 1876 goes into office each State shall be allowed to settle this and *all other social and domestic issues* for itself and in its own way."

This is undoubtedly the universal sentiment of the Southern democratic press. Let us translate it into plain Saxon English so that a northerner though a fool need not err therein. The "reorganized democracy of 1876," means "the political trinity of despotism," which is the title of our tract No. 1. It means that or nothing. The party stands like a stool on three legs. Knock out either of them and it falls. The northern democrats are mere bobs to the southern kite. The novices of the party like Charles Francis Adams, Geo. Ticknor Curtis and others of that stripe will have to follow, not lead. The older democrats such as Tilden, Hendricks and the like will be used as figure-heads, but driven with a curb rein, in the hands of their southern allies. "The negro voter," says the Mobile Register, "will be disfranchised and thrust out of politics." To "thrust" the negro "out of politics" will only require the southern state rights doctrine to be *thrust* in, so that each state shall be allowed to settle **THIS** and *all other social and domestic issues* for itself and in its own way." This claim the old slave power always maintained under a false construction of the constitution. That is to say. They construed the constitution in favor of slavery, while the north, (excepting the pro-slavery democracy) construed it in favor of freedom. Hence the necessity for the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution, which, if not repealed, will become a dead letter under a democratic admin-

istration, and this is WHAT "REFORM" MEANS IN THE RECONSTRUCTED STATES. It is the old trick of the slave power revived, backed by the papal power. It is the junus-faced policy that worked so well for the despotism of slavery.

Reform is one thing at the south, but another thing at the north. At the south it means just what the Mobile Register says "is to be done with the negro as a voter," and that is, to "be disfranchised and thrust out of politics," or in other words to be again reduced to slavery! And this is southern democratic reform!! Reform at the north means to turn out the Republicans and take possession of the spoils which, according to democratic doctrine, belong to the victors.

But gentlemen the republican party is abundantly able to reform its own corruptionists or send them to the rear, as has been abundantly demonstrated. If its backsliders see fit to jump from the frying pan into the fire, and join the democratic party they can do so, but they will find corruption in it, as ten to one. There a few old fossils, verdant youth, and degenerate sons of noble republican fathers (whose nobility ends with the sons,) who will take the politically fatal leap. But the compensation to the republican party for this loss, will be a better class of men from the other side, who are disgusted with the fare in the democratic camp.

What shall we say of *northern* democrats who stand god-fathers to such elements of despotism as we have been describing. Surely posterity will hold them responsible for apologizing for, and keeping in countenance the M. C. Butlers of their party, who murder in cold blood their fellow citizens because they were created with a black skin instead of white, but whose character stands much higher in the scale of morals.

To say that they sin ignorantly is paying a very poor compliment to their intelligence, when every newspaper reader knows that the half is not told in our tract. To say that they sin wittingly is to inscribe on each of their political tombstones—"here lays an enemy of republican liberty—a friend of papal despotism—a *particeps criminis* in sham democracy." Nor will it mend matters to point to an occasional good man in the party, for that would be making the

exceptions the rule. These men do not direct the party but the party drives them, whithersoever it pleases.

What decent man can lend his influence to such a pack of consummate hypocrites as were unkenned at the late convention at Saratoga and denominated the democratic party of New York. They enter a farcical protest against the U. S. Government for sending bayonets enough into the South to protect its citizens in the use of the ballot, which the constitution puts into their hands. These pinks of democracy say it is "with a view to intimidate the people and control their elections," but they know as well as we do that the bayonets are to intimidate the intimidators who use the shot-gun argument and guard the ballot box with bowie knife and pistol to keep republicans from voting at all, if they have a dark skin.

But these pattern democrats have not one word of condemnation for the shot-gun regulators, the Butler murderers or the Hamburg massacres. And why? Simply because the crimes are perpetrated in the interest of the papal democracy. In the papal church where many of these democrats were brought up, it never was a crime to murder a heretic, provided it was done in the interest and name of the church. So in the democratic party in the south, it is no crime to kill a colored republican for it leaves the party one less vote to overcome, for every republican voter they kill.

The question of finance is an important question to the business interests of the country, but after all we submit that there is one question underlying all others of still greater importance, and that is whether, after the next presidential election, we are to live under a despotism or a republican form of government. The business and property interests of this country would be a very different thing under a despotism from what they now are. It wouldn't matter much whether we had, for currency, gold dollars or rag-babies, if we had no control over either of them. The whole Boss Tweed crowd of Tildens Hoffmans, Morriseys, and Kelleys would not improve our finances much. The Hoffmans would address from the steps of our City Halls, the negro-shooters, and the Butler murderers as "my friends," as in the 1863 riots to stop the draft to put down

the rebellion. The Tildens and others of the same crowd would deed public property by the million to the papal church for votes to keep them in office as was done in New York city after the war, *unless they have reformed*. If there is a scintilla of evidence of reformation we will take back in our next tract what we have said in that direction.

But what gives the papacy so much *political* power in this republic? Why is that power courted as an ally by the democracy and slaveocracy? Has she votes? Let us see. It is well known that the *slave power* of this country, though in a hopeless minority, ruled the nation politically for a generation previous to emancipation. Who can say the *papal power* may not do the same thing. Our republic is very nearly equally divided into two natural political elements, republicans and democrats. At the last presidential election the vote was 6,431,740, of which the republicans had 3,597,670, and the democrats 2,834,070, leaving a difference between the two parties of 763,600. The whole population of the United States is nearly or quite 40,000,000 of which 10,000,000, are Roman Catholics. The same proportion of voters among the papists gives them over a million and a half. The papal church of America has then to-day a balance of political power, and three quarters of a million of votes to spare. Their *policy* is to work quietly at the polls and make no political demonstration until they are still stronger, but obtain possession of the offices as fast as possible. They began with the great financial centre of the nation, and we have seen how successful they have been thus far. The more cautious among them dare not yet make a *public* bid for the presidential chair, for fear of forcing a combination of protestants against them from both political parties.

Let the sham democracy stop the manufacture of "bloody shirts," if they don't want republicans to hold them up to the gaze of the civilized world.

At a mass meeting of the republicans of Massachusetts, held at Worcester, on the 4th of Sept., Hon. Geo. F. Hoar made a speech in which he makes the following statements:

"In the republican convention which met in New Orleans in 1868, unarmed and defenceless, 200 men were slain in cold blood by democrats. In 1868 more than 2000 mur-

ders were committed in the same State, and in counties which had given six months before thousands of republican majority, not a vote was cast for General Grant. In 1872 the same thing was repeated. In 1873 came the Colfax massacre, where a party of peaceable citizens being summoned by the sheriff of the county to appear as a *posse comitatus* to enable him to assert his title to office, every one of whom would have been subject to an indictment at common law if he had refused to obey, were besieged in the court-house of their county. The lives of one or two rebels alone of the whole number being lost, the court-house was set on fire over their heads, and when they came out from under its blazing rafters with a flag of truce, they were surrounded by the democrats of that county and promised if they would surrender peaceably they should be taken a little way and have their lives spared. A procession was formed. I looked in the faces of some of the men who took part in that deed in New Orleans two years next winter, — a procession was formed, every two negroes followed by two mounted white men. They were taken a mile or two to a lonely place in the woods, and there, at the word of command, every one of those men were put to death; — those thirty-seven bodies were found in a pile, with a bullet hole in the back of the head in the instance of every one."

Mr. Hoar was a member of a Congressional committee of investigation which brought out these facts, and knows whereof he affirms. This shows that the great conspiracy against our liberties, some of the evidences of which we have grouped together, was formed as early as 1868. It will be seen that the more recent developments we have recorded are simply the carrying out of the same plan.

At the nominating convention on the succeeding day, Senator Boutwell, after enumerating several of the southern states which had been seized, and were now held by fraud and violence by the democratic party truly said :

"We granted to twelve million white people, who had forfeited every political right, all that we claimed for ourselves; and we granted to four million black people those rights, and those only, which they had earned by their early and constant exhibition of loyalty to the government, and by their services and sacrifices in the war for its preservation."

* * * * *

“This is the grave question which now concerns the country. This is the question of questions, which the American people have never been called to consider until now—whether by and through a usurpation begun and carried on in States by organized bodies of armed men the government of the United States can be seized under the forms of law by the leader of a minority.”

On the 6th of September the democratic convention met in the same city. It embraced some of the disappointed republicans—degenerate sons of better blood—who were pacified with the sugar coated pill of a nomination in the party which embraces all the rebel element of the country. In looking over the speeches and resolutions, we do not find one word of condemnation of their southern allies who shoot republicans to keep them from voting, but we find a great deal of condemnation of republicans who hold up the “bloody shirts” made, endorsed and approved by democrats. They laud the democratic rebels in Congress for cutting down the expenses of the government \$30,000,000, but say not one word of the hundreds of millions of dollars voted and to be voted to southern claimants for fictitious claims which the republican party has over and over rejected. These pattern democrats and renegade republicans, hold the republican party responsible for the war debt, but forget that there would have been no debt of that kind if there had been no democratic party to co-operate with the slave power, which made the war. They also lay upon the broad shoulders of the republican party the shrinkage of values, the depression in business, and the distress in mercantile circles, but do not even hint that the same state of things exists in all the principal countries of Europe, and is therefore the effect of other causes, not under the control of the republican party of America. O tempora! O mores!

👉 Orders for No. 1, “The Political Trinity of Despotism;” or No. 2, “Despotism vs. Republicanism,” 16 pp. each, should be addressed, The Principia Club, P. O. Box, 104 Cambridge, Mass., or to A. Williams & Co., Boston, Mass. Price of each \$30 per thousand.

CHAPTER V.

Having pointed out the dangers to the perpetuity of this republic, it only remains to indicate the remedy. A good physician may be able to inform his patient what ails him, but unless he can prescribe a proper remedy, the information will avail nothing, and not even then unless the patient follows the prescription. In this case the remedy will be effective provided it be applied in season, and it is

A LIMITED BALLOT.

By a limited ballot we mean one protected by an educational qualification, by a property qualification, and an oath of allegiance qualification. In the infancy of this republic these qualifications were thought unnecessary, but in its youth and maturer age they are indispensable to its perpetuity.

When the political trinity of despotism carried the state of New York for Tilden, by the direct interference of Cardinal McCloskey, Messrs. Tilden, Kelley, Morrisey & Co. felt sure that the victory was won, and that nothing remained but to take possession of the spoils in March next, and, in due time, divide them among the victors. They were as sure of a "solid south" as they were of the city of New York, for both were to be carried by repeaters and stuffed ballot boxes, bulldozing and intimidation.

