

FIAT JUSTITIA.

(Speech in the Senate of the United States, Thursday, January 23, 1890.)

Mr. INGALLS: Mr. President, pursuant to notice heretofore given, I move that the Senate do now proceed to the consideration of the bill offered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Butler], and I ask that it may be read at length for information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT: The bill will be read at length.

The Chief Clerk read the bill (S. 1121) to provide for the emigration of persons of color from the Southern States, as follows:

“Be it enacted, etc., That upon the application of any person of color to the nearest United States Commissioner, setting forth that he, she, or they desire to emigrate from any of the Southern States, and designating the point to which he, she, or they wish to go, with a view to citizenship and permanent residence in said country, and also setting forth that he, she, or they are too poor to pay the necessary traveling expenses, and that the move is intended to be permanent and is made in good faith, and shall verify said application under oath before said Commissioner, it shall be the duty of said Commissioner to transmit said application with a written statement, giving his opinion as to the merits and *bona fides* of said application, to the Quartermaster-General of the Army, and shall be allowed a fee of 50 cents for each of said applications; but in no case will fees be allowed for more than one application for each family, the members of which shall be included in one application by the head of the same. And in the case where the application is made by an adult person without a family and on his or her own behalf, then the same allowance of 50 cents shall be allowed for such application.

“Sec. 2. That it shall be the duty of the Quartermaster-General, on receipt of said application, to furnish transportation in kind for the person or persons embraced therein, by the nearest practicable route from the home of the applicant or applicants to the point of destination, and upon

the cheapest and most economical plan, whether by railroad or water transportation, and shall account for the same to the proper accounting officers of the Government, as is now provided by law.

"Sec. 3. That the sum of \$5,000,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the Quartermaster-General to carry out the provisions of this act.

"Sec. 4. That the Quartermaster-General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to prepare forms of application, verification, etc., to be used under the provisions of this act, and such rules and regulations as may be necessary to protect the Government against imposition, to be furnished to any United States Commissioners upon proper application or requisition, free of charge, and shall report the same to Congress for its information."

Mr. INGALLS: Mr. President, the race to which we belong is the most arrogant and rapacious, the most exclusive and indomitable in history. It is the conquering and the unconquerable race, through which alone man has taken possession of the physical and moral world. To our race humanity is indebted for religion, for literature, for civilization. It has a genius for conquest, for politics, for jurisprudence, and for administration. The home and the family are its contributions to society. Individualism, fraternity, liberty, and equality have been its contributions to the State. All other races have been its enemies or its victims.

This, sir, is not the time, nor is this the occasion, to consider the profoundly interesting question of the unity of races. It is sufficient to say that either by instinct or design the Caucasian race at every step of its progress from barbarism to enlightenment has refused to mingle its blood or assimilate with the two other great human families, the Mongolian and the African, and has persistently rejected adulteration. It has found the fullest and most complete realization of its fundamental ideas of government and society upon this continent,

and there can be no doubt that upon this arena its future and most magnificent triumphs are to be accomplished.

The exiles of Plymouth and of Jamestown brought hither political and social ideas which have developed with inconceivable energy and power. They ventured upon a hitherto untried experiment, a daring innovation, a paradox in government. They who rule are those who are to be governed. The rulers frame the law to which they themselves must submit. The kings are the subjects, and those who are free voluntarily surrender a portion of their freedom that their own liberties may be more secure. The ablest soothsayer could not have foretold the wonderful development of the first century of American nationality, the increase of population, the expanse of boundary, the aggrandizement of resources. The frontier has been abolished; the climate has been conquered; the desert subdued. For these conditions, which could not have been predicted, for which there were neither maxims, nor formulas, nor precedents, the genius of the Caucasian race has furnished an equivalent in the Constitution under which we live, an organic law flexible enough to permit indefinite and unlimited expansion, and at the same time rigid enough hitherto to protect the rights of the weakest and the humblest from invasion.

From its latent resources have been evoked vast and unsuspected powers that have become the charters of liberty to the victims of its misconstruction; beneath its beneficent covenants every faith has found a shelter, every creed a sanctuary, and every wrong redress. It has reconciled interests that were apparently in irrepressible conflict. It has resisted the rancor of party spirit, the vehemence of faction, the perils of foreign immigration, the collision of civil war, the jealous menace of foreign and hostile nations. It has realized up to this time

the splendid dream of the great English apostle of modern liberty, who said in the midst of the struggle for the dismemberment of the American Union:

"I have another and a broader vision before my gaze. It may be a vision, but I cherish it. I see one vast confederation reaching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people and one language, and one law and one faith, and all over that wide continent a home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime."

Upon the threshold of our second century, Mr. President, we are confronted with the most formidable and portentous problem ever submitted to a free people for solution; complex, unprecedented, involving social, moral, and political considerations, party supremacy, and in the estimation of many, though not in my own, in its ultimate consequences the existence of our system of government. Its gravity cannot be exaggerated and its discussion has been deferred too long. Its solution will demand all the resources of the statesmanship of the present and the future to prevent a crisis that may become a catastrophe. It should be approached with candor, with solemnity, with patriotic purpose, with earnest scrutiny, without subterfuge and without reserve.

Let me state it in the language of one of the most brilliant, the most impassioned and powerful of all the orators of the South, now unfortunately no more. When Grady died, a luminous and dazzling meteor disappeared from the Southern firmament. I regret that I never met him. On his journey homeward from Boston he sent me a message from his car, where he lay ill, which reached me too late to enable me to see him, and now he has departed for the undiscovered country. But though dead he yet speaketh, and I will ask the Secretary to

read an extract from that extraordinary oration which he delivered before the merchants of Boston in December last upon the race problem in the South.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"Note its appalling conditions. Two utterly dissimilar races on the same soil, with equal political and civil rights; almost equal in numbers, but terribly unequal in intelligence and responsibility; each pledged against fusion; one for a century in servitude to the other, and freed at last by a desolating war; the experiment sought by neither, but approached by both with doubt—these are the conditions. Under these, adverse at every point, we are required to carry these two races in peace and honor to the end.

