



Sunday, August 13, 1876.

HAS R. JONES, BREVARD McDOWELL, Editors & Proprietors.

Free from the dotting scruples that vector our free-born reason.

INFLEXIBLE RULES. We cannot notice anonymous communications...

SPEECH.

HON. LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR.

[CONCLUDED.]

Now, sir, notice the language of Mr. Morton in the following sentences: 'Can you conceive that a body of men, white or black, who have been in this condition, and their ancestors before them, are qualified to be immediately fitted from their present state into the full exercise of power, not only to govern themselves and their neighbors, but to take part in the government of the United States...'

Then he goes on with his objections to clothing these people with the rights of citizenship and suffrage. Says he: 'The right to vote carries with it the right to hold office. You cannot say that the negro has a natural right to be in the rank of voters only for white men for office...'

After going into a long argument to prove this fact he reaches this conclusion: 'They will have colored governors and colored members of Congress and Senators and judges of the Supreme Court...'

Now, sir, why ascribe to the conduct of the people of the South the course of emigration when here is presented beforehand the result of the state of things which have occurred? Here is his conclusion: 'I submit, then, however clearly and strongly we may admit the natural right of the negro—I submit to the intelligence of the people that colored State governments are not desirable...'

These are his predictions in 1865. Now what is his remedy? Here it is: 'If I had the power I would arrange it in this way: I would give these man a portion and preparation; I would give them time to acquire little property and get a little education; time to learn something about the simplest forms of business and prepare themselves for the exercise of political power...'

Well, sir, that looks amiable and friendly toward these men. But why put them under this system of probation? For the benefit of the race? In order to elevate them? That is not the motive which upon that occasion he declared. Here is what he says: 'At the end of ten, fifteen, or twenty years—'

By that time these States will have been so completely filled up by emigration from the North and from Europe that the negroes will be in a permanent minority. 'There is his devotion to the colored people? Keep them ten, fifteen, or twenty years out of the enjoyment of their political rights, until under the influence of immigration the negroes shall be in a permanent minority...'

Mr. Garfield. At what time of the year was that speech delivered? Mr. Lamar. September 20, 1865. 'Why would they be in a permanent minority? Because the negroes have no emigration, and the natural increase; while—'

He actually identifies himself with the whites of the South. 'A member. He was a white-liner then. Mr. Lamar. He goes here further than the white-liners—'

While we have emigration from all the world and natural increase besides. He would put them under probation and keep them out of their rights, as he calls them, ten or fifteen or twenty years; by which time they will be in a permanent minority, and there will be no danger of war of races, because they cannot elect their own people. 'Thus by postponing the thing...'

Said he— 'only so times as the negroes are qualified to enjoy political rights, the danger of a civil war is removed; they will have passed away. Their influence would no longer be dangerous in the manner I have indicated, and a conflict of races would not be more likely to happen than it now is in Massachusetts...'

I ask, sir, to append the continuation without jury or the right of judicial appeal; the act dividing the South without reference to State lines into military districts, and vesting the power of appointing all civil officers in a commanding general; the acts for restoring civil governments, were all based upon this one idea of protecting the enfranchised black race against the wrongs anticipated from the disfranchisement of white race; and as a matter of fact, the purpose of the Reconstruction legislation was conceived and enforced actually arrayed the two races into distinct and opposing classes, and drew the color-line as distinctly and perfectly as if such race distinction had been enjoined in the Constitution...'

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But that is not all. He testifies in this report that there was intimidation, that there was fraud, that there was murder committed for the purpose of carrying the elections; not that it was practiced by democrats on republicans, but by republicans upon democrats; but that the black men who wished to vote the democratic ticket were the subjects of intimidation. I read further: 'On the other hand, it was in evidence that blacks who sought to act with the colored men, were exposed to emphy and abuse. In the interior, one colored man was shot for making a conservative speech; and in New Orleans, it appeared from the testimony that colored men sought to co-operate with the conservatives were subject to so much abuse from the police, and otherwise, that an association of lawyers volunteered to protect them, but with little effect...'

That was not the only kind of intimidation, but that was an intimidation which of all others does more to keep down the public spirit of the people, to strike out of their minds the liberal spirit of independence in which our institutions were founded. I call special attention to it, for it is well for the country to know the all-piercing that have been, and may be again, used to bring about a foredoomed result. 'On the other hand, applications to the United States commissioners in the various parishes, not only for alleged crimes, but because of alleged threats of discharge, were made, and their officers were used for the purpose of such arrests served, as the conservatives aimed, to intimidate and sometimes even to produce a stampede among the white voters...'