With all these crimes against the ballot box, the conspirators counted in only a portion of the south, but not enough to turn the scale in favor of the papal candidate. Tilden and McCloskey both sold themselves to the devil, or the pope which is the same thing; the former didn't get his pay, the latter did. When the priest turned the slums of New York city into the fold of the bulldozing democracy, he was only delivering goods which had been paid for in annual installments under the Boss Tweed and Tilden administrations for six or eight years previous. To be sure those millions of dollars came out of the tax-payers of New York city, but what do the cardinal and the politicians care for that, so long as the papal church gets the money, and the democratic party the votes.

On this subject we quote from the Boston Congregationalist of Nov. 22, 1876, the following from one of its correspondents.

"THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VOTE.— Writing the morning after the election, when it seemed to be conceded all round that the democrats had won, a gentleman of wide observation, and who has travelled largely in foreign countries, wrote in a private letter to this office as follows :

It is conceded that New York threw the casting vote, and that part of it, comprising New York city and Brooklyn, ruled by Tammany, was the final factor which controlled the election. Cardinal McCloskey used his direct personal influence in making peace between Kelley and Morrisey, and the solid catholic vote of New York city held the balance of power. In other words, the influence of the Roman catholic priesthood, moved on the chess board by the master hand at Rome, can settle the destinies of this great nation, founded to furnish mankind the civil and religious liberty they could not obtain in the priest-ridden monarchies of Europe. I am not an alarmist frightened by phantoms. It is a living, impudent, growing, ever aggressive, unscrupulous, thoroughly selfish, crafty, completely disciplined and unflinching foe, with which we have to deal. And the note of alarm cannot be sounded too soon, too sharply, too often. It invades our firesides, undermines political principle, saps the foundations on which the government is founded, poisons the minds of the rising generation, a fearful, fatal, infernal miasma.

Here in Massachusetts even, where they are in a minority, the Roman catholics have been unusually impudent and unbearable this election. At my boarding house the servants were so excited, so overcome, so influenced by the priests, by the stories told them, and the possibilities of a Roman catholic triumph, that they could hardly eat and sleep. No; this question is one of the living, real issues of the hour; and no protestant, and no liberal paper, can be true to itself or the cause of constitutional liberty, which does not press this home to the conviction of all under its influence."

This is more severe than any thing we have said against the priests of the papal church, and considering its conservative source, may be regarded as within the truth.

We might quote volumes in proof of what we have only hinted at, but let us now see if there is not a substitute for the universal ballot.

One of our old anti-slavery poets, the late Rev. John Pierpont, defined the ballot as follows :

“ A weapon that comes down as still
 As snowflakes fall upon the sod,
 But executes a freeman's will
 As lightning does the will of God.
 And from its force nor doors nor locks
 Can shield you — 'tis the ballot-box.”

If a limited and protected ballot should ever be incorporated into the organic laws of the land, with the qualifications we have specified, it would not be a very easy thing for any pope, cardinal, bishop or priest to dictate the vote of a great state like New York, as was done by cardinal McCloskey, (to whom allusion has been made), at the last election.

THE BALLOT A SACRED TRUST.

Under a republican form of government the use of the elective franchise is the political thermometer of the christian citizen. His ballot indicates more clearly than any other act of his life, the quality of his religion and the sincerity of his piety. If his political acts do not correspond with his profession his religion is vain. If he votes for bad men under party discipline, he practically says the christian religion has no claim upon him in politics.

He practically ignores the two great commands of the decalogue on which hang all the law and the prophets, and makes no distinction between right and wrong. If he separates his religion from his politics, it is like faith without works, like a body without a soul, both dead. That man is an hypocrite and will sell his vote to the highest bidder. The politics of this country have become so corrupted by godless politicians, that ministers of the gospel are frequently cautioned not to dabble in the dirty waters of politics, whereas they ought to be implored to use their influence by precept and example to *purify* them, by ignoring the dirt.

The perpetuity of this republic depends so much upon the right use of the ballot, that it should be guarded with scrupulous care. It should not be thrown to the rabble as a

farmer throws cornstalks to his cattle, nor should it ever be conferred on those who can neither write their own names nor read a printed ballot. Neither should it be conferred on any person who is not already under bonds to keep the peace with himself and the other eight million four hundred thousand voters, more or less, in this republic. That is to say, every voter should possess not only an *educational* but a *property* qualification, as a guarantee that his or her education shall be used for the perpetuity of the republic and not for its overthrow. It makes a very great difference whether a voter has something or nothing at stake when he approaches the ballot-box. If he is required to have fifty dollars worth of taxable property before he can vote he is less likely to sell his vote to a corruptionist for money, than if he had nothing. If he must have five hundred dollars to make him a voter, he is still less likely to sell his vote, for everybody knows full well that men who will buy votes to put them in office are too corrupt to be trusted with civil power. But there is still another safeguard that should be thrown around the ballot, and that is, the *oath of allegiance to this government*, which should take precedence of every potentate, king, emperor or other earthly ruler. Every foreigner should be required to subscribe to such an oath on the receipt of his naturalization papers, after a sufficient residence in this country to entitle him to citizenship. But no rebel or traitor to his country should ever be restored to citizenship after having once voluntarily forfeited it. If he escapes the halter, he should never be compensated with the ballot. The country to-day is suffering the penalty of pardoning rebels and restoring them to citizenship.

Our naturalization laws have utterly failed to protect the ballot as was intended by those who framed them. They probably never dreamed that the administration of those laws would ever fall into the hands of corrupt politicians who would entirely disregard them, as has been the case in New York city for many years. If the qualifications we have named, or even reading and writing had been required of every voter, the Tweeds, the Tildens, the Morrisseys and the Kelleys would not have found it quite so easy, on the night of every election to count up votes enough to neutral-

ize the republican votes of the whole state of New York, and turn the scale. The property qualification alone did not answer the purpose. In some of the states a voter must own at least fifty dollars worth of taxable property. Consequently a man of no property could buy a mule to-day, worth fifty dollars, and vote to-morrow. But the ludicrous question arose, which voted, the man or the mule.

When the ballot was given to the freedmen of the rebel states the case was very different. President Lincoln was in favor of returning the ballot to the disloyal whites who had forfeited their citizenship and their lives, but Secretary Chase thought that the ballot should be given to the people who were loyal to the government, whether their skins were white or black, to those who had fought to *save* the government, and not those who had fought to *destroy* it. This was a case not only of *justice* but of absolute *necessity*, as much to *preserve* the government, as making them soldiers was to *save* it. This was the only point, save one, on which the President and his financial Secretary disagreed, and that one point was the basis on which the proclamation of emancipation should rest. Mr. Lincoln thought its necessity as a war measure was all sufficient, while Mr. Chase insisted that **JUSTICE** to the negro should be recognized, a point which was yielded as the proclamation shows. [See letter of S. P. Chase to J. W. Alden, in Daily Adv., May, 1873.]

If the elective franchise could be confined to those persons who have the requisite qualifications above specified, one great objection to woman suffrage would be out of the way. We have ignorant foreigners enough now who have the right to vote, without adding that large class of women who would outvote American women of intelligence two or three to one. The reason is not because the foreigners are so much more numerous but because they would all vote, while a small portion of American women would probably do so. We may be mistaken, but so far as our own observation goes it is true. In case restricted or limited suffrage should be substituted for universal, there are three classes who would be more or less affected by the change.

1. A large foreign population who have been brought to the polls, regardless of our naturalization laws, soon after landing on our shores, and who could neither write their own names, nor read a printed ballot.

2. The freedmen of the reconstructed states who graduated in the "patriarchal institution" of slavery, but who could neither read nor write, and who have not learned to do so since emancipation. Of this class of voters Attorney General Taft, in his annual report submitted to Congress, Jan. 9, 1877, says, "universal education of the voting people, both white and colored *is essential to the safety of our republican government.* No time should be lost in furnishing ample opportunities to every American citizen of whatever complexion, race or condition, to acquire sufficient mental and physical training to vote and fight with intelligence."

3. The third class would be prospectively affected only, because suffrage is not yet extended to women. It would be much sooner, if the ballot should be limited by an educational qualification.

The probability is that in the first class there are something over a million of voters, and in the second something less. But one would offset the other inasmuch as there are a larger number in the first class who would remain qualified voters under a limited ballot, than in the second, so that the loss of votes to the democratic party in the first class would just about equal the loss of votes to the republican party in the second class.

Those who would be dropped out of the voting lists by the enactment of laws limiting the ballot to an educational and property qualification, would have a new incentive to acquire a common school education, for the sake of the reward of full citizenship, and those who have not brains enough to acquire the education, and industry and economy enough to acquire the property, certainly have not intelligence enough to use the ballot with proper discrimination.

Perhaps some would prefer that every voter should be required to come up to a certain standard of intelligence, to be ascertained by a commission in every city or town, his name recorded, and his ballot to be endorsed by himself in his own hand writing and compared with the voting list before his ballot could be counted. This may be preferable to the property qualification.

But we should view this matter from a higher plane than the political battle field. No matter whose *private* interests

are affected by the limitation of the ballot, what does the public good require? Are our liberties to be put into the power and keeping of the ignorant emigrant population from Europe and the slums of our cities? Is a convicted felon of the old world to be transported to this country and at once admitted to full citizenship? This is the way that thing has been done. A man may be discharged from any prison in Europe, without the knowledge of a single letter of the alphabet, have his naturalization papers and ballot put into his hand immediately on his arrival in New York, walk up to the ballot-box and wield as much political power as William M. Evarts or any other citizen of the United States. This is the *practice* whether it is the letter of the law or not, and this is one way the republican majorities have been overcome in New York city for years, or rather we should say this and the ballot-box stuffing are the ways the slums of New York city have cheated the republicans of the state out of their majorities. It has succeeded so well and so long there, that Tilden's conspirators are trying the same game in the contested states that have republican majorities. They have been through the operation so many times in New York without let or hindrance, that they claimed *success* and proclaimed Tilden elected. It now remains to be seen whether there is republican pluck enough to insist on a proper discrimination between legal and illegal votes, and after that whether there is wisdom enough in the country outside of the combination against our liberties, to protect the ballot as it ought to be protected in order to save the republic, by the enactment of a general law with the above safeguards which shall have the same operation in every state of the union.