"Never, sir, has such a task been given to mortal stewardship. Never before in this Republic has the white race divided on the rights of an alien race. The red man was cut down as a weed because he hindered the way of the American citizen. The yellow man was shut out of this Republic because he is an alien and inferior. The red man was the owner of the land; the yellow man highly civilized and assimilable; but they hindered both sections and are gone. But the black man, clothed with every privilege of government, affecting but one section, is pinned to the soil, and my people commanded to make good at any hazard and at any cost his full and equal heirship of American privilege and prosperity. It matters not that every other race has been routed or excluded without rhyme or reason. It matters not that wherever the whites and blacks have touched, in any era or in any clime, there has been irreconcilable violence. It matters not that no two races, however similar, have ever lived anywhere at any time on the same soil with equal rights in peace. In spite of these things, we are commanded to make good this change of American policy, which has not perhaps changed American prejudice; to make certain here what has elsewhere been impossible between whites and blacks; and to reverse under the very worst conditions the universal verdict of racial history."

Mr. INGALLS: Let me state, Mr. President, the arithmetic of this problem. In 1860 there were 4,440,000 negroes, slave and free, in the United States; in 1870, 4,480,000; in 1880, 6,580,000. The increase from 1860 to 1870 was 40,000, and from 1870 to 1880 it was 2,100,000, an increase which, I may say in passing, I believe can only be accounted for upon the theory

of a deliberate, premeditated, and intentional fraud upon the census. This would make an increase for the last decade of 35 per cent, while the entire population of the country increased, not quite 30 per cent in that interval, immigration included. In Louisiana the increase was 119,000, while the whites increase but 92,000. In Georgia the increase was 178,000 whites and 180,000 blacks. In Mississippi, about which I shall have something to say hereafter, the increase was 97,000 whites and 200,000 blacks. In South Carolina it was 102,000 whites and 189,000 blacks.

But whether this extraordinary and unprecedented increase was due to a desire for additional representation or not, it may be admitted that the numerical increase of the colored race was undoubtedly considerable, and it may be conceded, I think, that with the improvement in their physical condition and their observance of the laws of longevity the ratio will probably grow larger, so that by the close of this century there will possibly be not less than fifteen millions of the black and colored races upon this continent.

The problem is still further complicated by the fact that they are gregarious. They instinctively separate themselves into their own communities, with their own habits, their own customs, their own methods of life. They worship separately and they are taught separately. The line of cleavage between the whites and blacks is becoming constantly more distinct and perceptible. There is neither amalgamation nor absorption nor assimilation. Politically they are affiliated with the victors in the late Civil War. Socially, and by locality and residence, they are indissolubly associated with the vanquished. Will this experiment, which has failed elsewhere, succeed here? Can the black race exist as citizens of the United States upon

terms of political equality with the Caucasian race? If not, why not? What must be done with them? This is the problem.

Mr. Frederick Douglass, the most illustrious living representative of his race—greater, I think, by his Caucasian reinforcement than by his African blood—once said to me that he thought as prejudice and social and political antagonism disappeared the races would blend, coalesce, and become homogenous. I do not agree with him. There is no natural affinity between the races, and this solution of the problem is impossible, and, in my opinion, would be most deplorable. Events have shown that the relations between the sexes in the time of slavery were compulsory and have disappeared with freedom. The hybrids were the product of white fathers and black mothers, and seldom or never of black fathers and white mothers, and the inference from this result ethnologically is conclusive of that question. Such a solution, in my judgment, would perpetuate the vices of both races and the virtues of neither. There is no blood-poison so fatal as adulteration of race.

Races that cannot intermarry do not blend and become homogeneous. Englishmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians emigrate and in a generation they are Americans; their blood mingles with the great current of our national life, and of its alien origin nothing remains but a memory, a name, a tradition. Sometimes the invader becomes the conqueror, like the Tartar in China, the Normans in England; but history contains no record of two separate races peacefully existing upon terms of absolute social and political equality under the same system of government. Antagonism is inevitable. They become rivals and competitors, and in the struggle for supremacy the weaker has gone down.

The leaders of opinion in the South have evidently reached the conclusion that the present state of affairs cannot continue indefinitely, and the Senators from Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida, together with the editors of many newspapers and many orators, have invited and opened this debate. Thus far it has been conducted with unimpassioned and philosophic decorum and deliberation, which I shall endeavor to imitate. The Senator from South Carolina deprecated vituperation. It shall not come; it is not necessary. The most mordant and biting criticism that can be made about the situation in the South is—the truth.

I shall be impartial and judicial as far as I may be able; and in that vein I admit that historically the responsibility for the presence of the African race upon this continent is not confined to the States that rebelled in 1861, but belongs indiscriminately, share and share alike, to all the white people of the United States, North and South. Slavery retired from the valleys of the Merimac, the Connecticut, and the Hudson to the Potomac and southward, by the operation of social, economic, and natural laws, and not through the superior morality of those who defended the Union against the assaults of treason.

I am a native of Massachusetts. My ancestors held slaves in that State in the last century. I remember when a child with what interest I read in the school-books that poem beginning:

"Chain'd in the market-place he stood,
 A man of giant frame;
 Before the gath'ring multitude,
 That shrunk to hear his name."