I want the House to recollect, that this is the testimony and report of a committee of whom a majority were republicans. 'But that is not all; he goes on to tell that there was a perfect despotism over the people, and that the substance of the reports, which they were necessary to be made, was, that the good, plain men mount their horses and ride out of town without depositing their votes for fear of just such persecution...'

What! Does it bear heavily upon his party to report that a people charged with fraud, intimidation, and murder are not guilty? Does it bear heavily upon the republican party to prove that there is no such state of lawlessness and intimidation among a people who are invited under the protection of law to elect their representatives, which corruption can invent and tyrannical inflict? Is it a condition of republican success that the country should be told that there is murder and intimidation, and that if they are not there the truth which states the opposite bears heavily upon his party? 'What! Did it strike his party with amazement at the time, and another subcommittee, a thing which I never knew of before, went down to revise and review his action. They came back and reported some things which the gentleman did not report, some things which did not bear so heavily upon the party...'

But the gentleman from Ohio, who did not yield to that; that would not suit him. He made another counter-report, and said: 'We cannot agree to the report made to the committee by Messrs. Hoar, Frye and Wheeler. All ways inimical to the colored race, and which have been repeated for years...'

And he goes on to state that— 'In the absence of any direct evidence, the charge of violence and intimidation is assumed by the majority that enough colored voters were therefore prevented from voting to change the result of the election throughout the State is an assumption so violent as not to be required...'

But even this report of Messrs. Hoar, Frye, and Wheeler contains admissions almost as startling as the statements of Mr. Foster, and shows a state of things which would result, by a party of body conspiracies, would produce fraud and violence among the most virtuous people on earth...'

In the State of Louisiana there is a cryer in office who owes his seat to the interference of the national power, which has recognized his title to his office, not by reason of any legal ascertainment of the fact by legislative action, but by the interference upon the illegal order of a judge...'

How did it recognize it? If the government owes his place to the interference of the national authority and that authority has not ascertained it by legal process, how did the national authority ascertain it? 'Mr. Hoar did it base his action upon the illegal order of a judge...'

So much for the executive: How about the Legislature? Says Mr. Hoar 'In the same State there is a Legislature one branch of which derives its authority partly from the same order...'

What! The Legislature gets its authority from the same illegal order? Yes; yes; one branch of it does from the same illegal order. How about the other branch? Let Mr. Hoar answer: 'The other being organized by a majority who have been established in power by another interference of the national Government, and which majority derives its title, not from any legal ascertainment of the fact, but from the certificate of a returning board, which has misconceived and exceeded its legal authority...'

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Therefore, at the time that report was made every branch of that government exhibited to the American people the spectacle of an executive office put there by national authority based upon an illegal order, one branch of the Legislature owing its authority to the same illegal order and the other branch having a majority based upon another illegal order. Illegality imbedded in illegality, and upon the whole a colossal despotism crushing down the rights and interests of all people...'

Mr. Hoar. Upon that particular point? Mr. Hoar. Yes. Mr. Lamar. I think I have. Mr. Hoar. I do not think so. Mr. Lamar. I will yield to the gentleman. 'Mr. Hoar. The report which the gentleman does me the honor to quote from states that, in the opinion of those who signed it, Governor Kellogg had a majority of the illegal votes of the people of Louisiana; but that any ascertainment of the legal result by fraud was prevented by the frauds of his political opponents, who had so controlled the registration...'

Now, the committee found, first, that Governor Kellogg was the lawfully-chosen governor of the State of Louisiana by all the evidence they could get; second, that his political opponents had by fraud destroyed the returns of their legal value—that they had done wrong to that extent; third, that the judge was unjustified in his order and the executive was without justification in relying on that order as a valid election. 'I am sorry to state that the gentleman from Mississippi has the right to cite my report as evidence of gross misconduct on the part of republican officials in the State of Louisiana...'

Mr. Lamar. I think I can appeal to the recollection of all present that I said the gentleman in his report did say that there was intimidation and fraud and murder, and that the elections were carried by those operations as such as is scarcely exercised by any sovereign in the world. 'But the gentleman from Ohio in his last speech said that in this report he told some truths that bore heavily upon his own party...'