The truth is we have made two *radical*, and unless corrected *fatal* mistakes in this country. The one was universal suffrage without the safeguards we have proposed, and the other was allowing our conquered rebels to go unhung, and removing the disabilities they had incurred, so as to allow them to come back into Congress and make laws for the country they could not destroy. For this God is dealing with this nation.

Since the above was written the President's annual message has come to hand, with the following paragraph on

the subject of compulsory education and its application to the ballot.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

“The attention of Congress cannot be too earnestly called to the necessity of throwing some greater safeguard over the method of choosing and declaring the election of a President. Under the present system there seems to be no provided remedy for contesting the election in any one state. The remedy partially, no doubt, is in the enlightenment of electors. The compulsory support of the free schools and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language, after a fixed probation, would meet my hearty approval. I would not make this apply, however, to those already voters, but I would to all becoming so after the expiration of the probation fixed upon. Foreigners coming to the country to become citizens who are educated in their own language would acquire the requisite knowledge of ours during the necessary residence to obtain naturalization. If they did not take interest enough in our language to acquire sufficient knowledge of it to enable them to study the institutions and laws of the country intelligently, I would not confer upon them the right to make such laws, nor to select those who do.”

It will be seen that these two plans so far as the President goes into it, are in harmony with each other, with a single exception. President Grant “would not make this apply to those already voters,” while on the other hand, we would make it apply to those above all others. *First* because there are *tens*, if not *hundreds of thousands* of voters on our check lists who have not now nor never had any legal right there. They are the balance-of-power-slums crowd that obey the mandates of the papal priests, and if there is no way to rid the republic of their political power until they qualify we may as well stop where we are, for *second* the combination is already so strong against republicanism and so corrupt that it requires a severe remedy. If a soldier’s leg is shattered by a cannon ball, and the surgeon finds amputation necessary to save life, he takes it off *above* the fracture not *below* it. If a physician finds his patient afflicted with a cancer he removes the cancer to save the

patient, but never scatters it through the whole system, because that would be fatal. *Third* if the elective franchise were a *natural right* it could not be taken from those who now exercise that right, even though every voter should sell his vote as Esau sold his birthright. Nor could it have been taken from the rebels as it was and returned to them without sufficient guarantees. But as it is a *civil privilege* conferred by the state or nation, it can be withheld or taken away for cause, by the same power that conferred it. The laws of some of the states already require an educational qualification, and if all the states had the same laws and no others we should not, at this writing, witness the significant fact, that all the states but four which furnished means to save the republic in the late war, voted for Hayes, and all but three who sought to destroy it voted for Tilden!

Nor should we witness the humiliating spectacle of the incipient stages of another rebellion, if an hundred or two leaders of the last rebellion had been hung instead of pardoned. But they were so easily let off, that the same rebel element is much more bold and defiant now than before it fired on Sumter, and this is what the loyal people of the country get for their magnanimity to a conquered foe. Let the American people never repeat such stupendous folly by offering a bounty on rebellion. Let the rebel element understand once for all, that *rebels* must swing, as the lightest penalty for that crime.

If the lesson taught the American people by the last presidential vote shows any thing, it is that the political trinity of despotism was thoroughly organized during the last canvass. That is to say, that the conspiracy against republicanism and the republic, which had long been in embryo culminated in the last canvass. The old slave power, the papal power, and the rebel democracy including northern copperheads are an organized unit for political purposes, and if any one is so childish or simple hearted as to suppose that a combination so thoroughly corrupt and completely organized, will give up beat after the inauguration of Hayes and Wheeler on the 4th of March next, that one and all like him will find themselves woefully mistaken. Nor need we wait the developements of either the ides of February or March. An honest analysis of the November vote shows

an enormous increase, unparalled by any precedent, which republicans *believe* to be fraudulent, and democrats *know* to be so. A further investigation reveals the astounding fact that this fraudulent increase is found in the papal slums of the large cities of the great states some one or more of which generally decides who shall be president of this great republic. In the last canvass New York was thought to be the determining state. From 1868 to 1872, her vote *decreased* 21,749. But from 1872 to 1876 it *increased* 175,000! Where are we to look for this unnatural, illegitimate, and astounding increase? The returns show that the democratic majority in New York city alone out-counts all the republican majorities in the whole state, with a large margin left. But the city of Brooklyn, and Kings county eclipses even New York city. According to the increase indicated by her vote, her population must have doubled in the last four years. Of course nobody believes this except *very verdant* democrats. Nor could the voters have been imported for the occasion from adjacent cities without revealing the fact of such an exodus, except under an assumed name as in Connecticut, "Eighteen hundred tramps" were said to be lodged in the station-houses in New Haven about election time, and it is fair to suppose that they belonged to the army of Tilden reserves, who operated as democratic repeaters to swell the otherwise unaccountable majorities in New York city, Brooklyn, Kings county and Connecticut.

There is no doubt that the great state of New York not only, but several other states which were carried for Tilden were carried or rather "counted in" by what Dr. Leonard Bacon, in the New York Tribune calls the "crime against the ballot-box." He defines his meaning of that term, thus: "I mean not only the crime of putting into the box a ballot which has no right to be there, or of counting falsely when the box is opened, but also the equivalent crime of attempting to defeat the will of the people by bribing or intimidating those to whom the law has given the right of voting." Again he says, "the robber who with pistol or bludgeon coerces a traveller into the surrender of his purse is really not a greater villain than the man who has any part in an attempt to control an election by violence at the ballot-box or by intimidation beforehand."

It is said that fraudulent voting is a game that both parties can play at. Very true. But the democrats are highly educated in that *art* while republicans are mere novices, and when a bargain is made by both parties not to challenge fraudulent voters, *as has been done*, the republicans find themselves outwitted, and outvoted as they ought to be. We are aware that all laws protecting the ballot would be trampled under foot by this class of criminals, but that is no reason why good laws should not be enacted. The great Lawgiver does not repeal the ten commandments because men trample them under their feet, nor should we refrain from making good laws because wicked men will do the same thing. The crimes against the ballot-box have been committed so long with impunity and success, that any laws that could be framed would be powerless unless enforced. Fraudulent voting, fraudulent counting, false swearing, bearing false witness, &c., would still go on unless the laws were executed as well as enacted. The Wade Hamptons of South Carolina can subscribe their already dishonored names to the notorious falsehood that "not one drop of blood had been shed by democrats," the chivalrous rifle-clubs of Louisiana can display their wonderful democratic bravery and courage by surrounding the cottages of defenceless mothers and children, (whose republican husbands and fathers had fled to save their lives,) lacerating the persons of the mothers and throwing their innocent babes into the river, the bull-dozers of Florida can shoot and maim and kill republican voters after the latest democratic pattern, the copperheads can swear by the authority of democratic newspapers that the overwhelming testimony of all these and many more crimes and practices, are republican lies. Hence all these things can be done outside of any laws limiting or protecting the ballot. But there are already *criminal* laws for the lawless, which are practically nullified in all the ex-slave states where the political trinity of despotism bears sway. These elements taken separately or together, are incompatible with civil liberty, and when combined create a public sentiment utterly opposed to laws in harmony with republican institutions, and until that public sentiment is toned up to obedience to the laws of the land, it matters very little what those laws are or may be, in those

God-forsaken states under the iron heel of the despotic trinity which is to-day better organized for another rebellion than the day in which one of its factors fired on Sumter. Southern policy is unmistakably in the direct line of another rebellion, as recent developements in South Carolina and elsewhere already show. The democratic bull-dozers have set up a state government of their own with the *truthful* Wade Hampton for Governor. At a recent convention in Charleston for the purpose of manufacturing a public sentiment in their favor, and superseding the regularly constituted state government with D. H. Chamberlain for governor, the very essence of rebellion crops out in all their proceedings. The Boston Daily Advertiser, Dec. 26, 1876, says:

“The upshot of all is expressed in the resolution declaring that they will yield obedience only to Wade Hampton as governor, and pledging whatever assistance, moral, financial and material, may be required for the establishment of the government of which he is the head. The purpose, plainly avowed in the speeches, is to ‘starve out’ the republican administration and legislature. For the most part, the speeches were studiously decorous; but the passion burning underneath the careful words occasionally flashed out, as when the president denounced governor Chamberlain as a most infamous usurper, wrongly sustained by the federal administration, and when Mr. Tupper referred to the existing government, as ‘a government that rests upon fraud and infamy, that is administered by the stranger and adventurer, and is only upheld by the *bayonets of a tyrant.*’ The same speaker again referred to the national administration as the ‘central despotism at Washington.’

The representation of all the speakers was that Hampton had been elected by the people, and that Chamberlain was attempting to “cheat the people of their choice.” This is their way of putting it. But there is another side, and one much more consonant with the known facts. It avers that the democrats of South Carolina attempted to cheat and defraud the people at the polls, by, in the first place, creating a reign of terror, to deter the colored men from voting, of which Hamburg and Ellenton are the significant indications; and, in the second place, stuffing the ballot-boxes, of which the fact that the counties returning the heaviest dem-

ocratic majorities appear to have polled more votes by thousands than there are voters in them, according to the census, is the significant indication. The correction of results obtained by such illegal oppression and outrage is what the Charleston speakers denounce as "cheating them of their hard-earned victory." They appear to hate the operations of a canvassing board, authorized to investigate the circumstances of the election, much as malefactors hate the machinery of the courts. They have not a word of righteous condemnation for the fraud and crimes by which a majority was obtained, but upon any inquiry into them they wreak the vocabulary of indignation.

But all this talk about Wade Hampton having been fairly elected governor by the free choice of the people of the state is an after-thought. It was known and confessed before the nomination that his election by fair and peaceable means would be impossible. The Charleston News and Courier said, when the nomination of Hampton was broached, that "it would be useless; he could not be elected except by a campaign of violence, and for that the people were not prepared." Nevertheless, the faction that were ready for violence insisted on Hampton. They got a Mississippi democrat to come to Columbia to their state convention. He was admitted to the secret session of the convention and there unfolded the Mississippi plan, a plan of violence and intimidation, and Hampton was nominated to be elected that way, and with no hope of electing him in any other way. Why should we not question the fairness of the South Carolina democracy, when they show such alacrity to profit by the crimes of lawless men, and have no word of rebuke or reproof for the crimes, or for those who commit them? From 1865 until the present time the southern democracy have acted on a consistent plan to obtain control of the southern states. The reckless young men, who acknowledge no social or civil restraints, men whose lives are given up to violence and crime, and who thrive upon disorder, have their own secret, armed organizations, for which the respectable and conservative south takes no open responsibility. But when the elections come, and these armed and lawless bodies have done their work, as they did it at New Orleans, Conshatta and Memphis, and later at Ellenton and

Hamburg, the democracy of the south, and, indeed of the whole country, throws its mantle over the crime and takes to itself all the advantages gained by it.