I recall the teachings of Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison and the other apostles of human freedom. Wendell Phillips,

Lloyd Garrison, and Lovejoy were as right in 1850 as they were in 1860, but their appeals fell upon deaf ears in the land of the Puritans. Abolitionists were mobbed, despitefully and contumeliously treated, reviled and outlawed by the highest social classes. The conscience of New England never was thoroughly aroused to the immorality of African slavery until it ceased to be profitable, and the North did not finally determine to destroy the system until convinced that its continuance threatened not only their industrial independence, but their political supremacy.

Further, Mr. President, it may be admitted that the emancipation of the slaves was not contemplated by any considerable portion of the American people when the war for the Union began; and it was not brought to pass until the fortunes of war became desperate, and was then justified and defended upon the plea of military necessity.

Enfranchisement was logical and inevitable, but it was not, as the Senator from Florida [Mr. Pasco] said in his speech the other day, "A device to secure the perpetuation of power in the Republican party." That stale calumny, sir, is old enough to be superannuated and placed on the retired list. On the contrary, the apprehensive reluctance of the victors to confer citizenship and suffrage upon the freedmen was overcome only by incontrovertible evidence that the vanquished intended to reduce them to a condition of servitude more degraded and revolting than that from which they had been redeemed.

I will go one step further, Mr. President, and say that the Africanization of this continent, or of any considerable part of it, is not desirable. Were the colored race not here, the probabilities are strong that they would not be invited to come here. The proposition originally to introduce seven

million Africans would be discussed with great deliberation before it would be accepted; and I may supplement this statement with the additional opinion that were they not here, rather than endure what they have suffered in two centuries of slavery and twenty-five years of ostensible freedom, they would unanimously prefer to continue in association with their kindred in the Dark Continent.

But they are here, Mr. President, without their volition or our own. They are natives; they are citizens. Man for man, they are our political equals. They came here involuntarily as prisoners of war, captured in battle. They are of ancient lineage, genuine F. F. V.s, for the earliest migration was in August, 1619, antedating the historic voyage of the *Mayflower*.

As slaves, they drained the marshes, they felled the forests, they cultivated the fields, and assisted by their unrequited toil in piling up the accumulated wealth of the Nation. And, sir, while their masters were absent in camp and field, doing battle to rivet more firmly the chains by which they were bound and to make slavery the corner-stone of a new social and political structure, they remained upon the plantations and in the cities in charge of the estates and of the families of their owners, raising the supplies without which the war could not have been prolonged. General insurrections and servile uprisings would have dissolved the Confederate armies; but they did not occur. Docile, faithful, and submissive, the slaves were guilty of no violence against person or property. They lighted no midnight flame; they shed no innocent blood. It seems incredible that gratitude should not have defended and sheltered them from the hideous and indescribable wrongs and crimes of which they have been for a quarter of a century the guiltless and unresisting victims.

The same impulses, sir, that made them loyal to their masters during the war have made them faithful to their deliverers since. Their allegiance to the party of Lincoln and of Grant is persistent and unswerving. Their instincts were more infallible than reason. They have voted with their friends. They have begun to acquire homes and property. They have filled savings-banks with their earnings. They have assumed definite domestic relations. They have gathered about the school-master, and eagerly studied the alphabet, the primer and the Bible. By their sobriety, by their obedience to law, by their decorous demeanor, they have justified the temerity of those who dared to maintain that they possessed intelligence superior to the brutes and souls that were immortal.

But it can no longer be denied that suffrage and citizenship have hitherto not justified the anticipations of those by whom they were conferred. They have not been effective in the hands of the freedmen, either for attack or defense. They have been neither shield nor sword. Citizenship to them has been a name and suffrage a mockery. Force and violence have confessedly been supplemented and supplanted by fraud, which is safer and equally efficient. The suppression of the black vote is practically complete. The evidence is conclusive, it is overwhelming from every quarter, North and South, from Democrats and Republicans, from senators, editors, and orators, that the whites of the South have deliberately determined to eliminate the negro as the controlling factor from their social and political system.

I have some testimony on this point, and I shall quote none but Southern men and members of the Democratic party upon the subject. I refer once more to the significant, extraordinary oration delivered by the Georgia orator in Boston. Re-

ferring to the President's message—and he was there for the purpose of speaking to the people of New England and the country about the race problem in the South—referring to the President's message, he says:

“But we are asked, ‘When will the negro cast a free ballot?’”

Does he say that the negro does cast a free ballot? No, sir. He says:

“When the ignorant, anywhere, can cast a ballot not dominated by the will of the intelligent; when the laborer, anywhere—”

and this shows his want of conception and comprehension of the relations between the laborer and the employer—

“when the laborer, anywhere, casts his vote unhindered by his boss; when the poor everywhere are not influenced by the money and devices of the rich; when the might of the strong and the responsible will not everywhere control the suffrage of the weak and the shiftless—then, and not till then, will the ballot of the negro be free.”

I quote from a Democratic newspaper on the 16th of October, 1889, in Tennessee, in commenting upon what was called the election in Mississippi last fall. It seems that the *Memphis Avalanche* had published in an editorial the following statement:

“About the size of the situation in Mississippi is, that Chalmers could not get the office of governor, no matter how large his vote might be.”

The *St. Louis Republic* thought this was a rash remark for a Democratic newspaper in Tennessee to make, and so it gently and mildly reproached and reproved the editor for his unguarded declaration; whereupon the newspaper that had been chided comes back with another editorial in answer to the *St. Louis Republic*, and says:

“We may say in passing, however, that the white—or, in other words, the Democratic—vote of this district is much greater than the Republican

vote, and that it is notorious that Mr. Phelan received practically all of it. It is equally well established that General Chalmers could not control the negro vote of the Second Mississippi District, while his opponent, Judge Morgan, obtained the united and enthusiastic support of his party.