Mr. Hoar. I also said that in my judgment Governor Kellogg was lawfully elected. 'I have not time to wrestle with the gentleman on that point; but I think if he will examine the report he will find its statement to be that the result could not be ascertained, but that in his opinion Mr. Kellogg received the majority of votes...'

The American people are now brought face to face with this condition things. 'Then he goes on to show that the government owes his authority to the interference of the national power, not by the ascertainment of legal process, but by an illegal order of a judge, and that both the other departments of the government rest upon the same illegal basis...'

The gentleman's report presents the state of things in Louisiana very graphically, and with telling effect, as that people I admit. 'I do not think he rightly conceived their condition. He said that a short time, and failed to note some of the most important elements of society there...'

What does the gentleman say about the character of this government, that thus rests upon illegal intervention? 'One fact is that there has been great maladministration by republican officials; there has been such dishonesty, such corruption, in State administration, that it has become a disgrace...'

Another fact is that there has been great maladministration by republican officials; there has been such dishonesty, such corruption, in State administration, that it has become a disgrace. 'So much for the executive: How about the Legislature? Says Mr. Hoar 'In the same State there is a Legislature one branch of which derives its authority partly from the same order...'

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their opponent have been equally to blame. Again he says: 'We do not overlook the causes which tend to excite deep feelings of discontent in the white native population of Louisiana, Louisiana has been great maladministration; public funds have been wasted, public credit impaired, and taxation heavy...'

What are these admissions? 'Illegal governments based upon interference of the national authority; maladministration, dishonesty, corruption, waste of public funds—such means embezzlement and the misappropriation of public money—loss of public credit—this is the despotism under which everything that is precious and beautiful and lovely in that State is withering and dying...'

I have other testimony. 'The President of the United States in his last annual message said not a word upon the subject of the disorders of the South; for, sir, this cry of disorder, intimidation, and violence always comes up in the mouth of the Republicans...'

Sir, take the features of that statement. 'What are they? Oppressive governments, burdens of taxation, and prostrate people. What greater woe can there be than this? What more accursed fate can befall a people than such a government as Mr. Hoar describes, illegal in its every department, marked by maladministration, and reeking with dishonesty and corruption...'

And, sir, when this prostrate people writing in their agony turn over and look at these miserable establishments that fall down at their own loss if not when, as is almost inevitable, disorders occur, the national authority is called upon, the Federal Executive is invoked—for what? 'To protect the prostrate people against these illegal, dishonest, corrupt, and oppressive governments...'

Now, sir, I have read all this testimony with reluctance. My purpose has been to show that ample source exists for the troubles of the South, and attributing them to a spirit of cruel vindictiveness, or wild, restless, unlawful ambition on the part of southern whites. 'I have appealed to this evidence of earnest, leading republicans that the sudden enfranchisement of 800,000 slaves threatened the very evils which have come upon us...'

Mr. HOAR. The gentleman is perfectly at liberty to receive my admissions and reject my conclusions. 'I think, however, that he should not state the admissions without the other...'

Then he goes on to show that the government owes his authority to the interference of the national power, not by the ascertainment of legal process, but by an illegal order of a judge, and that both the other departments of the government rest upon the same illegal basis...'

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position by the events of the last ten years. 'We know that one great cause of the jealousy with which the southern people are regarded is the fact that they stand before the ambition of a party and the glittering prizes of honor and emoluments and patronage which the control of the Government for another four years will give. 'I believe, sir, if they could do so consistently with their constitutional obligations, our people would willingly stand aloof from the question of settling the question of a President for themselves, upon the condition that there shall be no further intervention in their local affairs...'

But it is asked why we are united in support of the democratic party? 'A celebrated author in his history of all free countries there is no instance of a people being unanimous in sentiment and action, unless they were made so by the imminence of some great and common peril or by the inspiration of some common sentiment...'

The people of the South are not moved by the latter. 'Even in the events of the war and the sufferings since the war had not, as they have done, crushed out all their party attachment to the democratic party, and in acting with it for the time being, they only obey, as I said before, the imperious law of self-preservation...'

operation is not the expectation of filling cabinets and directing policies, but simply to get an administration which will not be unfriendly to them, an administration which in place of the appliances of force, subjugation, and domination, will give them ample restoration to the privileges of American citizenship; which will accord to these States the equal right with other States in this Union; equality of consideration, equality of authority and jurisdiction over their own affairs, equality, sir, in exemption from the domination of their elections by the bayonet and by soldiers as the irresistible instruments of a revolting local despotism...'

By gentleness hath I made me great. [Applause.]

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