When, therefore, the southern democrats turn their faces northward and complain that they are misinformed, we are prepared to tell them it is because they are understood, perhaps better than they understand themselves, that the northern people do not trust their professions. They appear to think that chivalry is compatible with murdering men for a difference of opinion. They appear to think the massacre of unarmed captives is a deed to be condoned. They appear to think that carrying an election by frightening all who are opposed to them away from the polls is an act to be justified. They appear to think the golden rule is not applicable to the relations between white democrats and negro republicans. They appear to think it is the part of good citizens to obstruct the enforcement of the law when its enforcement would bring white democrats into disgrace. We are judging them by acts which are of record, as their partisan allies and apologists at the North well know. It is the lasting shame and reproach of the democracy, north and south, that it has always been ready to defend every outrage against the supremacy of the law and the sacredness of the ballot up to the edge of rebellion. Is there to be another vain attempt to repeat the experience of the past?"

The last question of the Advertiser's article is being answered in the affirmative almost daily, by the northern copperhead allies. Among the third class men elected to Congress by fraudulent voting and ballot-box stuffing is the Hon. (?) H. B. Banning of Ohio. At a meeting recently held in Cincinnati to manufacture more public sentiment in favor of the bull-doing democracy, certain resolutions were passed and sent to Congress to constitute the warp or woof of their proceedings for that day at least. The discussion which arose on this doubtful proceeding brought out the "Bounding Banning," (as his constituents in Cincinnati call him) the result of which was the following forensic effort.

"During the debate Mr. Banning of Ohio said the republican party was attempting to defeat the will of the people by fraud; but if there was one thing the people loved more than another, more than life, it was the liberty that was

vouchsafed to them in an honest ballot-box. (Applause on the democratic side and in the galleries.) He wished to tell the gentleman from Ohio, (Garfield) that the people would have an honest ballot-box. Though an army might come with eighty rounds of ammunition, though the navy might be called upon, though the 80,000 office-holders might be called to the rescue, an honest people would put them all down. (Applause.) He hoped the members on the other side of the house would throw aside their partisanship and stand by the right."

This specimen of western democracy is thus noticed in the Boston Daily Advertiser of Dec. 29, 1876.

THE BOUNDING BANNING.

"The Hon. Henry B. Banning, M. C. of Cincinnati, is known among his friends as the Bounding Banning. The epithet is well bestowed. It suggests the character of Mr. Banning's eloquence, a most apt illustration of which was given in the House on Wednesday. He reached the pith of his argument with a skip and a bound; more especially with a skip. When he uttered a prolonged shriek for an honest ballot-box, he had passed over a vast amount of intervening ground from his starting-point. What is an honest ballot-box? Mr. Banning's idea seems to be, that it is of no consequence whether or not the election is a free one. Honesty is secured if the votes actually in the ballot-box are truly enumerated,—a fraudulent vote counting as much as a good one, and no allowance to be made for legal votes illegally excluded from the box. There is to be a remedy for faulty arithmetic, but none at all for repeating, corruption, colonization, intimidation or bull-doing. Oddly enough, Mr. Banning has a personal interest in the prevalence of this wise and fair view. He owes the certificate he will carry with him to the next House to what he understands by an honest ballot-box,—that is to say, a ballot-box stuffed with fraudulent votes, which have been scrupulously and conscientiously counted.

This is what "the honest people" are to have, regardless of consequences. President, army, navy and 80,000 office holders (there were over 100,000, we were told during the campaign) will vainly contend against the people enlisted

in this holy war. Republicans are besought to lay aside their partisanship (as the democrats have done) and stand up for the right. Most cheerfully. Republicans desire an honest ballot-box. They do not, however, quite agree with the Bounding Banning as to what constitutes an honest ballot-box. They suppose it to be an honest count of honest votes at a free election. Perhaps they would fight for that, if they knew how and whom to fight. But if they are expected to fight for a scrupulous count of ballots in a bulldozed ballot-box, there is room for much disappointment."

The political tactics of the triple alliance of despotism are thus stated in the same issue of the Advertiser:

"From the day of the election to this hour, it has been the democratic policy to claim everything. The word went forth at the outset, and has been scrupulously acted upon, that nothing which appeared against them was to be admitted, and nothing in their favor was to be questioned. If anything can be proved by evidence, if there is any value whatever in human testimony, it has been proved that certain districts in Louisiana were taken possession of by bodies of armed men unknown to the laws, and that the election in those districts was held at their mercy. It is equally well established that in certain districts in South Carolina and Florida the same flagrant crime against a free ballot was perpetrated.

But the party in whose interest it was perpetrated denies everything. Its representatives in Congress, its newspapers north and south, do not say the facts are over-stated, but that they do not exist. They admit nothing. The facts are of record. The witnesses are a legion. The sun, blazing at noonday in mid-heaven, is not clearer than their testimony, nor more convincing. But it is denied with as much assurance as if it were really manufactured for the emergency. It is this circumstance which makes it difficult to believe in the good faith of the democratic party or its leaders. For there can be no common basis for negotiation which does not recognize the existence of the crimes by which the validity of the votes actually cast in the states contested was made a proper subject for examination.

Many of our best men, even among the leaders of public opinion, seem to have been misled by their disgust at the

abuses of carpet-bag and negro rule, so far as to forget the great and real issue, which is that *the election of a free government must be guarded against fraud and violence*. Abuses there have been — not to be forgotten or palliated. Whatever responsibility belongs to the republican party for the misconduct of men who have outraged its confidence in them, it must bear. But we are now dealing with the facts of this election, and the evidence of violence used to defeat the free expression of the popular will, must be taken account of by those who have the responsibility of acting upon the issue involved, and more especially by those who are attempting to shape and control the moral sentiment of the country in regard to them.”

In the popular vote the conspirators against the republican party claim 249,786 over Hayes. But these gains for the bull-doing democracy are fraudulent and illegal. In the overwhelming evidence before the congressional committees of investigation, we learn how they were obtained, first by decreasing or entirely blotting out the large republican majorities in the southern states, by bull-doing and murdering republican voters, by rifle-club intimidation, by forcing republican voters to vote the democratic ticket to save their lives, and by ballot-box stuffing and false counting. In some counties the republican majorities were not only blotted out by the above process, but the ballot-boxes were stuffed until they counted up more votes for the bull-doing democracy than all the voters in the precincts twice over. This was why the democracy insisted so strenuously upon having all the votes, legal and illegal, returned by the canvassing boards, and when such counties as Edgefield in s. c. which had more *democratic* votes than *double the voters in the county*, was thrown out by the canvassing board, it raised a demoniac howl among the conspirators from Maine to Georgia. In Florida hundreds of democratic repeaters were sent along the lines of railroads to vote at every station, and each man cast as many votes for Tilden electors as there were stations on the railroad! What a burlesque on the sanctity of the ballot!

The triple conspiracy against the sacredness of the ballot-box is a combination to be studied in order to be fully understood. Orthodox copperheads and papal slums, renegade

republicans and democratic bull-dozers, rifle club intimidators and northern applauders, women scourgers and baby-drowners, are among the democratic "reformers" which constitute the political bed-fellows of the *improved democracy, re-organized*. Under the patriarchal institution of slavery the southern chivalry were accustomed to sell babies by the pound, but now the *reform* consists in throwing those of republican families into the nearest river, maiming their mothers and killing their fathers, and then reporting all things quiet in the South.

The means used to carry the last election by the enemies of republicanism, is enough to make the bones of our Pilgrim and Puritan ancestors rattle in their graves. Not the least among the means used to capture the government and take possession of its archives and money-chest, was the intimidation plan of the southern conspirators and rifle clubs, enlarged and intensified by their northern copperhead allies. After a series of state conventions to manufacture public sentiment in that direction by proclaiming in advance, "Tilden elected by the people," the comedies in the states were to be succeeded by a grand tragedy in Washington, to wit, a national democratic convention of 100,000 to surround the capitol and intimidate the senate. Many of these conventions were held simultaneously on the 8th of January, succeeded by others, and the national committee duly instructed to call said convention at Washington for purposes aforesaid. But they were not ready. There were too many troops in and around Washington, and the bull-dozing democracy couldn't count on an old public functionary of the Buchanan stamp at the white house. President Grant was made of sterner stuff. Accordingly the democratic House of Representatives proposed to remedy the difficulty by reducing the number of troops, so as to diminish the power of the President to preserve the peace, and allow the political trinity a fair chance for a *coup d'état* in case Tilden should not be counted in. The infamous proposition failed by two majority, which of course were from the democratic side of the House, and showed that the dog though "a *leetle* ahead of the wolf" was in a dangerous position.

Some of the democrats in Washington began to see, in their lucid moments, that this nice little scheme of intimi-

dating the Senate, by calling their country cousins to witness the counts with a 100,000 shot-gun argument — would be regarded as the first gun on Sumter No. 2, and that their boasted plurality of Tilden voters, whether each had repeated his ballot once or ten times, would count but *one soldier*. He could carry but one musket even if he had cast a dozen ballots for electors, and the Tilden plurality would shrink into a hopeless minority on the battle-field. In this dilemma of the democratic party, the proposition to compound a committee of settlement of five members from the republican Senate, five members from the democratic House and five members from the United States Supreme Court, was a perfect godsend, and relieved the democratic national Executive Committee of the responsibility of calling the intimidating convention according to the instructions of the Ohio convention. On the question of appointing the said committee of fifteen to whom the counting of the contested votes of the electoral college should be referred, the dividing line ran straight through the hearts of both parties. After thorough discussion on both sides the measure was passed in the Senate by a vote of 47 to 17, and in the House by a vote of 191 to 86, of which 158 democrats and 33 republicans voted for it, and 68 republicans and 18 democrats voted in the negative, seven of each party being absent. If the country were relieved the democracy were more so, for now the latter could await the action of the electoral vote commission and perhaps be relieved from a *coup de grace*, to make Tilden president, which notwithstanding the nicknames given it, would have been treated as rebellion, not as it was in 1861 but as it *ought* to have been in 1865 by hanging the rebels, instead of pardoning them after the war, restoring them to citizenship, and electing them members of Congress. The majority of the present national legislature is a disgrace to civilization. Northern copperheads have fairly distanced southern bull-dozers in the race for notoriety.