“But this is not to the point,”

says this candid editor on the 16th of October. I am not going into the crypts of the past, Mr. President. This is not an archaeological research. These are no torsos and relics, no cadavers exhumed for political purposes during the campaign. It is an utterance on the 16th of October, 1889, about a canvass then pending. Says the editor:

“The *Republic* will please take notice that the white people of the South do not intend to submit to be governed by negroes in any manner whatsoever. They have said so in deeds at every election for twenty years, and henceforth they mean to assert it in words. There ought to be no misunderstanding whatever. The Northern Republican press and the South-hating politicians of the North may make all the capital of it they please. God Almighty never intended, the framers of the Constitution never intended, that the descendants of African slaves should rule America or any part of it.

“We trust we have been sufficiently explicit on this occasion to satisfy our esteemed contemporary, the *Republic*, and all other inquiring friends.”

As the result of that determination on the part of the Democrats of Mississippi, General Chalmers, who was the candidate of the Republican party for governor, a native, I believe, of that State, certainly of the South, a Confederate without fear and without reproach, was compelled to abandon his campaign, and he issued a final address, from which I will read a few extracts:

“As Republicans of Mississippi, we are compelled to withdraw our State ticket. We knew that our votes would be stolen or voters driven from the polls, but we hoped in the large towns and cities at least the semblance of free speech might still remain to us; but our candidates are not safely allowed to discuss our protest. Our course has always been conservative. When the armed revolution of 1875 wrested the State from

us, Mississippi was the only Southern State unburdened with a State debt. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to each State a republican form of government. Mississippi is governed by a minority despotism, and we appeal to our country for redress. The Constitution that we adopted is the only one in the South so satisfactory that it has not been changed.

"Our laws stand substantially unchanged and unrepented, but we are Republicans, and this is our offense. That we are not actuated by cowardice in withdrawing from the contest is shown by the past. For fourteen years, ever since the infamous Mississippi plan was adopted, our path has been marked by the blood of our skin. Not only the well-known leaders who bravely died at the head of the column, but the faithful followers known only in the cabin of the lowly. We refer not only to such well-known slaughters as Kemper and Copiah, Clinton and Carrollton, at Wauhatch and Vicksburg, Yazoo City and Leflore, but to the nameless killing by creek and bayou, on highway and byway. They are the Democratic arguments which crush us. We can do no more. We dare no longer carry our battered and blood-stained Republican flag. We appeal to the Nation."

And so, Mr. President, the campaign closed, the candidates withdrew; the election was practically conceded to those who, by this tyranny and despotism, had prevented the exercise of the right of suffrage by American citizens. This I consider as one of the most tragic utterances that ever occurred in political history.

There are other illustrations of the purpose and determination of the Southern whites to prevent absolutely the exercise of political rights by colored Republicans. There was an election, or what was called an election, in this same State of Mississippi on the 6th day of the present month, seventeen days ago. There had been a previous one in the same town, with which the country is somewhat familiar. I will ask the Chief Clerk to read an extract from the Jackson (Mississippi) *Clarion*, printed on the second day of January, 1890, twenty-one days ago.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"WHO CARES?—THE BOYS ARE COMING.

"The Yazoo Democrats will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Leflore Tigers will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Copiah Reliabilities will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Rankin Rangers will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Warren Warriors will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Madison Guards will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Bolton Boys will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Raymond Rifles will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Clinton Corps will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Terry Terribles will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Byram Bulldozers will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 The Edwards Dragoons will be here Monday to see there is a fair election.
Who cares if the McGill men don't like it?
 What are they going to do about it, whether they like it or not?
 The boys are coming, ten hundred strong.
 The whole State of Mississippi is interested in the election.
 It shall be a Democratic victory."

Mr. INGALLS: They were all there, Mr. President. Here is the way it was done; here is the way an election was held in one of the sovereign States of this Union three weeks ago. This correspondent says:

"It was the most outrageous thing I ever saw. All the toughs, murderers, etc., in the State were here with their Winchester rifles, and took possession of the city. The polls were in the possession of an armed mob, who would not allow a negro to come within one hundred yards of the polls. The court-house was just filled upstairs and downstairs with them. The Edmonds House was full of Winchester rifles, two men in each window, with their guns pointing down at the box.

"The other voting place in the north ward was at the Hook and Ladder Hall. Upstairs is the armory of the State Militia; that was filled with men, who were ready at the word to let them go. The voting downstairs was done with closed doors, and no one was allowed in there except the voters, and they only one at a time. They gave it out that the first man that attempted to vote a negro would be shot down."

And so on. I have another letter from a gentleman, known, perhaps, to many members of this body, from the same city, dated on the 9th of January, fourteen days ago—a United States officer, the register of a land office—and he says:

"It was the worst and most open defiance of law I ever saw. 'Jim' Liddell was here with his crowd of 'Swamp Angels' (for this badge was worn by them all—a green silk ribbon with 'Swamp Angel' on it). They were the same men who killed the negroes at Carrollton's. Cattle George, Senator George's son, was Liddell's lieutenant, and another younger son of George's was here in the party with his Winchester—Yazoo, Madison, Rankin, and all were here, armed to the teeth. Now, I wish to make this point clear: they wore badges with 'White Supremacy' on them. The same magic words headed their hand-bills and appeals for outside aid. Yet everyone in Jackson knew that the registration closed with 240 majority of white voters on the lists. Now, where was the fear of 'nigger' rule this time? It was Republican rule they will not submit to."

And more to the same effect. Is it any wonder, Mr. President, that Democrats become alarmed at this condition of affairs? I have a published interview here with a gentleman described as Hon. Frank Burkitt. He is alleged to be a Democrat. The interview appeared in the *Memphis (Tennessee) Commercial*. It is dated Jackson, Mississippi, January 10, thirteen days ago, and he says:

"In this State there are two factions of the Democratic party, equally honest."