When the electoral commission was agreed to on the part of the *bull-dozing* democracy, it was with the secret understanding on their part, (as afterwards appeared) that the decision would be rendered in Tilden's favor. One of the cardinal doctrines of that party, viz., that one lie well stuck to, is worth two truths feebly sustained, had been so thor-

oughly practiced since the election, and so eminently successful, that a continuance of the policy was thought sure to succeed with the commission. Hence the disappointment and chagrin of the party at the decision in favor of Hayes. Not one particle of party bias was yielded by any member of the commission, but the whole thing turned on the political preferences of the fifteenth man, with the casting vote.

It is a general if not an universal rule, that antagonistic elements employed to perform specific work, do not prove successful. Fifty years observation and experience in associations, mercantile firms and corporations have never revealed to us an exception to this rule. The same rule holds good in ecclesiastical organizations and why not in political. Possibly our worthy President's mixed cabinet may prove an exception to the above rule, but more probably it may need a reorganization before many months, in order to work in harmony with the Executive. In such cases somebody must be converted or resign and give place to others in sympathy with the majority.

The last encyclical letter of the pope reveals the wonderful impatience at the vatican, of the slow progress of the papal cardinals and bishops in America in getting the control of our politics. Having been deceived by the democratic papers in regard to the election of their candidate, and not realizing that presidents in this country are *not* elected by proclamation, the *infallible* (?) pope issued the said letter of instructions to his cardinals in America foreshadowing the next work to be done, to wit, the destruction of our common school system. The cardinals knowing that their candidate was *not elected* by the people, and that their only chance of having him *counted in* by the electoral commission would be utterly destroyed by the publication of the encyclical letter, wisely withheld it until the final decision of the commission.

But whether this is a new production of the vatican or refers back to one from the "Supreme Congregation of the Universal Inquisition of Rome," approved and endorsed by the pope, in November, 1875, does not matter. The instructions touching the common school system of the United States are the same, and were published in the St. Louis Globe Democrat, furnished by the Sunday Messenger, a catholic organ in that city. See Boston Daily Advertiser, April 20, 1877.

This premature action of the pope is another proof of his *infallibility*, to be added to his acknowledgement of the independence of the southern confederacy, which is still fresh in our memories. Who can doubt hereafter the infallibility of his holiness. The electoral commission was no sooner fairly at work, than the discovery was made that a majority of them were not controlled by the political trinity of despotism, notwithstanding one of the bell-weather corruptionists of the age, the Tweed and Tilden counsel was employed to instruct the commission, for the bull-doing democracy of the house, and especially the members from the Supreme Court bench in their duties. The first two decisions of the commission not to go back of the governor's certificate, and declaring the Hayes electors duly elected and certified in the Florida case, revealed to the conspirators that the plantation discipline of the House was base coin in the eyes of a majority of the commission. Hence the efforts of the former to block the wheels of the latter, and trample under foot their own solemn pledges to abide the decisions of the commission. Thus by refusing to accept it and by voting to adjourn, they gained time to go to New York for fresh instructions from Tilden and the papal nuncio, who gave him not only New York city but the state. What a humiliating spectacle for a great country like this to contemplate, that business of all kinds, legislative, commercial, and financial must stand still at the command of an infamous trio of conspirators, until they can devise other means to cheat the legal voters of the nation out of a president of their own choice! If D. D. Field were a "Joshua, the son of Nun, Moses' minister," instead of Tilden's lawyer, he would probably for another \$100,000 command the "sun to stand still" on capital hill, and "the moon in the valley of" the Potomac until the bull-doing democracy "had avenged themselves upon their enemies." But perhaps we may be spared this brilliant achievement, as Moses' minister and Tilden's counsel are very different men. The former had a good standing before the court of Heaven, while the latter has no standing, even before the Electoral Commission. Backed by shot-gun arguments in prospect, encouraged by the notorious falsehood signed by Wade Hampton and others and sent to the President, to wit, "that not one drop of

republican blood had been shed by democrats," while standing ankle deep in pools of republican blood from democratic rifle clubs, shouting fraud and offering to prove it by the *redoubtable* Maddox & Co., charging corruption, to be proved by a Frenchman, said to have heard the million dollars sale of the state by Gov. Wells, and who could understand English well enough to hear the bargain but not well enough to testify before the commission, except in French to be *translated by Tilden's lawyer!* The conspirators felt sure of success.

State rights, the very citadel of democracy, (to wit, that the choice of electors is exclusively within the jurisdiction and control of the states) was left an open question for the commission themselves to decide. But the democracy chose to ignore their own doctrine of state rights so as to count in Tilden, while the republicans held them to it, and the commission decided that neither it nor Congress had the power to go behind the certificates of state officers and constitute either a returning board independent of the state authorities. The states have their rights and Congress has its rights, but this is not one of them. One of the state rights not delegated to Congress is the choice of electors by the people, and the certification thereof by its governor or secretary, and for Congress to go behind that, is to substitute centralized power for state rights. Three out of five justices of the Supreme Court on the commission declare on their oaths that Congress is inhibited by both law and constitution from reversing state action in the choice of electors.

If there had been time to go back of the returns and sift thoroughly the bull-dozing, the ballot-box-stuffing, the rifle-club shooting, the false counting and all other crimes against the ballot-box by whomsoever committed, the republican column would have gained several states that are now credited to the bull-dozing democracy. There is not the slightest doubt that several *republican* states have been *counted in* for Tilden, but as Hayes had enough left to elect him, it would not pay to contest them. It would be strange indeed if there had been no fraud committed by republicans, and we would not in the least excuse or palliate it, but the wholesale crimes against the ballot-box, which we have enumerated and which have been proven against the demo-

crats, throw the comparatively insignificant frauds of the republicans into the shade.

We must now draw to a close one of the most important chapters in American history. The great politico-religious conspiracy of the age came within a single vote in the electoral college of electing their man president of these United States. The papal campaign began *fifty years* ago and more, as has already been announced in the preface, and it is not impossible that another *four years* may see the political trinity victorious. A few democratic politicians may take the back seats, but the papal element, the all pervading animus of the party, will never abandon the race until the prize is secured. The last campaign revealed the *modus operandi* by which repeating, ballot-box-stuffing, bulldozing and the like, will be sure of victory if satan can keep the pulpit and the press in blissful silence, or make them ignore the real interpretation of the acts and language of the conspirators.

Webster and Worcester are not reliable authorities by which to define the terms or interpret the language of the democratic literature current in the last campaign. It requires the pocket dictionary of the bull dozing democracy, revised and corrected by their northern copperhead allies, to do that. Their *acts* show what they *mean*. Their *language* needs to be interpreted accordingly. That this whole conspiracy was not laid open to the world five years ago, or in season to break its force, is not our fault, but that of journalism. We offered to uncover the grand scheme for a *coup d'état*, but it was declined on the ground that it was premature, the country not ready, &c. What folly! See the cloud rising, hear the thunders roar, witness the lightning flashes and neglect to close the doors and windows of your dwellings until the storm is upon you.

Take another case of journalistic wisdom. The papers now inform us as an item of news that the Erie railroad property is to be sold under foreclosure, that its liabilities are, capital stock, \$86,536,000; funded and floating debt, \$55,400,000, making a total of \$141,936,000,—that the value of the road as shown by the papers with reference to foreclosure is about \$45,000,000, leaving a deficit of \$96,936,000! Thus the whole capital stock is a total loss to

its victims, and also ten millions four hundred thousand dollars of its bonded and floating debt. Well what of it? This verily. Some years ago we offered to show that fifty millions of Erie stock had been issued to the ring and not one dollar paid into the treasury from the ring members to whom the stock was issued, that the stock was returned to the treasury and bonds issued in lieu thereof, that these bonds were sold in this country and Europe and invested in opera houses, marble palaces and other real estate, in the names of Tom, Dick and Harry, and consequently the bonds were an additional debt saddled upon the road, without consideration. But no, this expose would be dangerous for an individual or a newspaper against a powerful corporation, consequently journalistic wisdom requires that the ring rascals must be left to swindle the bondholders, the stockholders and the public, until the thieves were either dead or free from immunity. Though the half is not told, we have instanced these two cases to show the unwisdom and folly of waiting until the horse is stolen before locking the barn door. In one case a country came within one vote of losing its liberties, and in the other a community lost nearly one hundred millions of dollars, most of which fell upon poor people not able to bear it, and both because timely warnings were unheeded, by the press.

With a few parting words we close this pamphlet. After half a century of experience and observation, one half of which has been devoted to writing and publishing newspapers, tracts and pamphlets for reforms in politics and religion, (including "The Emancipator" at Boston and the "Principia" at New York), we grapple with the thankless task of giving the results at the mature age of three score and ten years. In laying down our pen for a season and perhaps forever, we call upon the protestant churches to trample Satan under foot and assume an aggressive movement against his kingdom. We call upon the press of the country, both religious and secular, to grapple, while they may, with the most cunning, artful and gigantic conspiracy against our liberties, known in the history of this republic. We call upon both pulpit and pews, press and patrons to unite, in one grand effort to protect the sacredness of the ballot by legal enactments, both state and national, in the

way indicated, or a better one. We call upon all Christians to practice their christianity and carry it to the polls, upon all patriots to put their patriotism above party, upon all republicans to magnify republicanism, upon all democrats worthy of the name, to repudiate and publicly condemn, bull-dozing, ballot-box stuffing, rifle club intimidation, republican shooting, and all other crimes against law and liberty; so that the political trinity of despotism may be destroyed, that this infernal conspiracy against republicanism may be broken up, that Romanism in this republic may be taught obedience to the civil power, (a lesson the Roman hierarchy has never learned), and be made to realize that republican America is not to be brought under the iron heel of despotic Rome, by the dictation of papal priests, at the head of military companies organized contrary to law, and finally we call upon our national and state legislatures to protect the ballot by legal enactments that will make void an election carried by intimidation, curse, threats of excommunication, or other undue influence by the Roman catholic clergy. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the Dominion of Canada is a noble example worthy of our imitation. A Roman catholic was elected to the House of Commons by the direct interference of the papal priests, in consequence of which the Supreme Court pronounced the election void. In the United States the political schemes of the Roman hierarchy are not pushed so boldly as in Canada, because here they sail under the colors of the democratic party. Indeed they are part and parcel of it, and the priests have no need to take the stump openly, as in Canada, but have only to say the word, as in New York city, and the thing is done. When they are prepared to back up ballots with bullets, we may be sure the mask will be no longer needed. The Canada case is thus stated by the Boston Daily Advertiser of March 3, 1877:

"A BLOW AT PRIESTLY INFLUENCE.—The supreme court of Canada has rendered a righteous decision and performed a courageous act in giving judgment on what is known as the Charlevoix election case. It is probably well known that in Canada, as in Great Britain, the determination of election contests has been made the duty of courts of law, a custom which we cannot too speedily adopt. At

the election in Charlevoix the two candidates were Messrs. Tremblay and Langevin. It appeared in evidence that, before Mr. Langevin would consent to make a canvass for a seat in the House of Commons, he required the clergy of the Roman catholic church to adopt him as their candidate and pledge to him their support. They held a conference, and asked him to stand, and then Mr. Langevin accepted the candidacy. He went all through the county announcing himself as the clerical candidate, and telling the voters that it was their duty to obey the priests. The priests, on their part, threatened those men who would not vote for Mr. Langevin with excommunication, and also exerted all their influence by personal appeals to secure his return. He received a large majority, and Mr. Tremblay petitioned against his return. The supreme court of Canada has granted the petition, and declared the election void.

The defence could not and did not deny that the priests acted in the manner charged, but it was contended that the communications of a priest with his flock were privileged and could not be inquired into by a secular court. The judgment of the court goes to meet this point exactly. It is held to be in the power of the court to inquire into the means used by the clergy just as much as into the acts of laymen. Judge Ritchie well laid down the true theory of the rights of the clergy in these words: 'All clergymen, of whatever denomination, have all the freedom and liberty that can possibly belong to laymen, but no other or greater. The clergyman has no right, in the pulpit or out of it, to threaten damage, temporal or spiritual, to restrain the liberty of the voter.' That is to say, the priest may use the same means to influence voters that are allowed to laymen, but no others; and if he exceeds the liberty permitted to laymen he is amenable to the same laws, and candidates are subject to the same disqualifications in consequence of his acts as if the intimidation had been practised by a layman.

The importance of this decision can only be understood by those who are aware of the magnitude of the evil that has been condemned by it. In the province of Quebec a very large majority of the people are catholics and completely under the influence of the priests. The practice of religious intimidation has been almost universal there, and

the superior court of the province has held, in a case that came before it, that the state could not interfere against the acts of a priest. It held that the clergy possessed the privilege of exercising spiritual influence which could not be passed upon, either as to the manner or the effect of it, by a secular court. This was, it will be seen, what was claimed by the defence in the Charlevoix case, but it is now denied by the highest court of the Dominion. When it is remembered that the supreme court of Canada is made up of both catholics and protestants, and that one of the judges who concurred in this judgment is a brother of the archbishop of Quebec, the courage which was required to give this decision against the prevailing authority in one of the chief provinces may be better appreciated."

Why may we not have similar laws, as faithfully administered in the United States? Are we already too much under the influence of Rome to attempt it? Is republican protestantism to stand quivering on the defensive, until bound to the car of Antichrist? Is this the legacy bequeathed by our fathers to be transmitted to our children? God forbid.

That the conspirators against our liberties did not succeed at the last election, we thank God and take courage — that they may not succeed in the next, let all christians fervently pray and earnestly work.

CHAPTER VI.

While the foregoing chapters were passing through the hands of the printers and electrotypers, events transpired in such rapid succession that it seemed necessary to add another short chapter, embracing the bargain and sale of the republican party in the Southern States. But I mistake. It is not a *sale*, for that transaction implies some consideration after the delivery of the goods. In this case there is none. It is a base and cowardly surrender of the republican party, bound hand and foot to the papal politico-inquisition, under the name of rifle clubs and bulldozers, commanded in South Carolina by Wade Hampton, and in Louisiana by F. T. Nichols. The republican party in each state being a majority and having a duly elected and legally organized government, is thus forced to give place to an organized mob, and leave

THE POLITICAL TRINITY VICTORIOUS.

In the case of South Carolina more than 30,000 majority have failed to "hold the fort" under the peace policy of our new President. His *volunteer* advisers have fairly been outwitted, and his *constitutional* advisers have made a fatal mistake in taking the word or the bond of a man who signed and sent to our former President the notorious falsehood, that "not one drop of republican blood had been shed by democrats." The withdrawal of the United States troops from South Carolina is simply clearing the track for the white rifle clubs to take by force, if need be, the political power which the *legal* voters of the state did not place in their hands. The bulldozers will then crack the whip of despotism over the conquered republican majorities to their hearts' content. The too *free ballot* and the *free bullet* constitute the weapons with which the political trio are marching on to victory. These are the rocks on which the republican ship of state is to be (if not already) wrecked. The protection to the ballot we have suggested may not be the best. If there is a better way and more effective qualification let it be adopted. But something must be

done to prevent ballot-box stuffing and repeating. This machine for electing governors and presidents, of which the political trinity of despotism holds the patent, must be smashed before it destroys our liberties. To disarm the colored republicans who fought for our liberties during the war of the rebellion, and clear the way for their old masters, who are fully organized, armed, and equipped, will not do it. The protection the Hamptons and the Nicholoses promise the defenseless negroes is the protection vultures give to lambs. The shot-gun argument kills two birds with one stone — every rifle-bullet shot into the heart of a black republican disposes also of a heretic as well.

Gov. Chamberlain's last letter to the President on his peace policy, is published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, of April 3d, 1877, from its Washington correspondent, as follows: —

WASHINGTON, April 2. — Governor Chamberlain's last letter to the President submits his views of the results to be expected to follow the withdrawal of the United States forces now stationed in the State house at Columbia. After detailing at some length the condition of affairs in South Carolina, he states his objection to such action. The first is, that "the withdrawal of these forces from the State house would be a withdrawal of the support and aid against domestic violence by the government of the United States to which the State and State government which I represent is entitled under the constitution and laws of the United States. The claim here made does not, in my judgment, involve an assertion of a claim to the permanent presence and aid of the United States in upholding a state government.

The next objection is, that such withdrawal at the present time, pending the decision of the question of the validity of one or the other of the governments, will be a practical decision in favor of my opponent. By this I mean that my opponent is at this moment fully prepared, in point of physical strength, to overthrow the government which I represent. Why is this? The cause is honorable to the political party which I represent. They are law-abiding; they are patient under the infliction of wrong; they are slow to resort to violence, even in defence of their rights; they

have trusted that a decent regard for law, a decent respect for the rights conferred by the government of the United States, has now overtaken them; they know now that they can expect from their political enemies neither justice nor mercy; they have relied with unshaken faith upon the protection of the United States. If, therefore, the United States forces now stationed at the state house shall be withdrawn, they will regard that act, under the circumstances now existing, as leaving them exposed to the power and vengeance of armed, illegal military organizations, which cover the state and constitute the political machinery of the democratic party; they will regard that act—I speak now only of the fact—as a declaration by the United States that no further protection can be hoped for except such as they hold in their own hand. They cannot alone maintain the unequal contest. I certainly cannot advise further resistance. That which would be an imperative duty under other circumstances would become madness now. My opponent demands the withdrawal of the United States forces from the state house. The demand is plainly made for political advantage in the present struggle. What is this advantage? It has been suggested that it is to enable my opponent to pursue his legal remedies in the premises. It is a sufficient answer to this to say that no hinderance of any kind exists to the peaceful and complete enforcement of all legal remedies. Every legal right and remedy which belongs to my opponent under any circumstances is within his unobstructed reach to day, and has been on all days. This fact points at once to the conclusion that in demanding the withdrawal of the troops from the state house my opponent does not desire thereby to secure his own right by lawful means or peaceful agencies, but to rob me and my associates and constituents of our rights by unlawful means and violent agencies.

If reference be made to the professions of those who demand the withdrawal of the troops, that they seek only to secure their rights by lawful means, I respectfully answer that I am familiar with such professions. They have been made with endless iteration during a campaign of unprecedented length, marked from the opening to the close by every degree and form of physical insolence. To one not

familiar with the condition of South Carolina the statements I have now made may seem extravagant. I refer for confirmation of all I have stated to the testimony taken by the congressional committees during the past winter, and I affirm that my present acquaintance with the facts compels me to say that this testimony falls short of the truth. The republicans of South Carolina have carried on a struggle to the present moment for the preservation of their rights. Their hope has been that they might continue to live under a free government. The withdrawal of the troops from the state house will close the struggle, — will close it in defeat to a large majority of the people of the state in the sacrifice of their rights, in the complete success of violence and fraud as agents in reaching political results. To restate the results which will follow the withdrawal of the troops from the state house, I say first it will remove the protection absolutely necessary to enable republicans to assert and enforce their claim to the government of the state; second, it will enable the democrats to remove all effective opposition to illegal military forces under the control of my opponent; third, it will place all the agencies for maintaining the present lawful government of the south in the practical possession of the democrats; fourth, it will lead to a quick consummation of a political outrage, against which I have felt and now feel it is my solemn duty to struggle and protest so long as the faintest hope of success can be seen."

The Boston Traveller of the same date has the following comments upon the above letter: —

"Nobody can read this letter without pausing to ask if indeed this be the end of free government in the south. There are many who do not have the faith which President Hayes has in the fair promises by the southern leaders. Their faithlessness will be confirmed by the declaration of Governor Chamberlain, that the withdrawal of the troops will be interpreted by the southern republicans as a total abandonment of efforts to protect their rights, and that they will relapse into a species of bondage little less hateful than that which cursed the southern states before the war. It will be confirmed also by the wild demonstrations of arrogant disloyalty consequent upon Hampton's invasion of the

capital. The tolerated insolence of the old slavemaster is a refastening of the bonds of the poorer classes. There is no use to conceal the very general feeling that the president was disappointed in the effect upon the southern question of the visit of Gov. Chamberlain and Wade Hampton to Washington. The domineering assumption of Hampton has sent a cold chill through every loyal heart in the south, and we are afraid that, as Gov. Chamberlain intimates, the action of the administration, although inspired by the best motive, will sound the death knell of real freedom in the old slave states. There will be peace, and so there was under slavery. There will be a show of justice, as there was when the large majority of slaveholders could point to their humane treatment of chattels as an argument for the divinity of the 'institution.' But as much as we regret to admit it, the prospect looks dark for that liberty and equality to establish which the Declaration of Independence was made."