That is a very valuable admission.

"One thinks it a dangerous experiment to hold a constitutional convention; the other thinks that it is the only salvation for Mississippi. In

my judgment, Mississippi is to-day standing between Winchester rifles on the one hand and Federal interference on the other.

* * * * *

"In 1873 the Democratic party of the United States denounced Grant's administration for maintaining bayonets at the polls, and the agitation of this question created a revolution in politics throughout the United States.

* * * * *

"This gave unquestioned proof that the American people were opposed to military interference. I regret to say—"

he continues, this candid Democrat—

"I regret to say that in Mississippi many of our elections, or so-called elections, are dominated by military interference to a greater extent than any ever perpetrated under General Grant's administration.

"The election at Jackson on Monday last gives evidence to every conservative Democrat in Mississippi that something must be done to prevent irresponsible men from exercising the controlling influence in our elections. And of such a system is to continue, Federal interference could not be much worse. If the Republican party of the North have the courage of the men who invaded the South in 1861 and 1865, they will not much longer tolerate it, and Federal interference, with all its horrors, will be again upon us. The main object to be attained by a constitutional convention is white supremacy by legal and constitutional methods, thereby superseding the shot-gun policy."

Mr. President, it needs no further proof of the statement that there is evidence controlling and overwhelming, from quarters not friendly to the party that I represent, that there is a deliberate purpose on the part of the whites of the South to eliminate absolutely the colored vote as a controlling or resisting factor in their political problem and situation. The pretexts for this course are many, but they all rest upon the assumption of the inferiority of the colored race, and of the dangers to Anglo-Saxon civilization from what they are pleased to call negro supremacy.

But, Mr. President, I confess with humiliation that to this nullification of the Constitution, to this abrogation of the

social compact, to this breach of plighted faith, this violation of the natural rights of man, the people of the North have apparently consented. The Electoral College, the Senate, the House of Representatives, the domestic and foreign policy of this Nation, the debt, the revenue, the currency, all have been affected, and injuriously affected, by corrupt and fabricated majorities, without formal protest or organized resistance on the part of the North. Timon of Athens says:

"Tis not enough to help the feeble up,
 But to support him after."

Until 1877 the unstable fabric erected by the architects of reconstruction was upheld by the military authority of the United States, and when this was withdrawn, the incongruous edifice toppled headlong and vanished away like the baseless fabric of a vision. It disappeared in cruel and ferocious convulsions, which form one of the most shameful and shocking of all the bloody tragedies of history. The attempt to reorganize society upon the basis of numbers failed. Education, wealth, political experience, land ownership in the South, all conspired against the Constitution and the laws of the United States; and they emerged from that dreadful conflict in full possession of all the powers of the States, and no serious effort has been made to deprive them of their guilty acquisition. Casual and temporary efforts to pass force bills, civil rights bills, national election laws, have been made, but without avail. Practically—I say it with shame and remorse—practically, the negroes have been abandoned to their fate. In the catalogue they go for men, but the word of promise that was given them by the North has not been kept either to their ear or to their hope.

There are undoubtedly some thoughtful men in the South who perceive the gravity of the situation, who apprehend coming events, and would willingly relinquish the increment of representation in the Electoral College, in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives, gained by emancipation and enfranchisement, if the States could be permitted to impose the race condition upon suffrage. But this is impossible. It would shock the conscience of mankind. "The gods themselves cannot recall their gifts." Educational and property qualifications are competent and constitutional, but this would only retard and defer the crisis that is inevitable. It may be postponed for a generation, or it may be precipitated at the next Presidential election; but I warn those who are perpetrating these wrongs upon the suffrage that the North, the West, and the Northwest will not consent to have their industries, their institutions, their wealth, their manufactures, and their civilization changed, modified, or destroyed by an Executive and by Congressional majorities resting upon deliberate and habitual suppression of the colored vote, or any other vote, by force or by fraud. The instinct of self-preservation will forbid it.

The date when patience will cease cannot be predicted, but though the precise time cannot be foretold, it will come; and that it will come in peace or in blood is the inexorable decree of destiny. The same passions that resented colonial dependence, that substituted the Union for the confederation, that have overthrown State sovereignty, slavery, and every other obstacle in the path of liberty, justice, and nationality, may slumber, but they are not dead. They have acquired greater strength with their exercise at every stage of our growth and progress. The compromises of politicians seeking

for place and power, the shifts of traders wanting gain, the cowardice of the timid, who desire peace at the sacrifice of honor, will not prevail. Sooner or later they will shrivel and be consumed away in some sudden blaze like that which flashed and flamed from the Atlantic to the Pacific when John Brown at Harper's Ferry fired the gun whose reverberations died away at Appomattox. [Applause.]

Mr. President, among the preliminary incidents that will hasten this issue, if the present state of affairs continues, armed collisions between the races in the South are inevitable. They can be averted only by justice and by forbearance; but these qualities are not likely from present indications to be exhibited. There is nothing to indicate that in State, municipal, or local affairs the rights of majorities, if they happen to be black, will be recognized; and here the Nation has no power to interfere.

Ultimately the colored race will everywhere be strong enough to resist violence, and they will be intelligent enough to resent fraud. Educated to the consciousness of power, they will insist upon its exercise. They will neither submit to injustice nor consent to the denial of their political rights. With knowledge, wealth, and the irresistible stimulus and contagion of liberty will come self-control and leadership that will render the suppression of their suffrage impossible, except by the national will or by revolution.