Encouraged by the action of the administration in withdrawing the United States troops from South Carolina, the bulldozers of Louisiana called a mass meeting in New Orleans on the 6th of April, to intimidate the "peace at any price" commission sent down by President Hayes. They passed resolutions with not enough peace phraseology to cover up the "war to the knife" meaning which crops out in every line. If we understand the English language as used by the trinity of despotism, the resolutions mean just this:—"President Hayes you are a devilish good fellow if you will withdraw your hateful troops and let us have our own way. We will then snuff out the Packard government and march on to other victories not necessary now to enumerate. If you don't do it we will fight it out to the bitter end."

A few days will determine whether President Hayes has sent down to Louisiana a mixed commission of doughfaces and bulldozers with the liberties of forty or fifty millions of people in their keeping, to be offered up a sacrifice on the altar of despotism, or whether they will ignore the overseer process, assert their own manhood, shake off the dust from their feet, of that rebel city; leave the belligerent bulldozers to submit to a legal government legally chosen by a majority of the people, or settle the matter with the United States

troops. We might just as well have Tilden for president and done with it, as to have Hayes under the control of the bulldozing democracy. But let us hope better things though we thus speak.

[NOTE, April 23.— Our fears in regard to the commission, and not our hopes for better things, are realized.]

One thing in regard to Louisiana is as plain as the nose on a man's face. If Hayes was elected, Packard must have been elected also, for the same votes that chose Hayes electors, elected Packard governor. There is no dodging it. The Returning Board gave Packard a larger majority by several hundred than the Hayes electors. The average republican vote was 74,436, while the democratic vote was nearly 4,000 less. But it is said that "the question of the right of Mr. Hayes to the office of President is not before the court at present." Yet it has been before the electoral commission and decided in his favor, and now it is proposed by the bulldozing warriors to ignore the decision of the commission, and the majority of the legal voters of the state, shoulder arms, draw the sword, assume the attitude of defiance to the government, and as soon as the United States troops are withdrawn, substitute the illegal Nichols government, for the legal Packard government, and thus by threats, strategy, intrigue, and false promises demolish the republican edifice by the consent of dough-faced traitors, called republicans. But it is also said that "Mr. Hayes has the possession, which is nine points in the law." Well, what does that avail him, if the assembled wisdom of the republican party lay down their arms, and sacrifice their hard-earned majorities on the altar of *peace*, which is not peace but war. A writ of *quo-warranto* would soon settle the question, and with *republican* evidence too. Is the party prepared to purchase "peace" at such a price, and let loose the rifle-clubs upon the defenceless negroes? We shall see.

While awaiting the development of the President's southern policy, the Daily Evening Traveller, of April 10th, comes to hand with a refreshing leader of more than a column, of which the closing paragraph is as follows:—

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the administration, isn't it about time to halt in this career of concession? Haven't

we given away enough to men whose citizenship is a matter of clemency? Must we add to the abandonment of the southern republicans the acknowledgement that the President has no title to his office? Isn't this a good time to stop fooling, and treat this question of the southern elections courageously, honestly, and above board? The question in Louisiana to-day is not, who can collect the taxes? who can organize the courts? Who can command the militia? or, who can buy up or intimidate the most legislators? These are questions to be settled after the title to the governorship is fixed. But the question is, did Hayes and Packard carry Louisiana? or, did Tilden and Nichols carry it? It is useless trying to dodge it. The Traveller believes that Hayes and Packard carried it, and there is no honesty, no decency, in sneaking away from this conclusion by saying that one carried it while possibly the other might have been defeated. That is a lower depth of falsehood and cowardice than the republican party and the American people can tolerate. Let us set aside boys' play and reassert our manhood. Whatever the result, let us settle this question upon its merits, and stand squarely up to the defence of that settlement."

In another column of the same issue we find the following scrap showing the progress of "peace," and that Hampton is determined to have it *if he fights for it*. The bulldozers are bold and defiant because they know they have the papal power at their back, while in front they see nothing but weak and diluted republicanism to impede their onward march to victory.

"The crack of the old southern whip is still heard in various quarters. Bombastes Hampton has muffled his, but behold how adroitly he gives his friends to understand that it will be flourishing again in due time. In a speech to his friends he says: 'I requested that the troops should not be removed until I got here. When that order comes let nobody go to that state house. Just let it stand *until I want it, and I will tell you when I want it.*' That is to say, 'Boys, hold your tempers, but keep your weapons charged. If Hayes don't behave himself and Chamberlain don't get up and get soon, then steboy!' How long will the flunkeys continue to pat this Furioso upon the back and encourage him to go on in his career of inciting riot?"

Virginia also flourishes the lash vigorously. A democratic exchange says:—

“Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, member-elect from Virginia, is at present in Washington, and in conversation last Thursday presented some interesting views on the political situation. In brief, ‘he declares that the democrats in his state do not give any special thanks to Hayes for his southern policy, for he is doing,’ Mr. Tucker says, ‘just what the democratic party *has forced him to do*. He is carrying out our policy. Why,’ said he, ‘does any one suppose that the people would *rest quietly and submit* to any other course of executive action?’”

“That is a pretty able-bodied and vigorous demonstration of bullying, for a devotee of the ‘lost cause’ to make against the President of the United States. It is barely possible that the democrats are prematurely expressing their real animus, and that there may be a reaction in consequence. They are presuming rather heavily upon the President’s good nature and the loyal people’s patience. This unpatriotic madness should be checked before it breaks out. It bodes mischief.”

Every day brings more and more astounding revelations of the fruits of the “peace at any price” policy of the administration. As we write (April 11), the political trinity has gained by strategy the first instalment of what it lost by war. Our LIBERTIES are the peace offering on the altar of old South Carolina nullification, strengthened and intensified by the papal power. Tens of thousands of the republican majorities that elected Gov. Chamberlain in South Carolina, are swept away by the administration itself (which they elected), and for what? Why, at the bidding of the bulldozing democracy and unhung rebels. This makes the fifth state that has been sacrificed to despotism by ballot-box stuffing, bulldozing, shooting, maiming, and murdering republicans they could not intimidate. With the restraints of the mob withdrawn, the large republican majorities unarmed, Gov. Chamberlain practically deposed, by which the decision of the electoral commission giving Hayes a majority of the electoral college is nullified, the President may be ordered to step down and out of the White House, or do the work of the conspirators as they may order. Of

course Louisiana must share the fate of South Carolina. The troops of the latter were withdrawn on the 10th of April, and Governor Chamberlain issued the following address:—

To the Republicans of South Carolina:—

“By your choice I was made governor of this state in 1874, and at the election on the 7th of November last, I was again by your votes elected to the same office. My title to office, upon every legal and moral ground, is to-day clear and perfect. By the recent decision and action of the President of the United States, I find myself unable longer to maintain my official rights with a prospect of final success, and I hereby announce to you that I am unwilling to prolong a struggle which can only bring further suffering upon those who engage in it. Announcing this conclusion, it is my duty to say to you that the republicans of South Carolina entered upon the recent political struggle for the maintenance of their political and civil rights, constituting beyond question a large majority of the lawful voters of the state. You allied yourselves with that political party whose central and imposing principle has hitherto been the civil and political freedom of all men under the constitution and laws of our country. By heroic efforts and sacrifices which the just verdict of history will rescue from the cowardly scorn now cast upon them by political placemen and traders, you secured the electoral vote of South Carolina for Hayes and Wheeler. In accomplishing this result you became victims of every form of persecution and injury. From authentic evidence it is shown that no less than one hundred of your number were murdered because they were faithful to their principles and exercised rights solemnly guaranteed to them by the nation. You were denied employment, driven from your homes, robbed of the earnings of years of honest industry, hunted for your lives like wild beasts, and your families outraged and scattered, for no offence except your peaceful and firm determination to exercise your political rights. You trusted, as you had a right to trust, that if by such efforts you established the lawful supremacy of your political party in the nation, the government of the United States, in the discharge of its constitutional duty, would pro-

tect the lawful government of the state from overthrow at the hands of your political enemies.

From causes patent to all men, and questioned by none who regard the truth, you have been enabled to overcome the unlawful combinations and obstacles which have opposed the practical supremacy of the government which your votes have established. For many weary months you have waited for your deliverance. While the long struggle for the Presidency was in progress you were exhorted by every representative and organ of the national republican party to keep your allegiance true to that party, in order that your deliverance from the hands of your oppressors might be certain and complete. Not the faintest whisper of the possibility of disappointment in these hopes and promises ever reached you while the struggle was pending. To-day, April 10, 1877, by the order of the President whom your votes alone rescued from overwhelming defeat, the government of the United States abandons you, deliberately withdraws from you its support, with the full knowledge that the lawful government of the state will be speedily overthrown. By a new interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, at variance alike with the previous practice of the government and with the decisions of the supreme court, the executive of the United States evades the duty of ascertaining which of two rival state governments is the lawful one, and, by the withdrawal of troops now protecting the state from domestic violence, abandons the lawful state government to a struggle with an insurrectionary force too powerful to be resisted.

The grounds of the policy upon which this action is defended are startling. It is said that the north is weary of the long southern troubles. It was weary, too, of the long troubles which sprung from the stupendous crime of chattel slavery, and longed for repose. It sought to cover them from sight by wicked compromises with the wrong which disturbed the peace, but God held it to its duty until, through a conflict which rocked and agonized the nation, the great crime was put away, and freedom was ordained for all. It is said that if a majority of the people of a state are unable by physical force to maintain their rights, they must be left to political servitude. Is this a doctrine ever

before heard of in our history? If it shall prevail its consequences will not long be confined to South Carolina or Louisiana. It is said that the democratic house of representatives will refuse an appropriation for the army of the United States if the lawful government of South Carolina is maintained by military force. Submission to such coercion marks the degeneracy of the political party of the people which endures it. A government worthy the name—a political party fit to wield power—never before blanched at such a threat. But the edict has gone forth. No argument or considerations which your friends could present have sufficed to avert the disaster. No effective means of resistance to the consummation of the wrong are left. The struggle can be prolonged. My strict legal rights are of course wholly unaffected by the action of the President. No court of the state has jurisdiction to pass upon the title to my office. No lawful legislature can be convened except upon my call. If the use of these powers promised ultimate success to our cause I should not shrink from any sacrifice which might confront me. It is a cause in which, by the light of reason and conscience, a man might well lay down his life; but to my mind my present responsibility involves the consideration of the effect of my election upon those whose representative I am. I have hitherto been willing to ask you, republicans of South Carolina, to risk all dangers and endure all hardships until relief should come from the government of the United States. That relief will never come. I cannot ask you to follow me further. In my judgment I can no longer serve you by further resistance to the impending calamity.