The South, Mr. President, is standing upon a volcano. The South is sitting on a safety-valve. They are breeding innumerable John Browns and Nat. Turners. Already mutterings of discontent by hostile organizations are heard. The use of the torch and the dagger is advised. I deplore it, but as God is my judge, I say that no other people on the face of this earth have ever submitted to the wrongs, the injustice,

which have been for twenty-five years heaped upon the colored men of the South without revolution and blood. [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT: The Chair takes this occasion to remind the occupants of the galleries that they are here by the courtesy of the Senate, and any manifestations of approbation or disapprobation are violations of the rules of the Senate. Order must be preserved.

MR. INGALLS: And yet, Mr. President, in the face of this issue, the Senator from South Carolina who sits farthest from me [Mr. Hampton] deliberately advocates the policy of extermination of the blacks. I ask the Chief Clerk to read the extract which I send to the desk.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"Senator Hampton's position, like that of a good many other people, is that no country was ever made or can be made for the occupation of two races distinct from each other in color and habits and tradition. Applying this rule to the Southern States, he finds that the condition inexorably indicates one of three results.

"One of the two races must migrate, one of the two must be exterminated, or the two must amalgamate. Increase of population, wealth, and education will hasten one of these results in proportion as we are successful. The richer and more highly educated the negro becomes, the higher his ambition will be, and the more bitterly will he resent and resist being held in a menial or inferior position. No equity is involved in this consideration of plain facts. His warmest friends must come to understand that he cannot have a fair opportunity to develop what capacity he may have while in competition with another race, holding itself superior to him, in possession of most of the property, in control of the resources, and with a tremendous lead in intelligence and culture to enforce its claim. There is abundant soil in Central and South America and Mexico, and the United States Government can command money enough to buy a continent if it likes. The homesteads now offered other settlers on our public lands, together with free transportation and other help, would carry negroes from the South in swarms. They could organize their own States and come into the Union just as other people do, having their representatives in Congress and the Electoral College. There would be no danger that all of

them would leave the South, but enough would leave to relieve the situation of its pressures and dangers."

Mr. INGALLS: That the process of extermination, or the solution of extermination, has already been inaugurated and is going on, I ask the Chief Clerk to read an extract from a newspaper printed in Brandon, Mississippi, of the issue of last week.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"Negro immigration threatens to overwhelm Mississippi, and if we didn't have such an unbounded faith in our ability to cope with them, it would make us feel serious. The *Avalanche* and other great dailies are predicting great disasters for the old Magnolia State, but we'll wager our old clothes that Mississippi will get there every time. There were one hundred and fifty-five negroes lynched in this State last year. This is significant, and should have a restraining influence over the coons."

Mr. INGALLS: One hundred and fifty-five negroes lynched, their lives taken without authority of law, in Mississippi last year!

Mr. President, the black man is not a coward. The black man came here, as I said before, as a prisoner of war, captured in battle. Two hundred and fifty thousand of them enlisted in the military service of the United States to preserve the integrity of the Constitution that doomed them to degradation and to defend the flag that was the symbol and the emblem of their dishonor. It is said that the Athenians erected a statue to *Aisop*, who was born a slave; or, as Phædrus phrases it:

*"Aisopi ingenio statuam posuere Attici,
 Servumque collocarunt aeterna in basi."*

"They placed the slave upon an eternal pedestal."

Sir, for what the enfranchised slaves did for the cause of constitutional liberty in this country the American people

should imitate the Athenians and place the slave upon an eternal pedestal. Their conduct has been beyond all praise. They have been patient, they have been docile, they have been loyal to their masters and to the country, and to those with whom they are associated; but, as I said before, no other people ever endured patiently such injustice and wrong. Despotism makes nihilists; tyranny makes socialists and communists; injustice is the great manufacturer of dynamite. The thief robs himself; the adulterer pollutes himself; the murderer inflicts a deeper wound upon himself than that which slays his victim. The South in imposing chains upon the Africans placed heavier manacles upon themselves than those which bound the hapless slave; and those who are now denying to American citizens the prerogatives of freedom should remember that behind them, silent and tardy it may be, but inexorable and relentless, stalks with uplifted blade the menacing specter of vengeance and of retribution.

Sir, the South is in greater danger than the enfranchised slave if there is to be the policy of extermination; but if my voice can reach that proscribed and unfortunate class, I appeal to them to continue as they have begun, to endure to the end, and thus to commend themselves to the favorable judgment of mankind, and to rely for their safety upon the ultimate appeal to the conscience of the human race.

This is one of the great dangers, Mr. President. Ordinarily it might be assumed that if the supremacy of the white race in the South was threatened by armed negro majorities, fighting for the rights of which they are deprived, the coalition of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent would be instantaneous. But unfortunately, sir, the reconciliation of the sections is not cordial nor complete. There is no affection between

the conquerors and the conquered. The South has not forgiven the North for its victory, for its prosperity, for its superiority. If it can control the Government and its patronage and hold the purse and the sword, it is patriotic. It is opposed to pensions, to protection, to national authority, because these are the policies of those who thwarted the effort to destroy the Union. It re-enforces the cowardly and degraded elements in the North that sympathized with their treason.

The South, sir, has not accepted the amendments of the Constitution in good faith. It habitually violates the treaty made with the North, openly proclaims a purpose to disregard the pledge under which they escaped confiscation and outlawry. They have their own heroes, their own anniversaries. They celebrate their own victories. They rear their monuments to civil and military leaders whose claim to glory is that they fell for slavery and anarchy. They exalt their leaders above those of the Union cause, and continually cry that they were right and will ultimately prevail.

Mr. President, until these conditions are permanently changed, however formidable and perilous may be the exigencies confronting the South from the numerical strength of the black race, assistance and coöperation cannot be anticipated from the North; they must tread "the wine press alone," and they will eventually discover the truth of the instruction of history, that nothing is so unprofitable as injustice, and that God is an unrelenting creditor.

Mr. President, I can appreciate and understand the reverence and the honor in which the memory of Jefferson Davis is held by the Southern people. I honor them for their constancy. Ideas are immortal; their vitality is inextinguishable; they can never be annihilated; force cannot destroy them.

No man is ever convinced by being overpowered. Ideas may be subordinated, their expression may be suppressed, but they never die. War does not change the opinions either of the victors or of the conquered. It proves nothing except which of the combatants had the most endurance, the deepest purse, and the sharpest sword. Therefore, when Southern Legislatures, and conventions, and a Democratic Congress declare by resolution that the issues of slavery, secession, and State sovereignty were settled by the war, but omit to repudiate the doctrines as unconstitutional and untenable, they leave the impression of disingenuousness and insincerity. Jefferson Davis possessed none of the "thrift that follows fawning." He never "crooked the pregnant hinges of his knee." Obdurate, implacable, and relentless to the last, he remained the immovable type, exponent, and representative of those ideas for which he staked all and lost all.

It is, sir, a striking illustration of the irony of fate that, while Lincoln in the hour of victory fell by the bullet of an assassin, the victim of the subsiding passions of the war, his great antagonist survived for a quarter of a century and died peacefully in honor and prosperity.

Sir, the Northern press, with singular unanimity, referred to him in terms of respect and honor, and not with malevolence or hatred. He had steadfastly refused the amnesty which would readily have been granted, and declined to become a citizen of the United States. He had devoted his time and strength to the explanation and justification of the purposes of the South in its effort to destroy the Union. In response to the announcement of his death, forwarded by the Mayor of New Orleans, the Secretary of War explained in mild and deferential terms the reason why it was thought best to take

no public notice of his decease and to withhold the usual demonstrations for one who had occupied a place in the cabinet of a President of the United States.

There is in northern Mississippi a town by the name of Aberdeen. It is a seat of justice, I believe also of learning, and a place of considerable consequence. On the occasion of the death of Jefferson Davis, Aberdeen was shrouded in mourning; the United States Court-house was draped; the national flag, that the Secretary of War had declined to lower, was at half-mast on the Government building; the Tenebrae were chanted in the churches, and the entire community gave indications, as they had a right to do, of the profoundest solemnity and woe. As an additional method of expressing their grief, they constructed an effigy, which was suspended upon a cable across the principal street of the town, and labeled it "RED. PROCTOR, THE TRAITOR!"—"Red," I suppose, being the contraction for Redfield, which is, I believe, the first name of the Secretary of War—and there it swung as an indication of the affliction of the citizens of Aberdeen at the death of Jefferson Davis. [Laughter.]

Into the town of Aberdeen a few days before had come a journeyman tinner by the name of Fanz. He was a citizen of Indiana. His politics were unknown. He was white. He was twenty-five years of age, of diminutive stature, of inoffensive demeanor, and of conciliatory address. In the process of his labor as a tinner, to cover the roof of the unfinished building, to one of the rafters of which was attached the end of the cable that supported the effigy of "RED. PROCTOR, THE TRAITOR," he was compelled to move the rope, in order to give him space to continue his work.

Proving too heavy for him, it slipped from his hands and fell into the street. He protested that he had no intention of giving offense to the citizens of Aberdeen. As he descended to go to his dinner he was intercepted by a gentlemanly citizen of Aberdeen by the name of McDonald, who had in his hand one of the largest-sized whalebone coach-whips, and, confronting him, told him that for the offense he had committed he had "to take a whipping or something worse." Fanz endeavored to escape. He was unarmed. He was not a pugilist, although pugilists have been in Mississippi. [Laughter.] McDonald, being accompanied by his friends, prevented the escape of Fanz, and proceeded to inflict upon him a castigation, which, one observer said, extended to at least two hundred lashes. The whip was almost entirely destroyed. Fanz's face was cut and bleeding. His sight was nearly destroyed. He was mutilated and crippled, and fleeing to his boarding-house after the castigation had been completed, he was waited upon that evening by a committee of the citizens of Aberdeen, who purchased a ticket, placed him upon the train, and sent him away, and he has since been heard of no more.

It is just to say that many of the citizens of Aberdeen said it was a great outrage. He was punished—McDonald was. He was arrested and taken before the police court and fined \$30; and thereupon the citizens, who had walked under the effigy and who beheld the castigation without protest, started a subscription paper and raised \$60 to cover the fine, the expense of the effigy, and the whip with which the castigation was inflicted.

Mr. President, if an outrage like that had been inflicted upon an American citizen in England, in France, in Spain, anywhere upon the face of this earth, and there had not been

instantaneous disavowal and reparation, a million men would have sprung to arms to avenge the wrong.

"The armaments that thunder strike the walls of rock-built cities,
Bidding nations quake and monarchs tremble in their capitals,"

would have gone swiftly forming in the ranks of war. He was a citizen of Indiana, the outrage was inflicted in Mississippi, and the perpetrators go unwhipped of justice.

I said, Mr. President, that I was not in favor of the Africanization of this continent or any part of it. But if the methods in the Chalmers campaign, in the Jackson campaign, and the proceedings at Aberdeen are illustrations of the temper, spirit, and purposes of the people of the State of Mississippi towards the Government of the United States and its citizens, I would a thousand-fold prefer that every rood of that State should be occupied by an African rather than by those who at present inhabit it.