With gratitude to God for the measure of endurance with which he has hitherto inspired me, with gratitude to you for your boundless confidence in me, with profound admiration for your matchless fidelity to the cause in which we have struggled, I now announce to you, and to the people of the state, that I shall no longer actively assert my right to the office of governor of South Carolina. The motives and purposes of the President of the United States, in the policy which compels me to pursue my present course, are unquestionably honorable and patriotic. I devoutly pray that events may vindicate the wisdom of his action, and that

peace, justice, freedom, and prosperity may hereafter be the portion of every citizen of South Carolina."

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN,
Governor of South Carolina.

After the abandonment of the republican party of South Carolina by the President, who was elected by their votes, and turning them over to the tender mercies of their former masters, Gov. Chamberlain issued the above address by the advice of the officers of his government, withdrawing from the unequal contest. Of this triumph of the bulldozers the Daily Evening Traveller of the 11th inst., commences its leader with the following just criticism:—

"GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN SACRIFICED.— Gradually the disloyal and disreputable offspring of human bondage and the slaveowners' rebellion are closing in on the helpless classes in the interest of a solid south. Gradually and surely the boast of the rebel chiefs, that they would gain by strategy what they had lost by war, is becoming a part of history. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and now South Carolina—in rapid succession they have given way to the argument of mob violence and social ostracism. And sadder than all others is the reflection that it was thought necessary for the 'conciliation' of this disreputable element, deliberately to deliver over South Carolina after it had repudiated them in its sovereign capacity, and helped to elect a republican President."

The rebels in 1871 substituted the bayonet for the ballot. In 1865 they were beaten with the weapons of their own choice,—they were not hung as they ought to have been, but they were given back the ballot for the bayonet, and put upon their good behavior. Twelve years have elapsed, and it now behooves us to pause and enquire how they have used or whether they have abused their privileges. During these twelve years our government has reduced its army to a peace footing, but it has by no means thrown away its bayonets or spiked its own guns, while its rebels were on probation. But what have the rebels done in the meantime? They have corrupted the ballot to a degree unparalleled in history. They have stuffed the boxes with half a million of votes, with no legal voters behind them. They

have sent their representative men to Congress to make laws for the nation in the interest of the conspirators. They have carried their elections by fraud, violence, and bribery. They have ignored, wiped out and destroyed large republican majorities by intimidation, bulldozing with all that new-coined word comprehends or implies, by surrounding the ballot-boxes with armed mobs to prevent republicans from voting according to their own conviction of duty, by forcing republicans to vote the democratic ticket to save their lives, by arresting and imprisoning for twelve months a republican vote distributor, including the wife for protesting his innocence with her arm around his neck, all these crimes against the ballot-box, and more were committed up to the last presidential election, and all have been or can be proven before any competent tribunal capable of protecting their witnesses from assassination and murder.

But what has this immaculate, incorruptable, "infallible" (pardon the adjectives) trinity of despotism been about *since* election. For four months it has, like the cock in the fable, split its throat crowing. It has elected Tilden president by *proclamation* hundreds if not thousands of times. What it lacked in *legality* it made up in *audacity*. Whatever was wanting could be readily supplied by some one of the three factors, sworn to and verified to fill the order. In religious matters the approval of the vatican is necessary, but in politics that of a cardinal is all-sufficient.

It has evinced a wonderful sagacity in hunting up witnesses and manufacturing testimony to make the chain perfect. After the claim of infallibility has been fully established, perhaps omiscience will come next. The scheme of the electoral commission, by which the Tilden car was to be run upon the track leading to the White House, didn't succeed because D. D. F.'s switch didn't work well. Garbled extracts of testimony may be good food for rebel congressmen, but nauseating to republicans. Hence the change from diplomacy to war — from persuasion to coercion — from professions of peace to threats of rebellion. The triune despot of bulldozing democracy at this point assumes to rule. He doesn't like the looks of those ugly United States troops, and therefore demands their withdrawal as the only terms on which he will be *peaceable*. That is to

say: "Mr. Hayes, if you will hide away your troops and give your republican government no benefit of their protection, morally or physically, we will trot out our well armed rifle-clubs, take possession of these various state governments now, and, with the help of our northern copperheads and doughface-republicans, capture the general government in due time. You may be *nominal* president, Mr. Hayes, but mind you, *you* must do as *we* say, and the "niggers" and the Yankees must subside into their old places as before the war. *WE* were born to to rule — *they* to serve."

This is a humiliating spectacle for any American to contemplate, who has a drop of Puritan blood in his veins.

In the name of God and humanity we protest against such a dishonorable selling out of the republican party. In the name of republican institutions we protest against surrendering to the rifle-clubs and the bulldozing democracy the civil powers they were unable to obtain at the ballot-box. In the name of American liberty we protest against ordering the cowardly retreat of our army in the face of an armed mob bristling with fight. In the name of eight million voters we repudiate the sale of our liberties, for *promises* of a peace which ought to be conquered. We also reject with scorn and contempt the surrender of republican principles to democratic force — the majority to the minority — virtue to vice — as the price of *peace*. We remember the shabby trick the slave-oligarchy played off on Daniel Webster twenty-seven years ago, when they wrung out of him his famous "seventh of March speech," for which they promised him the nomination for the presidency. After the Massachusetts senator aforesaid, had performed his part of the infamous contract in the interest of slavery, the oligarchs hadn't the decency to give him even a *complimentary* vote at the nominating convention, and the poor man died broken-hearted. In nearly if not quite every case of a political bargain between southern slaveholders and northern doughfaces, the north was required to perform its part *first*, and always with the same result as in the Webster case.

History is repeating itself with additions and embellishments. The old slaveholding democracy is coming to the front with its papal reserves. Having lost the presidency

and the solid south, they propose to the national government to give them two republican states as a peace-offering, so that they may not get mad and break things. "Withdraw your troops, Mr. Hayes, and your republican governments from Louisiana and South Carolina — substitute the political trinity in these two states, which will give us a solid south, and we will *promise* anything you may ask, pass any resolutions that will keep the north still, and admit that you are *our* president. Don't mind, Mr. Hayes, what the republicans say about invalidating your title to the presidency, *WE* will see to that as long as you do such splendid work for us." This proposition for a settlement of the difficulties the bulldozers themselves inaugurated, is like the handle of a jug, all on one side. The political power the conspirators claim, to which they have no title, must be put into their hands irrevocably and without consideration, for be it remembered that political *promises* are no consideration in the southern states. They are not worth the paper they are written on, nor never were.

If the republican party must be sold out at retail by states, for decency's sake let it be done in a business way, not send down a commission to give it away or take their pay in moonshine. When a merchant fills an order or sells a bill of goods to a doubtful party he sends the bill by express marked C. O. D., by which the expressman understands that he is to collect on delivery or return the goods.

But the Matthews-Foster bargain and sale was conducted on no such business principles. "Gov. Packard," says the Traveller, "was elected by the same votes that elected President Hayes, and the contract by which he is expected to be sacrificed is one of the most infamous examples of political dicker that ever blackened American history."

What a pitiable spectacle do we now behold! The colored people, who held the bullet-balance of power in the war of the slaveholders' rebellion, and the ballot-balance of power in the last presidential election, and who used both to preserve American liberty and perpetuate American institutions, are now offered up on the funeral pile of both, to appease the wrath of the most corrupt and ungodly combination of anti-republican elements that ever disgraced the human family. These colored people won a victory for

President Hayes, but a temporary and perhaps irretrievable defeat for themselves.

The national government have yielded all that the conspirators demanded or bargained for. The conspirators are appeased, and having gained their ends have nothing to fight for. The President holds his office by their sufferance, and only during their sovereign will and pleasure.

THE PRINCIPIA CLUB.

ART. I. — This association shall be called The Principia Club.

ART. II. — The officers of the club shall consist of a President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

ART. III. — On an invitation by the President, any individual of either sex may become a member of the club by the payment of not less than five dollars.

ART. IV. — The objects of the club shall be to renovate, purify, and reform the political and religious sentiment of the people of the United States of America, by the editing, publishing, and circulating of such documents as are adapted to that purpose.

ART. V. — Members of the club shall be known only to each other unless at their own option, or by an unanimous vote of the club, except so far as is absolutely necessary for the transaction of its business.

ART. VI. — The members of the club shall constitute an Advisory Board, to any three members of which the President may submit for their approval or disapproval, any and all manuscripts before publication.

ART. VII. — The President shall perform the duties usually pertaining to that office, and in addition shall act as Secretary and Treasurer until others are appointed—edit all tracts, pamphlets, books and papers of the club, and make an annual report to the club of his doings, in October of each year.

After the Principia Club had published chapters three and four of this pamphlet as campaign documents for free circulation, the inquiries about the club were met by the following statement by its President, which was published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, of September 27th, 1876, and which explains itself.

THE PRINCIPIA CLUB.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—

This club is composed of gentlemen of the first respectability in Cambridge, who probably represent more wealth, according to their numbers, than any other club in the state. It contains ministers, lawyers, doctors, capitalists, merchants, etc., but neither chickens nor college-boys, as has been alleged in New York. It is only known to the public through two tracts it has published, to wit; "The Political Trinity of Despotism," and "Despotism vs. Republicanism." The objects of the club may be further learned from the fourth article of its rules, which provides that "the objects of the Principia Club shall be to renovate, purify, and reform the political and religious sentiments of the people of the United States of America, by the editing, publishing, and circulating of such documents as are adapted to that purpose." The third article provides that "by the payment of five dollars, an individual will be entitled to membership."

As the club does not propose to make any public appeals for funds, or go beyond its own members for means to carry on its operations, the above is all the public generally are entitled to know, beyond the publications of the association. As its objects are perfectly legitimate, and within the constitutional limits of not only this state but the nation, we beg those of either factor of the trio we have noticed, who feel grieved, to remember that the same channels of communication with the public are open to them that are open to us. To ask the club to discontinue the publication of its tracts, is to acknowledge that they can neither answer the arguments nor disapprove the facts.

A MEMBER OF THE PRINCIPIA CLUB.