I refer once more, Mr. President, and in conclusion, to the utterances of the dead orator who, inquiring about the solutions of this great problem, said:

"There can be but one answer. It is the very problem we are now to consider. The key that opens that problem will unlock to the world the fairest half of this Republic, and free the halted feet of thousands whose eyes are already kindling with its beauty. Better than this, it will open the hearts of brothers for thirty years estranged, and clasp in lasting comradeship a million hands now withheld in doubt. Nothing, sir, but this problem, and the suspicions it breeds, hinders a clear understanding and a perfect union."

What are these "suspicions bred by the race problem" which hinder a clear understanding and perfect union, referred to by Grady in his Boston speech? I will tell you, sir, what they are, as I understand it. One suspicion is that this cry

of race antagonism applies only to the negro when he is free. Grady says:

"The love we feel for that race you cannot measure nor comprehend. As I attest it here, the spirit of my old black mammy, from her home up there, looks down on me to bless, and through the tumult of this night steals the sweet music of her croonings, as thirty years ago she held me in her black arms and led me smiling into sleep."

Such is the concurrent testimony of all who have spoken upon the subject, that this cry of race antagonism and race repugnance did not apply to the black race when they were slaves, and there is a suspicion that if the blacks had remained slaves, there would have been no proposition either for separation, colonization, or extermination.

There is a suspicion further than this, Mr. President, and that is that race antagonism and race repugnance apply only to the colored man in the South when he desires to vote a Republican ticket. If they were all Democrats, the race question would disappear.

There is a further suspicion, Mr. President, that the question whether these two races can subsist on terms of political equality under our system of government has never been fairly tried. If the South desire to be rid of the negro, they can readily accomplish that result by refusing to employ him; and yet it is admitted by those who are competent to know that they paid him in wages this last year not less than one hundred million dollars, and that he contributed, and indispensably contributed, to the production of crops that were worth one thousand million dollars more, and that besides that, in the State of Georgia alone, the black race has accumulated property, real estate, that is worth not less than twenty million dollars.

Sir, the black race is capable of civilization. Notwithstanding the obstacles and discouragements, the failures and disappointments, justice requires the admission that in the dark and tragic interval of its transition period it has made marked and substantial progress, greater, far greater, than could have been reasonably expected. If the degenerate proclivities engendered by centuries of oppression and ignorance have not been extirpated, they have at least been surprisingly modified; and while there is nothing in his origin and in his history to justify the expectation that the African can ever successfully compete with the Anglo-Saxon in government, in art, in conquest, or practical affairs, neither is there anything to indicate that he is not susceptible of high civilization.

Habituated to subordination for centuries, self reliance, pride of race, authority, and the respect of nations can only come, if at all, after the labors, the struggles, and the discipline of centuries. It would be obviously unjust to measure the advance of the colored race by comparison with our own. Their conditions should be contrasted with that of their contemporaries of the same ancestry in the tropical jungles of Africa, where they still subsist in indescribable degradation and inexhaustible fecundity. Measured by this standard, they have displayed an extraordinary aptitude for improvement. Under the harsh and repressive limitations of slavery they ceased to be barbarians. In freedom they have adopted with alacrity the ideas of home, the family, obedience to law, and the institutions of government. Bloody and superstitious fetichism and idolatry have been succeeded by faith in immortality and belief in God, the sublimest conceptions that can be entertained by the soul of man. Their conduct has been

characterized by eagerness for education, by a desire for the accumulation of property, and by patient fortitude in adversity. They are ignorant, and they hunger for knowledge. They are wretched, and they thirst for happiness.

Since 1862 there has been given for the education of the enfranchised slaves, through the American Missionary Society, \$10,000,000; through the Methodist Society, \$2,250,000; through the Baptist Society, \$2,000,000; through the Presbyterian Society, \$1,600,000; and not less than \$1,000,000 from other sources; in all about \$17,000,000 from the North. The Catholics also have interested themselves in the problem. Bishop Vaughn, of Salford, in Lancastershire, England, has formed an organization especially directed toward the improvement of the colored people of the South, and at the Plenary Council of the Catholic Church, held at Baltimore three years ago, it was decided to establish a seminary, where the bishop has now forty clergymen educating to assist in evangelizing and training them in all the functions and duties of good citizenship.

From the platform adopted at the congress of the Church held in Baltimore a few weeks since, the following paragraphs will show that the Catholic laity are in accord with the clergy and at work in endeavoring to solve the race problem:

"We pledge ourselves to cooperate with the clergy in discussing and in solving those great economic and social questions which affect the interests and well-being of the Church, the country, and society at large.

"That the amelioration and promotion of the physical and moral culture of the negro race is a subject of the utmost concern, and we pledge ourselves to assist our clergy in all ways tending to effect any improvement in their condition."

Mr. President, four solutions of the race problem are proposed: first, amalgamation; second, extermination; third, sep-

aration; fourth, disfranchisement. But, sir, there is a fifth, the universal solvent of all human difficulties, that never has been proposed and never has been tried, and that is the solution of justice—justice, for which every place should be a temple and all seasons summer.

I appeal to the South to try the experiment of justice. Stack your guns, open your ballot boxes, register your voters, black and white; and if, after the experiment has been fairly and honestly tried, it appears that the African race is incapable of civilization, if it appears that the complexion burned upon him by a tropic sun is incompatible with freedom, I pledge myself to consult with you about some measure of solving the race problem; but until then nothing can be done.

The citizenship of the negro must be absolutely recognized. His right to vote must be admitted, and the ballots that he casts must be honestly counted. These are the essential preliminaries, the indispensable conditions precedent to any consideration of the ulterior and fundamental questions of race supremacy or of race equality in the United States, North or South. Those who freed the slaves ask nothing more; they will be content with nothing less. The experiment must be fairly tried. This is the starting point and this the goal. The longer it is deferred the greater will be the exasperation and the more doubtful will be the final result. [Applause in the galleries.]